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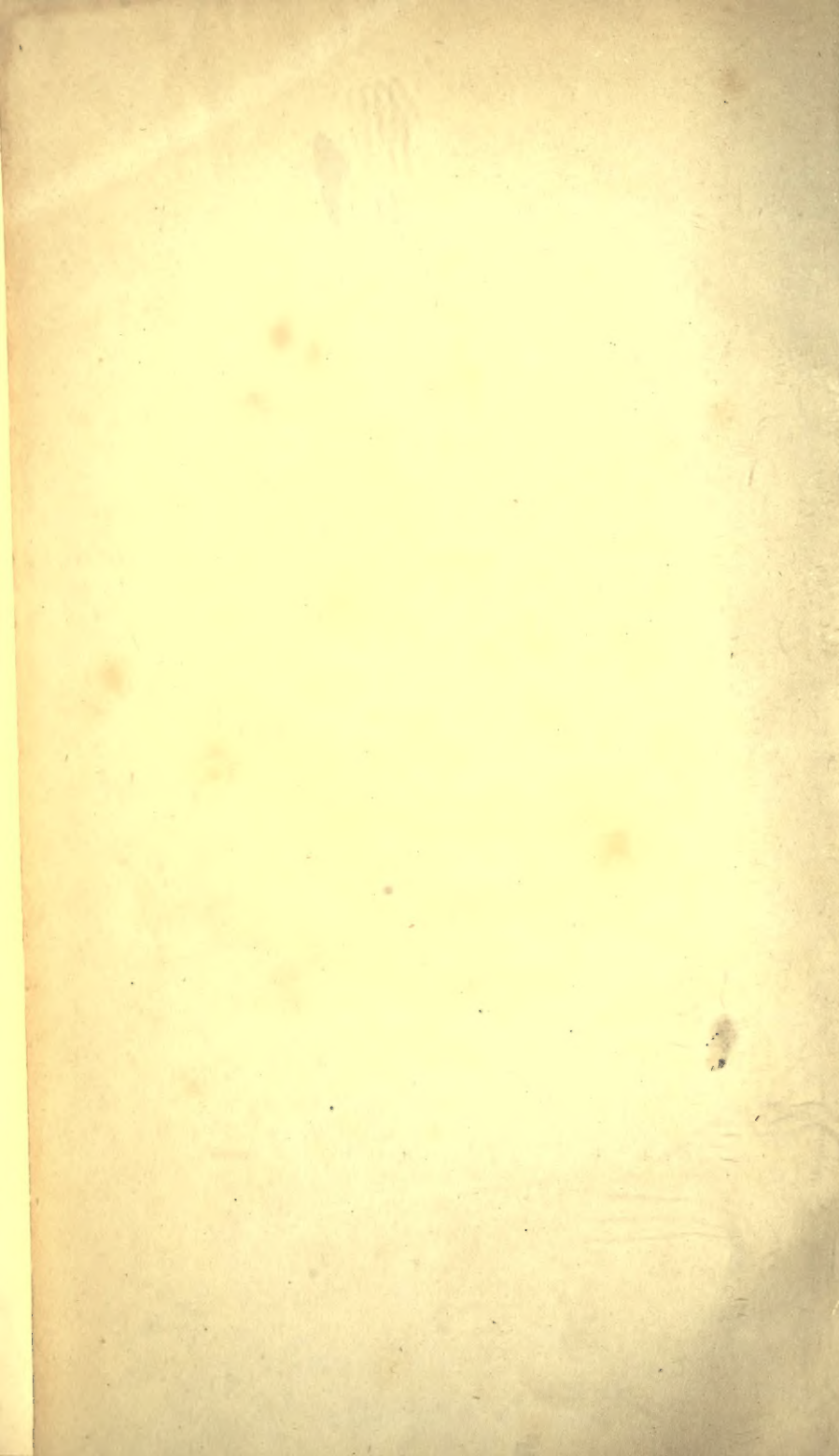




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TITUS LIVIUS.

*Engraved by S. Freeman, from the*

ANTIQUE BUST

London, Published by James & C<sup>o</sup> Temple of the Muses Finsbury Square 1830.



THE  
HISTORY OF ROME,

BY  
TITUS LIVIUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY GEORGE BAKER, A. M.

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History is Philosophy teaching by examples.—BOLINGBROKE.

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A NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY CORRECTED AND REVISED.

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## PREFACE.

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TITUS LIVIUS, the illustrious author of the Roman History, descended from a noble family in Rome, and was born at Patavium, now called Padua, in Italy, in the 694th year of Rome, fifty-eight years before the commencement of the Christian era.

Like many other literary men, his life was contemplative, rather than active; very few particulars, therefore, concerning him, have come down to us. He resided at Rome for a considerable time, where he was much noticed, and highly honoured, by Augustus; to whom he was previously known, it is said, by some writings which he had dedicated to him. Seneca, however, is silent upon the subject of this supposed dedication; though he mentions the work itself, which, he says, consisted of moral and philosophical dialogues.

He appears to have conceived the project of writing his history, immediately upon his settling at Rome; or, perhaps, he came thither for the purpose of collecting the necessary materials for that great work.

Augustus appointed him preceptor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor. But he seems not much to have attended to the advantage which might have resulted from so advantageous a connection, and to have occupied himself, entirely, in the composition of his history; parts of which, as they were finished, he read to Augustus and Mæcenæus.

Distracted with the tumult, and disgusted, it may be, with the intrigues and cabals of Rome, he sought retirement and tranquillity in the beautiful country, and delightful climate, of Naples. Here, enjoying uninterrupted literary ease and quiet, he continued his labour and finished his work, comprising, in a hundred and forty-two books, the history of Rome, from the foundation of that city to the death of Drusus, containing a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, ending nine years before the birth of our Saviour. Having completed this great work, he returned to pass the remainder of his days in his native country, where he died, A. D. 17, at the age of seventy-five years.

What family he left behind him, is not known. Quintilian, however, mentions that he had a son, for whose instruction he drew up some excellent observations on rhetoric; and there is also reason to suppose that he had a daughter, married to Lucius Magius, an orator, who is advantageously spoken of by Seneca.

How highly his works were esteemed, and himself personally honoured and respected, may be gathered from the manner in which he is mentioned by many ancient authors. Tacitus tells us,<sup>1</sup> that "T. Livius, that admirable historian, not more distinguished by his eloquence than by his fidelity, was so lavish in his praise of Pompey, that Augustus called him the *Pompeian*: and yet his friendship for him was unalterable." The younger

Pliny informs us,<sup>1</sup> that "a certain inhabitant of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the illustrious character of Livy, that he travelled to Rome on purpose to see that great genius; and as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity, returned home.

Of the hundred and forty-two books, of which the history of Rome originally consisted, thirty-five only have come down to us. The contents of the whole, the hundred and thirty-seventh and eighth excepted, have been preserved; compiled, as some, without any good reason, have supposed, by Livy himself; while others, with equal improbability, have asserted them to be the work of Lucius Florus, author of a portion of Roman history. Whoever may have been the compiler, a fact as useless as it is now impossible to ascertain, they are highly curious; and although they contain but a faint outline, yet they serve to convey some idea of the original, and greatly excite regret at the loss of so large a portion of this valuable work.

The parts of this history which we now possess, are, the first decade: for it appears, from his having prefixed separate prefatory introductions to each portion, that the author had divided his work into distinct parts, consisting each of ten books. The first decade commences with the foundation of the city of Rome, and rapidly runs over the affairs of four hundred and sixty years. The second decade is lost: it comprised a period of seventy-five years; the principal occurrence in it was the first Punic war, in which the Romans, after a long and arduous struggle, were finally victorious. The third decade is extant: it contains a particular and well-detailed account of the second Punic war; the longest, as our author himself observes, and the most hazardous war, the Romans had ever been engaged in; in the course of which they gained so many advantages, and acquired so much military experience, that no nation was ever able, afterwards, to withstand them. The fourth decade contains the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic against Antiochus. These are related at considerable length, insomuch that the ten books comprise a space of twenty-three years only. Of the fifth decade, the first five books only remain, and these very imperfect. They give an account of the war with Perseus king of Macedonia, who gains several advantages against the Romans, but is at length subdued, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a Roman province; of the corruption of several Roman governors in the administration of the provinces, and their punishment; and of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years.

Of the remaining books, it has been already said, that the contents only have been preserved; and they serve to show us the greatness of our loss, the greatest literary loss, perhaps, owing to the ravages of the time. Livy had employed forty-five books in the history of six centuries; but so many, so various, and so interesting were the events, which he had before him for selection, in the latter period of the Republic, that it took him above double that number to relate the occurrences of little more than a hundred and twenty years. From the admirable manner in which he has written the former part of his History, we may judge of what must have been the merit of this latter part, which fails us, unfortunately, at a most remarkable period, when rational curiosity is raised to the highest pitch. Nor can we doubt the excellence of its execution, when we consider how much better, and how much more copious his materials must have been; for, besides what he could draw from his own personal knowledge, having lived among, and conversed familiarly with, the most considerable men in the empire, who were themselves principal actors in the important transactions which he relates, he had access to the best possible written materials; to the memoirs of Sylla, Cæsar, Labienus, Pollio,



Augustus, and many others which were then extant. What would we not give for the picture, finished by so able a hand, from the sketches of such masters? What delight would it not afford us, to see the whole progress of a government from liberty to servitude?—the whole series of causes and effects, apparent and real, public and private?—those which all men saw, and all good men opposed and lamented, at the time; and those which were so disguised to the prejudices, to the partialities, of a divided people, and even to the corruption of mankind, that many did not, and that many could pretend they did not, discern them, till it was too late to resist them; I own, says a noble author<sup>1</sup>, I should be glad to exchange what we have of this history, for what we have not.

Much as our Historian was admired, and highly as he was respected, yet he was not without his detractors. He was charged with Patavinity in his writings. The first person who brought this charge against him seems to have been Asinius Pollio, a polite and elegant writer, and a distinguished ornament of the age of Augustus.†

In what this Patavinity consisted, no ancient author having defined it, it is not now easy to say; and, accordingly, it is a matter which has been much disputed. Some will have it, that it was a political term, and that it signified an attachment to the Pompeian party: others contend that it meant a hatred to the Gauls; that it was symbolical of some blameable particularity, they know not what. The more probable opinion, however, seems, from the term itself, to be, that it signified some provincial peculiarity of dialect. Ancient Italy, like modern Italy, had its differences, not of idiom merely, but of language, in every different province. In proportion as their language varies, at this day, from the purity of the Tuscan dialect, they become almost unintelligible to each other: with difficulty can a Venetian and a Neapolitan converse together; that is, the people: for the well-educated in every country learn to speak and write the dialect of the metropolis; although, if brought up in their own provinces, however nearly their language may approach the purity of that of the capital, yet it will ever retain some tincture of provinciality.

If this supposition of the meaning of the word Patavinity be right, the fact, upon such authority as that of Pollio, must be admitted; although in what, precisely, it consisted, it is not at present perhaps possible to determine. Much has been written upon the subject, which in reality seems now to be an idle inquiry; and as a dissertation upon this matter could afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the mere English reader, for whose use the following translation is principally intended, we shall dismiss the subject with observing, that what Quintilian has not told us, no modern scholar will ever, it is probable, have penetration enough to discover: and we may be also allowed to suppose, that, whatever these peculiarities may have been, as that great critic has not thought them worth pointing out, they cannot have been either very numerous, or of very material consequence.

Nor will, perhaps, another objection, made by modern critics, be deemed of much greater weight. They dislike, it seems, the plan of his History, and they found that dislike chiefly on the speeches which he so frequently introduces, which, they contend, it is not probable could have been spoken upon the occasions alleged; and therefore they pronounce them to be violations of truth. That many of them were not spoken by the persons to whom they are ascribed, nor upon the occasions alleged, must be admitted: but they do not, upon that account, violate the truth of history. Nobody can suppose that

<sup>1</sup> Bolingbroke.

† Quintil. Instit. l. 5. viii. 1.



our Author ever meant to impose upon his readers, and to make them believe that what he has given us, as said by the different persons whom he introduces, was really said by them: the supposition is absurd. He could only mean to vary his style; and to enliven and embellish matter, which, if continued in the even and unvaried tone of narration, would be sometimes heavy and tedious; making these supposed speeches a vehicle for conveying, and that in a very lively manner, the arguments for and against a proposed measure; and he thus often brings into them a relation of facts, chiefly facts of remoter times, and much more agreeably than he could have interwoven them into his narrative, which should always be progressive. Modern historians, it is true, have rejected this plan: but Livy is not reprehensible, because his ideas of historic structure were different from theirs. He chose rather to conform himself to a custom which prevailed very generally before his time, and which succeeding writers, of great taste and judgment, have approved and adopted. The conduct of Livy, in this respect, if necessary, might be justified by the example of Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Sallust, Tacitus, and others, whose histories abound with speeches. These speeches frequently give a more perfect idea of the character of the supposed speaker, than could easily have been done by mere description; and it must be acknowledged, that the facts which they sometimes contain, would, if thrown into formal narrative, with episodes and digressions, lose much of their animation and force, and consequently much of their grace and beauty.

When we consider the use of such speeches, we shall not perhaps feel inclined to give them up, although many are to be held as mere fictions; contrived, however, with much ingenuity, and for the laudable purpose of conveying useful reflections and salutary admonitions. But though it be admitted that several of them are fictitious, yet it may be contended that they are not all so. Many of those delivered in the senate, in popular assemblies, in conventions of ambassadors, and other the like occasions, are most probably genuine; and, if they are so, they furnish us with very curious specimens of ancient eloquence. Public speakers among the Romans were in the habit of publishing their speeches upon particular occasions; and others, delivered upon important occurrences, would, doubtless, be noted down, and circulated, by those who were curious about, and probably interested in the subjects of them. We know that, in our own times, the substance of speeches in the British parliament, and other assemblies, has often been accurately collected, and carefully preserved; and we may, therefore, reasonably suppose that speeches in the Roman senate, upon matters in which the whole community were deeply interested, would be heard with equal attention, and preserved with equal care.

A charge, of a very heavy nature, has been brought against our Author, which, were it well founded, would utterly disqualify him from writing a credible history. He is accused of superstitious credulity. That he was of a serious and religious turn of mind is sufficiently apparent from many passages in his History, in which he severely reprehends the licentiousness and profligacy of the times he lived in, and applauds the simplicity of conduct, and sanctity of manners, of ancient days, when "that disregard of the gods, which prevails in the present age, had not taken place; nor did every one, by his own interpretations, accommodate oaths and the laws to his particular views, but rather adapted his practice to them." Again, speaking of Spurius Papirius, he describes him as a "youth, born in an age when that sort of learning which inculcates contempt of the gods was yet unknown"† Numberless passages, to this effect, might be cited; suffice it,

however, to observe, that, while reprehending, with strong indignation, the profane, the impious, and the immoral among his countrymen, he omits no opportunity of applauding the virtuous and the good.

But, to be religious is one thing; to be superstitious is another. He has certainly recorded many and monstrous prodigies; to enumerate which would be both tedious and disgusting. As, however, they were not merely the subject of popular tales and vulgar conversation, but the objects of particular attention, noticed always by the magistrates, and even by the senate, whom we frequently find ordering expiations of them, it was his duty, as a historian, to relate them, since they thus made a part of the public transactions of the times. And this he does with great caution; apparently anxious lest he should be supposed to believe in such absurdities, and protesting, as it were, against the imputation of superstition. Thus, upon an occasion where he relates extraordinary prodigies, (more extraordinary, indeed, than in any other part of his History,) he introduces his account of them by saying, "Numerous prodigies were reported to have happened this year; and the more they were credited by simple and superstitious people, the more such stories multiplied."<sup>1</sup> He generally prefaces the mention of all such, with a reserve as to his own belief of them:—"Many prodigies were reported."<sup>2</sup> "It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the capitol, but had even eaten it."<sup>3</sup> And again; "Fires from heaven, breaking out in various places, had, as was said,"<sup>4</sup> &c. Nor is he at all scrupulous in declaring these numerous prodigies to derive their origin from superstitious weakness: thus; "so apt is superstitious weakness to introduce the deities into the most trivial occurrences."<sup>5</sup> "The mention of one prodigy was, as usual, followed by reports of others."<sup>6</sup> "From this cause arose abundance of superstitious notions; and the minds of the people became disposed both to believe and to propagate accounts of prodigies, of which a very great number were reported."<sup>7</sup> "The consuls expiated several prodigies which had been reported."<sup>8</sup> "Several deceptions of the eyes and ears were credited."<sup>9</sup> One is almost tempted to think, that those who charge our author with credulity, had never read him; otherwise, how could they overlook such passages as these, and especially the following, in which he seems aware that such a charge might be brought against him, and labours to obviate it?—"In proportion as the war was protracted to a greater length, and successes and disappointments produced various alterations, not only in the situations, but in the sentiments of men, superstitious observances, and these mostly introduced from abroad, gained such ground, among the people in general, that it seemed as if either mankind, or the deities, had undergone some sudden change."<sup>10</sup>

From the passages here adduced, and very many others to the same purport might be quoted, it may be confidently pronounced, that our author was not the dupe of those vulgar rumours, those "deceptions of the eyes and ears," which yet he has thought it his duty to record. And, in truth, it seems as if the people themselves, at least the more enlightened of them, were equally inclined, if established custom would have allowed, to disregard them: "They grew weary," we are told, "not only of the thing itself, but of the religious rites enjoined in consequence; for neither could the senate be convened, nor the business of the public be transacted, the consuls were so constantly employed in sacrifices and expiations."<sup>11</sup> And accordingly, with a view to diminish the reports of

1 B. xxiv. 10.

2 B. xxvii. 4.

3 B. xxx 2.

4 B. xxxix 22.

5 B. xxvii. 23.

6 lb. 37.

7 B. xxix. 14.

8 B. xxiv. 44.

9 B. xxiv. 44.

10 B. xxv. 1.

11 B. xxxiv. 55.



these miracles, and the troublesome ceremonies consequent thereupon, the consuls, by direction of the senate, published an edict, that when "on any day public worship should be ordered, in consequence of the report of an earthquake, no person should report another earthquake on that day."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, how very little faith the senate really had in omens, prodigies and auspices, we may learn from a remarkable order made by them, upon receiving from a consul the report of unfavourable omens, in no less than three victims successively sacrificed; "they ordered him," says the historian, "to continue sacrificing the larger victims, until the omens should prove favourable."<sup>2</sup>

It may be asked,—If Livy, the senate, and very many, perhaps the greater number of the people disbelieved these omens and prodigies, why relate them? He answers the question himself. "I am well aware," he says, "that, through the same disregard to religion, which has led men into the present prevailing opinion, of the gods never giving portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But, for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and I feel a kind of religious awe, which compels me to consider that events which the men of those times, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of government, and of public expiation, must certainly be worthy of a place in my history."<sup>3</sup> And, in truth, it must be allowed, that an account of the religious ceremonies, and the superstitious observances, of different nations at different periods, forms not the least curious chapter in the history of the human mind.

A still heavier charge hath been brought against our author; indeed, the heaviest that can be alleged against an historian; namely, the violation of the first great law of history: which is, not to dare to assert any thing false, and not to suppress any truth.<sup>4</sup> He who could not be warped by views of private interest, has yet been supposed, from an excess of zeal for the honour and glory of his country, in some instances, to have gone beyond the truth, in others to have suppressed it.

It has been already mentioned how highly he was esteemed by Augustus, and that he had even received no inconsiderable marks of favour from him. Yet he does not seem to have courted this esteem, or those favours, by any particular attention on his part; nor to have endeavoured to repay them by the only return which authors can make, the loading their patrons with perhaps undeserved praises. Although, at the time when he wrote his History, Augustus was in complete possession of the Roman empire, yet he names him but three times, and then but in a slight and cursory manner; not availing himself of the opportunity to heap adulation upon him, but simply giving him that praise to which he was unquestionably entitled. On occasion of shutting the temple of Janus he takes the opportunity of mentioning, that it had been but twice shut since the reign of Numa: the first time in the consulship of Titus Manlius, on the termination of the first Punic war; and that "the happiness of seeing it shut again, the gods granted to our own times; when, after the battle of Actium, the emperor, Cæsar Augustus, established universal peace on land and sea."<sup>5</sup> As Augustus was highly vain of this circumstance, had our author's disposition led him to flatter this master of the world, it would have afforded him an excellent opportunity; as would another occasion, where speaking of *spolia opima*, deposited by Cossus in one of the temples, he appeals to the testimony of

1 B. xxxiv. 55.

2 B. xli. 15.

3 B. xlii. 13.

4 Cic. de Orat.

5 B. i. 19.



Augustus Caesar, whom he styles "the founder or restorer of all our temples." But above all, he might have found a niche for him as well as others of his family, when he mentions the distinguished victory gained by Livius and Nero over Hasdrubal.<sup>2</sup> He relates the affair itself in very splendid terms, and bestows the most exalted praises on the admirable conduct of those victorious generals. He who was thus rigidly tenacious, when private motives, friendship, or interest might have swayed him, is nevertheless accused, from national vanity, of having written with partiality; and of having sometimes exaggerated, and sometimes concealed the truth.

It must be acknowledged that, when the grandeur of the Roman empire presents itself to his mind, he is not always sufficiently reserved in the terms which he uses. Thus, speaking of Cincinnatus,<sup>3</sup> so early as the 296th year of Rome, he calls him "the sole hope of the empire of Rome, at a time when we know that this thus pompously announced empire extended not more than twenty miles beyond the city. And again, not many years after,"<sup>4</sup> he introduces Canuleius boasting of its "eternal duration and immense magnitude."<sup>5</sup> When we find him applying such magnificent terms to the Roman state, then in its infancy, we must suppose him to have forgotten the period of which he was writing, and to have had present to his mind the splendour and extent to which it had attained at the time when he himself lived and wrote. He even puts the same language into the mouths of foreigners, and of enemies: he makes Hannibal call Rome "the capital of the world,"<sup>6</sup> at a time when the Romans had not even the whole of Italy in subjection, and no possessions whatever out of Italy, except a part of Sicily and Sardinia. In the same vain-glorious boasting strain he tells us,<sup>7</sup> that the Romans "were never worsted by the enemy's cavalry, never by their infantry, never in open fight, never on equal ground." He seems here not to have recollected, what he afterwards acknowledges,<sup>8</sup> that, in the first battle with Hannibal, "it manifestly appeared that the Carthaginian was superior in cavalry; and, consequently, that open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps, were unfavourable to the Romans." Although he thus asserts in unqualified terms, that the Romans were never worsted in the open field, yet he gives very just and candid accounts, not only of this battle with Hannibal, but of another also against the same commander, and of that of Allia, against the Gauls; in every one of which the Romans were completely overthrown.

But these, it is probable, should rather be considered as inadvertencies than falsehoods; and, however inclined we may be to overlook or excuse them, we shall not, perhaps, find it so easy to justify some other omissions or changes, which he has made in his narrative, respecting facts which, if fairly and fully related, would do no honour to his country; or would tend, in some degree, to tarnish the lustre of those celebrated characters which he holds up to our admiration.

Polybius is allowed to be an author of consummate judgment, indefatigable industry, and strict veracity. Livy himself admits that he is entitled to entire credit. He takes extraordinary pains to investigate the causes of the second Punic war, and to determine which of the two nations had incurred the guilt of breach of treaty. He discusses the matter at considerable length;<sup>9</sup> stating accurately, and carefully examining, the facts and arguments urged on both sides; and brings the matter to this issue,—that, if the war is to be considered as taking its rise from the destruction of Saguntum, the Carthaginians

1 B. iv. 20.

2 B. xxvii. 47, 48, 49.

3 B. iii. 26.

4 Y. R. 310.

5 B. iv. 4.

6 B. xxi. 30.

7 B. ix. 19.

8 B. xxi. 47.

9 Lib. x.

were in the wrong; but by no means so, if the matter be taken up somewhat higher, and the taking of Sardinia by the Romans, and the imposing a tribute upon that island, be included in the account: for that, then, the Carthaginians did no more than take occasion to avenge an injury done them.

Now, how stands the account of this affair, according to Livy? <sup>1</sup> From this disquisition of Polybius, he carefully selects, and strongly states, every thing which tends to favour the cause of the Romans; but passes over in silence every fact, and every argument, urged by the Greek historian in favour of the Carthaginians: and thus he makes the worse appear the better cause.

It has been urged, in defence of Livy, that, in his twelfth book, he gave the account of the affair of Sardinia; and that, if that book had not been lost, it might from thence have appeared that the conduct of the Romans in that transaction was perfectly justifiable; and that, consequently, what he has suppressed of Polybius's argument, he has omitted not so much to favour the cause of his own countrymen, as because he knew the allegations therein to be false. It must, however, be observed, that Polybius was neither a Roman nor a Carthaginian; that he has always been held to be an historian of the highest credit, and the strictest impartiality; that he lived nearer the times he writes of than Livy, and was a most diligent inquirer into the truth of the facts which he relates in his history; that he was by no means unfriendly to the Romans, but the contrary, taking all opportunities to speak of them with the highest praise.

It is not meant here to detract from the merit of Livy as an historian, by the mention of such particulars as these. It may be assumed as a maxim, that no historian of his own country can be, strictly speaking, impartial: he may intend to be so; but the mind will be under an involuntary bias, influenced by some secret inclination, of which he himself may be unconscious; he may believe what he asserts, and yet it may not be true.

Another instance of his partiality to his countrymen may be found in his account of the murder of Brachyllas, <sup>2</sup> who, he tells us, was made Bœotarch, or chief magistrate of the Bœotians, "for no other reason, than because he had been commander of the Bœotians serving in the army of Philip; passing by Zeuxippus, Pisistratus, and the others who had promoted the alliance with Rome." That these men, offended at present, and alarmed about future consequences, resolved to take off Brachyllas, and accordingly procured six assassins, who put him to death. In these and other circumstances, our author perfectly agrees with Polybius, whose account of this whole affair he seems to have almost literally copied; with the omission, however, out of tenderness for the character of Quintius, of a very material circumstance: which is, that the project of murdering Brachyllas was first opened in a conference between Zenxis, Pisistratus, and Quintius, who told them, that he would not himself do any thing to promote it; but that, if they were disposed to the execution of such a plan, he would do nothing to obstruct it: and he adds that he directed them to confer upon the matter with Alexamenes, the Ætolian, who was the person, he says, that procured the assassins.

Another, and a very remarkable instance of partiality to the character of his countrymen, we have in his celebrated account of Scipio Africanus; who seems, above all others mentioned in his history, to have engaged his fondest, and, as he himself admits, his



partial attention : for when he first introduces him, he does it in the most advantageous manner, as a youth who had scarcely attained to manhood, rescuing his father, who was wounded in a battle with Hannibal. "This," says he,<sup>1</sup> "is the same youth who is, hereafter, to enjoy the renown of terminating this war, and to receive the title of Africanus, on account of his glorious victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians." He then, in a manner, avows his partiality ; for he tells us, that Cœlius attributes the honour of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian : "but I rather wish the account to be true which gives it to his son ; and so the fact is represented by most authors, and generally believed.

That Scipio was a most accomplished character, eminently distinguished by his military talents, valour, coolness, patience under difficulties, and moderation in victory, of most gentle manners, and a most generous temper, never has been, nor ever will be denied. But, if other writers knew the truth, and have spoken it, he was not that model of absolute perfection which Livy paints him : and perhaps, had he been the cold and unimpassioned stoic which he describes him to have been, he had deserved less praise than is undoubtedly due to him when considered, as other authors represent him, of a very different temperament.

That he generously restored a beautiful captive to her parents, and to her intended spouse, Livy and Polybius are agreed ; but they differ somewhat in the account of that affair. Polybius tells us<sup>2</sup>, that a party of Roman youth, having taken captive a damsel of exquisite beauty, brought her to Scipio, whom they knew to be much attached to the sex ; and he makes Scipio say to them, that "a more acceptable gift could not have been presented to him, were he in a private station : but that, in his situation of general, he could by no means accept of it." Livy suppresses entirely the circumstance of his favourite's amorous disposition : and yet, what he represents him as saying to Allucius, bears so strong a resemblance to his answer, recorded by Polybius, though he gives it a different turn, to accommodate it to his purpose, that we cannot doubt his having had this passage in his eye : "If my thoughts were not totally employed by the affairs of the public, and if I were at liberty to indulge in the pleasurable pursuits adapted to my time of life"<sup>3</sup>, &c.

That Scipio, with all his perfections, was not that mirror of chastity which Livy is desirous of representing him, we learn also from an anecdote related by Valerius Maximus<sup>4</sup>, who highly praises the amiable temper and patient forbearance of his wife Æmilia, "who," he tells us, "knew of his attachment to a female slave, and yet concealed the fact, that there might be no stain upon so illustrious a character."

Such are the principal facts alleged to prove our Historian's neglect of veracity in his narration. Rigorous, and, it may be, invidious scrutiny has noted some few more ; but they are of little importance : and, as it is not improbable, so it is not unfair to suppose, that the paucity of cotemporary historians may have induced those, who were also predisposed to believe that to be false which fuller information might perhaps have proved to be true. Why may we not believe that he had better opportunities of knowing the truth than the Greek historian ? He admits Polybius to be an author of credit, and yet he differs from him without scruple ; he cannot, then, surely, be thought to mean more than that he was a writer of integrity, who compiled his history with fidelity, according to the best information he was able to obtain : that he did not wilfully falsify any fact, rather than that every fact he relates is strictly and absolutely true. He acknowledges him for his master, but does not conceive himself bound to swear to his words.



Besides, it is but doing justice to our author to observe, that if, in some few, and those not very material instances, he may have deviated from the truth, if he has done so, it is never with an ill design: if he palliates a fault, or suppresses a fact, it is not so much for the purpose of lessening the reputation, or tarnishing the glory of others, whether nations or individuals, as to aggrandize the character of his own nation. He allows himself in a practice which some of his countrymen have, since his time, carried to a much greater, as well as a more blameable extent, and which has received the name of *pious fraud*.

But, whatever may be the case, whether our author must lie under the reproach of softening facts in some instances, or even of suppressing them in others, yet will his genius and talents as an historian, ever be respected. He cannot be denied the merit of having furnished us with a perfect model of historical composition, in the purest and most elegant style; more remarkable for perspicuity of narration, and neatness of expression, than for depth of reasoning, or pomp of diction. Although he seldom digresses, and but rarely indulges in moral observations or philosophical reflections, yet he never loses sight of what he himself lays down in his preface as the great object of history: the furnishing "clear and distinct examples of every line of conduct; that we may select for ourselves, and for the state to which we belong, such as are worthy of imitation; and carefully noting such, as, being dishonourable in their principles, are equally so in their effects, learn to avoid them."

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ALL that the present writer feels it necessary to say, upon delivering to the public a new translation of so esteemed a work as Livy's History, is, that it has been the employment, and amusement, of many years,—a very laborious, but not unuseful occupation: and that, if he be not deceived by self-love, and the partiality of a few friends, who have taken the trouble of looking into the work, it will be found not altogether unworthy of public acceptance.

The translator had intended a much more copious commentary than that which now accompanies this work; and in that view, he had prepared several dissertations upon the manners and customs of the Romans: their senate, their laws, their religious rites, their arts of war, navigation, and commerce, &c. But he acknowledges, with much pleasure, that he has since found his labour, upon those subjects, rendered unnecessary by the publication of *Dr Adam's Roman Antiquities*: a work so excellent in its kind, that whoever has the instruction of youth committed to his care, will do him injustice if he omits to recommend it to their perusal. The notes, therefore, which are added, and which the Translator now thinks it his duty to make as few and as short as possible, are such only as were deemed more immediately necessary to render some passages intelligible to the mere English reader.

It hath been a usual practice, in Prefaces to works of this kind, for the authors of them to load the labours of their predecessors with abuse: a practice, of which the present Translator acknowledges he neither sees the necessity, nor the utility. For, should he succeed in disparaging the works of others in the humble walk of translation; should he be able to prove them ever so wretchedly executed, it will by no means follow from thence that his is better. That he thinks it so, is clear from his presuming to publish it. But as the public has an undoubted right to judge for itself, and will most assuredly

exercise that right, the success of every work, of whatever kind, must ultimately depend upon its own merit.

To the public judgment, therefore, he submits his labour ; knowing that every endeavour of his, except that of rendering it worthy of acceptance, would be useless ; and that, in spite of his utmost exertions, his book will stand or fall by its own merit or demerit, whichever shall be found to preponderate. The public candour he has no reason to doubt ; and he awaits its decision with tranquillity, but not without anxiety.





# CONTENTS

OF

## THE FIRST VOLUME.

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	<i>Page</i>
BOOK I. . . . .	1
BOOK II. . . . .	43
BOOK III. . . . .	87
BOOK IV. . . . .	135
BOOK V. . . . .	175
BOOK VI. . . . .	213
BOOK VII. . . . .	245
BOOK VIII. . . . .	273
BOOK IX. . . . .	303
BOOK X. . . . .	339
CONTENTS of the LOST BOOKS, . . . .	372
BOOK XXI. . . . .	377
BOOK XXII. . . . .	413
BOOK XXIII. . . . .	451
BOOK XXIV. . . . .	485
BOOK XXV. . . . .	517
BOOK XXVI. . . . .	549
BOOK XXVII. . . . .	587



# THE HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK I.

The arrival of Æneas in Italy, and his achievements there; the reign of Ascanius in Alba, and of the other Sylvian kings, his successors. Birth of Romulus and Remus. Romulus builds Rome; forms the senate; divides the people into curias. His wars. He offers the *spolia optima* to Jupiter Feretrius; is deified. Numa Pompilius institutes the rites of religious worship; builds a temple to Janus; rules in peace, and is succeeded by Tullus Hostilius. His war with the Albans; combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. The Albans removed to Rome. Tullus killed by lightning. Ancus Martius conquers the Latines, and incorporates them with the Romans; enlarges the city, and the bounds of his dominions. Lucumo arrives at Rome; assumes the name of Tarquinius; and, on the death of Ancus, gains possession of the throne; defeats the Latines and Sabines; builds a wall round the city, and makes the common sewers; is slain by the sons of Ancus, and is succeeded by Servius Tullius. He institutes the census; divides the people into classes and centuries; extends the pomerium; is murdered by Lucius Tarquinius, afterwards surnamed Superbus. He seizes the throne, wages war with the Volscians, and, with their spoils, builds a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol; in consequence of his son Sextus having forcibly violated the chastity of Lucretia, he is dethroned and banished. Consuls elected.

## PREFACE.

WHETHER, in tracing the series of the Roman History, from the foundation of the city, I shall employ my time to good purpose, is a question which I cannot positively determine; nor, were it possible, would I venture to pronounce such determination; for I am aware that the matter is of high antiquity, and has been already treated by many others; the latest writers always supposing themselves capable, either of throwing some new light on the subject, or, by the superiority of their talents for composition, of excelling the more inelegant writers who preceded them. However that may be, I shall, at all events, derive no small satisfaction from the reflection that my best endeavours have been exerted in transmitting to posterity the achievements of the greatest people in the world; and if, amidst such a multitude of writers, my name should not emerge from obscurity, I shall console myself by attributing it to the eminent merit of those who stand in my way in the pursuit of fame. It may be further observed, that such a subject must require a work of immense extent, as our

researches must be carried back through a space of more than seven hundred years; that the state has, from very small beginnings, gradually increased to such a magnitude, that it is now distressed by its own bulk; and that there is every reason to apprehend that the generality of readers will receive but little pleasure from the accounts of its first origin, or of the times immediately succeeding, but will be impatient to arrive at that period, in which the powers of this overgrown state have been long employed in working their own destruction. On the other hand, this much will be derived from my labour, that, so long at least as I shall have my thoughts totally occupied in investigating the transactions of such distant ages, without being embarrassed by any of those unpleasing considerations, in respect of later days, which, though they might not have power to warp a writer's mind from the truth, would yet be sufficient to create uneasiness, I shall withdraw myself from the sight of the many evils to which our eyes have been so long accustomed. As to the relations which have been handed down of events prior to the founding of the city, or to the circumstances that gave occasion to its being founded, and



which bear the semblance rather of poetic fictions, than of authentic records of history — these, I have no intention either to maintain or refute. Antiquity is always indulged with the privilege of rendering the origin of cities more venerable, by intermixing divine with human agency; and if any nation may claim the privilege of being allowed to consider its original as sacred, and to attribute it to the operations of the gods, surely the Roman people, who rank so high in military fame, may well expect, that, while they choose to represent Mars as their own parent, and that of their founder, the other nations of the world may acquiesce in this, with the same deference with which they acknowledge their sovereignty. But what degree of attention or credit may be given to these and such-like matters I shall not consider as very material. To the following considerations, I wish every one seriously and earnestly to attend; by what kind of men, and by what sort of conduct, in peace and war, the empire has been both acquired and extended: then, as discipline gradually declined, let him follow in his thoughts the structure of ancient morals, at first, as it were, leaning aside, then sinking farther and farther, then beginning to fall precipitate, until he arrives at the present times, when our vices have attained to such a height of enormity, that we can no longer endure either the burden of them, or the sharpness of the necessary remedies. This is the great advantage to be derived from the study of history; indeed the only one which can make it answer any profitable and salutary purpose; for, being abundantly furnished with clear and distinct examples of every kind of conduct, we may select for ourselves, and for the state to which we belong, such as are worthy of imitation; and, carefully noting such, as, being dishonourable in their principles, are equally so in their effects, learn to avoid them. Now, either partiality to the subject of my intended work misleads me, or there never was any state either greater, or of purer morals, or richer in good examples, than this of Rome; nor was there ever any city into which avarice and luxury made their entrance so late, or where poverty and frugality were so highly and so long held in honour; men contracting their desires in proportion to the narrowness of their circumstances. Of late years, indeed, opulence has introduced a greediness for gain, and the boundless variety of dissolute pleasures has created,

in many, a passion for ruining themselves, and all around them. But let us, in the first stage at least of this undertaking, avoid gloomy reflections, which, when perhaps unavoidable, will not, even then, be agreeable. If it were customary with us, as it is with poets, we would more willingly begin with good omens, and vows, and prayers to the gods and goddesses, that they would propitiously grant success to our endeavours, in the prosecution of so arduous a task.

I. It has been handed down to us, as a certain fact, that the Greeks, when they had taken Troy, treated the Trojans with the utmost severity; with the exception, however, of two of them, Æneas and Antenor, towards whom they exercised none of the rights of conquest. This lenity they owed, partly, to an old connection of hospitality, and, partly, to their having been, all along, inclined to peace, and to the restoration of Helen. These chiefs experienced afterwards great varieties of fortune. Antenor, being joined by a multitude of the Henetians, who had been driven out of Paphlagonia in a civil war, and having lost their king Pylæmenes at Troy, were at a loss both for a settlement and a leader, came to the innermost bay of the Adriatic sea, and expelling the Euganeans, who then inhabited the tract between the Alps and the sea, settled the Trojans and Henetians in the possession of the country. The place where they first landed is called Troy, and from thence the Trojan canton also has its name; the nation in general were called Henetians. Æneas, driven from home by the same calamity, but conducted by the fates to an establishment of more importance, came first to Macedonia; thence, in search of a settlement, he sailed to Sicily, and from Sicily proceeded with his fleet to the country of the Laurentians.<sup>1</sup> Here also, to the spot where they landed was given the name of Troy. Here the Trojans disembarked; and as, after wandering about for a great length of time, they had nothing left, beside their ships and arms, they began to make prey of whatever they found in the country. On this king Latinus, and the Aborigines, who were then in possession of those lands, assembled hastily from the city and country, in order to repel the violence of the strangers. Of what followed, there are two

<sup>1</sup> The Trojans were in number about six hundred.

different accounts. Some writers say, that Latinus, being overcome in battle, contracted an alliance, and afterwards an affinity, with Æneas; others, that, when the armies were drawn up in order of battle, before the signal was given, Latinus, advancing in the front, invited the leader of the strangers to a conference; then inquired who they were, whence they came, what had induced them to leave their home, and with what design they had landed on the Laurentian coast; and that, when he was informed that the leader was Æneas, the son of Anchises by Venus, and his followers Trojans; that they had made their escape from the flames of their native city and of their houses, and were in search of a settlement, and a place where they might build a town; being struck with admiration of that renowned people and their chief, and of their spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand, and by that pledge assured him of his future friendship. A league was then struck between the leaders, and mutual salutations passed between the armies. Latinus entertained Æneas in his palace, and there, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic alliance to their public one, giving him his daughter in marriage. This event fully confirmed the hopes of the Trojans, that here, at last, they were to find an end of their wanderings; that here they would enjoy a fixed and permanent settlement. They built a town, which Æneas called Lavinium, from the name of his wife. In a short time after, his new consort bore him a son, who was named by his parents Ascanius.

II. The aborigines, in conjunction with the Trojans, soon found themselves engaged in a war. Turnus, king of the Rutulians, to whom Lavinia had been affianced before the arrival of Æneas, enraged at seeing a stranger preferred to him, declared war against both Æneas and Latinus. A battle that ensued gave neither army reason to rejoice. The Rutulians were defeated, and the victorious aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Whereupon Turnus and the Rutulians, diffident of their strength, had recourse to the flourishing state of the Etrurians, and their king Mezentius, who held his court at Cære, at that time an opulent city. He had been, from the beginning, not at all pleased at the foundation of the new city; and now began to think that the Trojan power was increasing to a degree inconsistent with the safety of the neighbouring states; and

therefore, without reluctance, concluded an alliance, and joined his forces with those of the Rutulians. Æneas, with the view of conciliating the affection of the aborigines, that he might be the better able to oppose such formidable enemies, gave to both the nations under his rule the name of Latines, that all should not only be governed by the same laws, but have one common name. From thenceforth the aborigine yielded not to the Trojans in zeal and fidelity towards their king Æneas. This disposition of the two nations, who coalesced daily with greater cordiality, inspired him with so much confidence, that, notwithstanding Etruria was possessed of such great power, that it had filled with the fame of its prowess not only the land, but the sea also, through the whole length of Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait; and although he might have remained within his fortifications, secure from any attack of the enemy, yet he led out his troops to the field. The battle that followed was, with respect to the Latines, their second, with respect to Æneas, the last of his mortal acts. He, by whatever appellation the laws of gods and men require him to be called, is deposited on the bank of the river Numicus. The people gave him the title of Jupiter Indiges.<sup>2</sup>

III. His son Ascanius was as yet too young to assume the government; nevertheless his title to the sovereignty remained unimpeached, until he arrived at maturity. During this interval, and under the regency of Lavinia, a woman of great capacity, the Latine state, and the united subjects of the prince's father and grandfather, continued firm in their allegiance. I am not without some doubts (for who can affirm with certainty in a matter of such antiquity?) whether this was the same Ascanius mentioned above, or one older than him, born of Creusa, wife to Æneas, before the destruction of Troy, and who accompanied his father in his flight from thence; whom, being also called Iulus, the Julian family claim as the founder of their name. /This Ascanius, where-soever, and of whatsoever mother born, certainly the son of Æneas, finding the number of inhabitants in Lavinium too great, left that city, then in a flourishing and opulent state, considering the circumstances of those times, to his

<sup>2</sup> Indiges is the term applied to deified heroes, otherwise called gods terrestrial.



mother, or stepmother, and built a new one on the Alban mount, which, from its situation being stretched along the hill, was called Alba Longa.<sup>1</sup> Between the building of Lavinium, and the transplanting the colony to Alba Longa, the interval was only about thirty years; yet so rapidly had this people increased in power, especially after the defeat of the Etrurians, that, not even on the death of Æneas, nor afterwards, during the regency of a woman, and the first essays of a youthful reign, did either Mezentius and the Etrurians, or any other of the bordering nations, dare to attempt hostilities against them. A peace was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the river Albula, now called the Tiber, should be the boundary between the Etrurians and Latines. Ascanius's son, called Sylvius, from his having by some accident been born in the woods, succeeded him in the kingdom. He begat Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards begat Latinus Sylvius. This prince planted several colonies, who have obtained the name of Ancient Latines. The surname of Sylvius was henceforward given to all those who reigned at Alba. Of Latinus was born Alba; of Alba, Atys; of Atys, Capys; of Capys, Capetus; of Capetus, Tiberinus; who, being drowned in endeavouring to cross the river Albula, gave to that river the name so celebrated among his posterity. Agrippa, son of Tiberinus, reigned next; after Agrippa, *Romulus*<sup>2</sup> Sylvius received the kingdom from his father, and being struck by lightning, de-mised it to Aventinus, who, being buried on that hill which is now a part of the city of Rome, gave it his name. To him succeeded Procas, who had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, as being the first-born, he bequeathed the ancient kingdom of the Sylvian family; but force prevailed over both the will of their father, and the respect due to priority of birth. Amulius dethroned his brother, took possession of the kingdom, and adding crime to crime, put to death the male offspring of Numitor, making his daughter Rhea Sylvia a vestal, under the specious pretence of doing her honour, but, in fact, to deprive her of all hope of issue, the vestals being obliged to vow perpetual virginity.<sup>3</sup>

IV. But the fates, I suppose, demanded the

foundings of this great city, and the first establishment of an empire, which is now, in power, next to the immortal gods. The vestal being deflowered by force, brought forth twins, and declared that the father of her doubtful offspring was Mars; either because she really thought so, or in hopes of extenuating the guilt of her transgression by imputing it to the act of a deity. But neither gods nor men screened her or her children from the king's cruelty: the priestess was loaded with chains, and cast into prison, and the children were ordered to be thrown into the stream of the river. It happened providentially that the Tiber, overflowing its banks, formed itself into stagnant pools in such a manner, as that the regular channel was every where inaccessible, and those who carried the infants supposed that they would be drowned in any water, however still. Wherefore, as if thereby fulfilling the king's order, they exposed the boys in the nearest pool, where now stands the Ruminal fig-tree, which, it is said, was formerly called Romular. Those places were at that time wild deserts. A story prevails that the retiring flood having left on dry ground the trough, hitherto floating, in which they had been exposed, a thirsty she-wolf from the neighbouring mountains directed her course to the cries of the children, and, stooping, presented her dugs to the infants, showing so much gentleness, that the keeper of the king's herds found her licking the boys with her tongue; and that this shepherd, whose name was Faustulus, carried them home to his wife Laurentia to be nursed. Some there are who think that this Laurentia, from her having been a prostitute, was, by the shepherds, called Lupa; and to this circumstance they ascribe the origin of this fabulous tale. Thus born, and thus educated, as soon as years supplied them with strength, they led not an inactive life at the stables, or among the cattle, but traversed the neighbouring forests in hunting. Hence acquiring vigour, both of body and mind, they soon began not only to withstand the wild beasts, but to attack robbers loaded with booty. The spoils thus acquired they divided with the shepherds; and, in company with these, the number of their young associates continually increasing, they carried on both their business, and their sports.

V. It is said that, even at that early period, the sports of the Lupercal,<sup>3</sup> which we still

<sup>1</sup> It was called Alba, from a white sow with a litter of thirty young ones, found there by Æneas.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the vestal virgins, see Dr Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> See Adam, p. 312.



celebrate, were practised on the Palatine hill, and that this was called *Palatium*, from *Pallanteum*, a city of *Arcadia*, and afterwards the *Palatine hill*; and that *Evander*, who was of that tribe of *Arcadians*, and had been many years before in possession of this part of the country, had instituted there this solemnity brought from *Arcadia*, in which young men were to run about naked, in sport and wantonness, in honour of *Lycean Pan*, whom the Romans afterwards called *Inuus*. While they were intent on the performance of these sports, the time of their celebration being generally known, the robbers, enraged at the loss of their booty, attacked them by surprise, having placed themselves in ambush. *Romulus* making a vigorous defence, extricated himself; but they took *Remus* prisoner, delivered him up to king *Amulius*, and had the assurance to accuse them both of criminal misbehaviour. The principal charge made against them was, that they had made violent inroads on the lands of *Numitor*, and, with a band of youths which they had collected, plundered the country in a hostile manner. In consequence of this, *Remus* was given up to *Numitor* to be punished. From the very beginning, *Faustulus* had entertained hopes, that the children, whom he educated, would prove to be descended of the royal blood; for he knew that the infants of *Rhea* had been exposed by order of the king, and that the time, when he had taken them up, corresponded exactly with that event; but he had resolved to avoid any hasty disclosure, unless some favourable conjuncture or necessity should require it. The necessity happened first; wherefore, constrained by his apprehensions, he imparted the affair to *Romulus*. It happened also that *Numitor*, while he had *Remus* in his custody, heard that the brothers were twins; and when he combined with this circumstance their age, and their turn of mind, which gave no indication of a servile condition, he was struck with the idea of their being his grandchildren; and, all his inquiries leading to the same conclusion, he was upon the point of acknowledging *Remus*. In consequence, a plot against the king was concerted between all the parties. *Romulus*, not going at the head of a band of youths, for he was unequal to an open attempt, but ordering the shepherds to come at a certain hour, by different roads, to the palace, forced his way to the king, and was supported by *Remus*, with another party, procured from the house of *Numitor*. Thus they put the king to death.

VI. In the beginning of the tumult, *Numitor*, calling out that the city was assaulted by an enemy, and the palace attacked, had drawn away the Alban youth to the citadel, on pretence of securing it by an armed garrison; and, in a little time, seeing the young men, after perpetrating the murder, coming towards him, with expressions of joy, he instantly called the people to an assembly, laid before them the iniquitous behaviour of his brother towards himself; the birth of his grandchildren, how they were begotten, how educated, how discovered; then informed them of the death of the usurper, and that he had himself encouraged the design. The youths at the same time advancing with their followers, through the midst of the assembly, saluted their grandfather as king; on which the multitude, testifying their assent by universal acclamations, ratified to him the royal title and authority. When *Numitor* was thus reinstated in the sovereignty at *Alba*, *Romulus* and *Remus* were seized with a desire of building a city in the place where they had been exposed and educated. There were great numbers of *Albans* and *Latines*, who could be spared for the purpose, and these were joined by a multitude of shepherds; so that, all together, they formed such a numerous body, as gave grounds to hope that *Alba* and *Lavinium* would be but small, in comparison with the city which they were about to found. These views were interrupted by an evil, hereditary in their family, ambition for rule. Hence arose a shameful contest; though they had in the beginning rested their dispute on this amicable footing, that, as they were twins, and consequently, no title to precedence could be derived from priority of birth, the gods, who were guardians of the place, should choose by auguries<sup>4</sup>, which of the two should give a name to the new city, and enjoy the government of it when built. *Romulus* chose the *Palatine*, *Remus* the *Aventine* mount, as their consecrated stands to wait the auguries. We are told that the first omen appeared to *Remus*, consisting of six vultures; and that, after this had been proclaimed, twice that number showed themselves to *Romulus*; on which each was saluted king by his own followers; the former claiming the kingdom, on the ground of the priority of time; the latter, on that of the number of the birds. On their meeting, an

<sup>4</sup> For an account of augurs, auspices, &c. see *Adam*, p. 296.

altercation ensued, then blows; and their passions being inflamed by the dispute, the affair proceeded at last to extremity, and murder was the consequence. Remus fell by a blow received in the tumult. There is another account more generally received, that Remus, in derision of his brother, leaped over the new wall, and that Romulus, enraged thereat, slew him, uttering at the same time this imprecation, "So perish every one that shall hereafter leap over my wall." By these means Romulus [year before Christ 751] came into the sole possession of the government, and the city, when built, was called after the name of its founder. The first buildings, which he raised, were on the Palatine hill, where he himself had been brought up. To the other deities he performed worship, according to the mode of the Albans, but to Hercules, according to that of the Greeks, as instituted by Evander.

VII. It is recorded that Hercules, after having slain Geryon, drove away his cattle, which were surprisingly beautiful; and that, being fatigued with travelling, he lay down, near the river Tiber, in a grassy place, to which he had swum over, driving the herd before him, in order to refresh the cattle with rest and the rich pasture. There, having indulged himself in meat and wine, he was overpowered by sleep; whereupon a shepherd, who dwelt in the neighbourhood, named Cacus, of great strength and fierceness, being struck with the beauty of the cattle, wished to make prey of some of them; but considering, that if he should drive the herd before him into his cave, their tracks would direct the owner's search, he dragged the cattle backward by the tails into the cave, picking out those that were the most remarkable for their beauty. Hercules awaking at the dawn of day, took a view of his herd, and missing some of the number, went directly to the next cave, to examine whether the footsteps led thither; but when he observed that they all pointed outward, and yet did not direct to any other quarter, perplexed, and not knowing how to act, he began to drive forward his herd from that unlucky place. Some of the cows, as they were driven off, missing those that were left behind, began, as was natural, to low after them, and the sound being returned from the cave, by those that were shut up in it, brought Hercules back. Cacus, endeavouring by force to prevent his approach to the cave, and invoking in vain the assistance of the shep-

herds, received a blow of his club, which put an end to his life. At that time, Evander, a native of Peloponnesus, who had removed hither, governed that part of the country, rather through an influence acquired by his merit, than any power of sovereignty vested in him. He was highly revered on account of his having introduced the wonderful knowledge of letters, a matter quite new to these men, who were ignorant of all the arts; and still more so, on account of the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta, whose prophetic powers had been an object of admiration to those nations, before the arrival of the Sibyl in Italy. Evander then, being alarmed by the concourse of the shepherds, hastened to the spot, where they were assembled in a tumultuous manner about the stranger, whom they accused as undeniably guilty of murder; and when he was informed of the fact, and of the cause of it, observing the person and mien of the hero, filled with more dignity and majesty than belonged to a human being, he inquired who he was: and being told his name, that of his father and his country, he addressed him in these words: "Hail, Hercules, son of Jove! my mother the infallible interpreter of the gods, foretold to me that you were destined to increase the number of the celestials, and that an altar would be dedicated to you in this place, which a nation, hereafter the most powerful in the world, should distinguish by the name of The Greatest,<sup>1</sup> and would offer thereon sacrifices to your honour." Hercules, giving his right hand, replied, that "he embraced the omen, and would fulfil the decree of the fates, by building and dedicating an altar in the place." There, then, for the first time, was performed a sacrifice to Hercules, of a chosen heifer taken out of the herd: and the Potitii, and Pinarii, the most distinguished families in the neighbourhood at the time, were invited to assist in the ceremonies, and share the entertainment. It happened that the Potitii attended in time, and the entrails were served up to them; the Pinarii, arriving after the entrails were eaten, came in for the rest of the feast; hence it continued a rule, as long as the Pinarian family existed, that they should not eat of the entrails. The Potitii, instructed by Evander, were directors of that solemnity for many ages, until

<sup>1</sup> Ara Maxima: it stood in the cattle market, where it remained in the time of Augustus.



the solemn office of the family was delegated to public servants, on which the whole race of the Potitii became extinct. These were the only foreign rites that Romulus then adopted, showing thereby, from the beginning, a respect for immortality obtained by merit, a dignity to which his own destiny was conducting him.

VIII. After paying due worship to the gods, he summoned the multitude to an assembly; and, knowing that they could never be brought to incorporate as one people by any other means, than by having their conduct directed by certain rules, he gave them a body of laws;<sup>2</sup> and judging, that if he added to the dignity of his own carriage, by assuming the ensigns of sovereignty, it would help to procure respect to those laws, among a rude uninformed people, he adopted a more majestic style of appearance, both with regard to his other appointments, and particularly in being attended by twelve lictors. Some think that he was led to fix on this number by that of the birds in the augury which had portended the kingdom to him: I am rather inclined to be of their opinion, who suppose that all the officers attendant on magistrates, and among the rest, the lictors, as well as the number of them, were borrowed from their neighbours, the Etrurians, from whom the curule chair, and the gown edged with purple, were taken; and that the Etrurians used that number, because their king being elected by the suffrages of twelve states, each state gave him one lictor. Meanwhile the city increased in buildings, which were carried on to an extent proportioned rather to the number of inhabitants they hoped for in future, than to what they had at the time.<sup>3</sup> But that its size might not increase beyond its strength, in order to augment his numbers, he had recourse to a practice common among founders of cities, who used to feign that the multitude of mean and obscure people, thus collected, had sprang out of the earth. He opened a sanctuary, in the place where the inclosure now is, on the road down from the Capitol, called The Pass of the Two Groves. Hither fled, from the neighbouring states, crowds of all sorts, without distinction, whether freemen or slaves, led by a fondness for novelty; and this it was that gave solidity to the growing greatness of

the city. Having reason now to be pretty well satisfied with his strength, he next made provision that this strength should be regulated by wisdom; and for that purpose, he created a hundred senators,<sup>4</sup> either because that number was sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred citizens who could prove their descent from respectable families. They were certainly styled Fathers from their honourable office, and their descendants Patricians.

IX. The Roman state had now attained such a degree of power, that it was a match in arms for any of the neighbouring nations; but, from the small number of its women, its greatness was not likely to last longer than one age of man, as they had neither hopes of offspring among themselves, nor had yet contracted any intermarriages with their neighbours. Romulus, therefore, by advice of the senate, sent ambassadors round to all the adjoining states, soliciting their alliance, and permission for his new subjects to marry among them; he intimated to them, that "cities, like every thing else, rise from low beginnings; that, in time, those which are supported by their own merit, and the favour of the gods, procure to themselves great power, and a great name; and that he had full assurance both that the gods favoured the founding of Rome, and that the people would not be deficient in merit. Wherefore, as men, they ought to show no reluctance to mix their blood and race with men." In no one place were his ambassadors favourably heard; such contempt of them did people entertain, and, at the same time, such apprehensions of danger to themselves and their posterity, from so great a power growing up in the midst of them. By the greater part, they were dismissed with the question, "whether they had opened an asylum for women also, for that would be the only way to procure suitable matches for them?" This was highly resented by the Roman youth, insomuch that the business appeared evidently to point towards violence. Romulus, in order to afford them a convenient time and place for a design of that sort, dissembling his displeasure, prepared,

<sup>2</sup> Without doubt, he framed the government, and the laws, nearly on the model of those established at Alba.

<sup>3</sup> About 3000 foot, and 900 horsemen.

<sup>4</sup> This expression must be understood in a qualified sense, in the same manner as when a magistrate, presiding at an election, is said to elect such and such persons. Romulus nominated one senator; each tribe, and each curia, chose three; and thus the number was made up.



with that intent, to celebrate solemn games in honour of the equestrian Neptune,<sup>1</sup> to which he gave the name of Consualia. He then ordered the intended celebration to be proclaimed among the neighbouring nations, while his people exerted themselves in making the most magnificent preparations that their knowledge and abilities allowed, in order to engage attention and raise expectation. Great numbers of people assembled, induced, in some measure, by a desire of seeing the new city, especially those whose countries lay nearest, the Cæninensians, Crustuminians, and Antemnatiens, especially the whole multitude of the Sabines came with their wives and children. They were hospitably invited to the different houses; and when they viewed the situation, and the fortifications, and the city crowded with houses, they were astonished at the rapid increase of the Roman power. When the show began, [Year of Rome, 4. B. C. 748.] and every person's thoughts and eyes were attentively engaged on it, then, according to the preconcerted plan, on a signal being given, the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off the young women. Some they bore away as they happened to meet with them, without waiting to make a choice; but others of extraordinary beauty, being designed for the principal senators, were conveyed to their houses by plebeians employed for that purpose. It is said, that one highly distinguished above the rest for her beauty, was carried off by the party of one Talassius; and that in answer to many who eagerly inquired to whom they were hurrying her, they, every now and then, to prevent any interruption in their course, cried out, that they were carrying her to Talassius: this circumstance gave rise to the use of that word at weddings. The terror occasioned by this outrage put an end to the sports, and the parents of the young women retired full of grief, inveighing against such a violation of the laws of hospitality, and appealing to the god, to whose solemn festival and games they had come, relying on the respect due to religion, and on the faith of nations. Nor did the women who were seized entertain better hopes

with regard to themselves, or a less degree of indignation: however Romulus went about in person, and told them, that "this proceeding had been occasioned by the haughtiness of their parents, who refused to allow their neighbours to marry among them; that, notwithstanding this, they should be united to his people in wedlock in the common enjoyment of all property, and of their common children; a bond of union than which the human heart feels none more endearing. He begged of them to soften their resentment, and to bestow their affections on those men on whom chance had bestowed their persons. It often happened, he said, that too harsh treatment mutual regard had succeeded, and they would find their husbands behave the better on this very account; that every one would exert himself, not merely in performing his duty as a husband, but to make up to them for the loss of their parents and of their country." To these persuasions was added, the soothing behaviour of their husbands themselves, who urged, in extenuation of the violence they had been tempted to commit, the excess of passion, and the force of love: arguments, than which there can be none more powerful to assuage the irritation of the female mind.

X. The women, who had been forcibly carried off, soon became reconciled to their situation; but their parents, still more than at first, endeavoured to rouse their several states to revenge, employing both complaints and tears, and wearing the dress of mourners. Nor did they confine their demands of vengeance within the limits of their own states, but made joint applications from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, the embassies being addressed to him as the person of the highest renown in all those parts. The people who were the principal sufferers by the outrage, were the Cæninensians, the Crustuminians, and the Antemnatiens. To them, the proceedings of Tatius and the Sabine nation appeared too dilatory; wherefore these three states, uniting in a confederacy, prepared for immediate war. Nor did even the Crustuminians and Antemnatiens exert activity enough for the impatient rage of the Cæninensians. This state, therefore, alone, made an irruption into the Roman territories; but while they carried on their ravages in a disorderly manner, Romulus met them, and, without much difficulty, taught them that rage without strength

<sup>1</sup> So called, from his having produced the first horse from the earth by a stroke of his trident. Romulus called him Consus, the god of counsel, as having suggested the scheme of seizing the women. The games, which he called Consualia, were afterwards termed the Roman, or the great games; they lasted, at first, one day, then two, three, and, at length, nine days.

avails but little. He routed and dispersed their army; pursued it in its flight; slew their king in the battle, and seized his spoils; after which he made himself master of their city at the first assault. From thence he led home his victorious troops; and being not only capable of performing splendid actions, but also fond of displaying those actions to advantage, he marched up in procession to the Capitol, carrying on a frame, properly constructed for the purpose, the spoils of the enemy's general whom he had slain; and there laying them down under an oak, which the shepherds accounted sacred, he, at the same time, while he offered this present, marked out with his eye the bounds of a temple for Jupiter, to whom he gave a new name, saying, "Jupiter, Fere-trius", in acknowledgment of the victory which I have obtained, I, Romulus the king, offer to thee these royal arms, and dedicate a temple to thee on that spot which I have now measured out in my mind, to be a repository for those grand spoils, which, after my example, generals in future times shall offer, on slaying the kings and generals of their enemies." This was the origin of that temple which was the first consecrated in Rome. Accordingly, it pleased the gods so to order, that neither the prediction of the founder of the temple, intimating that future generals should carry spoils thither, should prove erroneous, nor that the honour of making such offerings should be rendered common, by being imparted to many. In after-times, during so many years, and so many wars, there have been only two instances of the grand spoils being obtained; so rare was the attainment of that high honour.

XI. While the Romans were thus employed, the army of the Antemnians, taking advantage of the opportunity which the country being left without troops afforded them, made a hostile incursion into the Roman territories; but a Roman legion,<sup>2</sup> hastily led out, surprised

them, while they straggled through the country. They were routed therefore at the first onset, and their town was taken. While Romulus exulted in this second victory, his consort, Hersilia, teased by the intreaties of the captured women, earnestly petitioned him that he would show favour to their parents and admit them into the number of his citizens, a measure which could not fail of forming an union satisfactory to all parties. This request was easily obtained. He then marched against the Crustuminians, who were carrying on hostilities: with these he had still less trouble than with the Antemnians, because they had been dispirited by the defeats of their allies. Colonies were sent to both countries, but greater numbers were found willing to give in their names for Crustumium, on account of the fertility of the soil. There were frequent migrations also from those places to Rome, chiefly of the parents and relations of the ravished women. The last war, on this occasion, was begun by the Sabines; [Y. R. 5. B. C. 747.] and it was by far the most formidable, for none of their operations were directed by rage or passion, nor did they disclose their intentions until they began to act. They employed stratagem, too, in aid of prudence. The Roman citadel was commanded by Spurius Tarpeius. His maiden daughter, who had accidentally gone without the fortifications to bring water for the sacred rites, was bribed by Tatius with gold to admit some of his troops into the citadel. As soon as they gained admittance they put her to death, by throwing their armour in a heap upon her, either because they wished that the citadel should rather appear to have been taken by storm, or for the sake of establishing a precedent that faith was not to be kept with a traitor. The story is told in another manner: that, as the Sabines generally carried on their left arms bracelets of great weight, and wore rings set with precious stones, which made a great show, she bargained for what they wore on their left arms; accordingly, instead of the presents of gold which she expected, they threw their shields upon her. Others say, that, in pursuance of their agreement to deliver up what was on their left arms, she expressly demanded their shields; and this seeming to be done with a treacherous intent, she was put to death by means of the very reward which she required.

XII. The Sabines however kept possession of the citadel; but though, on the following

<sup>2</sup> So called, from the *feretrum*, or frame, supporting the spoils. The second *spolia opima*, or grand spoils, were offered by Cornelius Cossus, who killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientians; and the third by Claudius Marcellus, who killed Viridomarus, a king of the Gauls. The spoils, called *spolia opima*, or grand, or chief, spoils, were so denominated when they were taken from a king or general-in-chief, commanding an army.

<sup>3</sup> So called from *legere*, to choose, to select. The legion consisted, at this time, of 3000 foot and 300 horse. The number afterwards was generally 4000 foot and 300 horse; and sometimes augmented to 6000 foot and 400 horse. It was divided into 10 cohorts, 30 companies, and 60 centuries.



day, the Roman army, in order of battle, filled the whole plain between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, yet they did not come down to the level ground; until the Romans, stimulated by rage and eagerness to recover the citadel, advanced to an assault. The foremost champions of the two parties, who led on the troops, were Mettius Curtius on the side of the Sabines, and Hostus Hostilius on that of the Romans. The latter, in the front of the army, by his spirit and intrepidity, enabled the Romans to support the fight, in spite of the disadvantage of the ground; but, on his falling, the Roman soldiers quickly gave way, and were driven back to the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus himself being forced along by the flying crowd, raised his hands toward heaven, and said, "O Jupiter! by the direction of thy auspices, I, here on the Palatine hill, laid the first foundation of my city. The Sabines are already in possession of our citadel, which they obtained by fraud; from thence they now make their way hither in arms, and have passed the middle of the valley; but do thou, O father of gods and men! from hence at least repel the enemy; remove dismay from the minds of the Romans, and stop their shameful flight. I vow a temple here to thee, Jupiter Stator,<sup>1</sup> as a testimony to posterity of the city being preserved by thy immediate aid." Having prayed thus, as if he had perceived that his supplications were heard, he called out, "Here, Romans, Jupiter, supremely good and great, orders you to halt, and renew the fight." The Romans, as if they had heard a voice from heaven, halted, and Romulus himself flew forward to the front. On the side of the Sabines, Mettius Curtius had run down first from the citadel; had driven back the Romans, in disorder, through the whole space at present occupied by the Forum, and was now at no great distance from the gate of the Palatium, crying aloud, "We have conquered these traitors to hospitality, these cowards in war. They now feel that it is one thing to ravish virgins, and another, far different, to fight with men." While he was vaunting in this manner, Romulus attacked him with a band of the most courageous of the youths. Mettius happened at that time to fight on horseback, and on that account was the more easily repulsed: he soon gave way, and was pursued by the Romans: the rest of the Roman troops also animated by the bravery

of their king, put the Sabines to the rout. Mettius was plunged into a lake, his horse taking fright at the noise of the pursuers; and this circumstance turned the attention of the Sabines to the danger in which they saw a person of so much consequence to them. However his friends beckoning and calling to him, he acquired fresh courage from the affection of the multitude, and accomplished his escape. Both parties now renewed the engagement in the plain between the two hills, but the advantage was on the side of the Romans.

XIII. At this crisis the Sabine women, whose sufferings had given cause to the war, with their hair dishevelled and garments torn, their natural timidity being overcome by the sight of such disastrous scenes, had the resolution to throw themselves in the way of the flying weapons; and, rushing across between the armies, separated the incensed combatants, and assuaged their fury; beseeching, on the one hand their parents, on the other their husbands, "not to pollute themselves with the impious stain of the blood of father-in-law and son-in-law, nor brand with the infamy of parricide their offspring, the children of one, and grandchildren of the other party. If ye wish, said they, to destroy the affinity and connection formed between you by our marriage, turn your rage against us; we are the cause of the war: we are the cause of wounds and death to our husbands and fathers. It is better for us to perish, than to live either widowed by the loss of one party, or fatherless by that of the other." This transaction powerfully affected both the multitude and the leaders: silence suddenly ensued, and a suspension of the fight. The commanders then came forward, in order to concert measures for a pacification; [Y. R. 7. B. C. 745.] and they not only concluded a peace, but combined the two nations into one, associating the two sovereigns in the government, and establishing the seat of empire at Rome. By this accession the number of citizens was doubled; and, as some compliment to the Sabines, the united people were called *Quirites*, from the town of Cures. To perpetuate the remembrance of that battle, the place where his horse, emerging from the deep of the lake, first brought Curtius to a shallow, was called the Curtian lake." This happy re-establishment

<sup>1</sup> From *stare*, to halt.

<sup>2</sup> This name it retained long after it was filled up, and became a part of the Forum.



of peace, after a war so distressing, rendered the Sabine women still dearer both to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself, so that, when he divided the people into thirty *Curias*,<sup>3</sup> he gave these the names of the women. But as the number of the women was undoubtedly greater than that of the *Curias*, whether those who were to give their names to them were selected on account of their age, or their own dignity, or that of their husbands, or by lot, we are not informed. At the same time also, three centuries of knights were enrolled; the *Ramnenses*, so called from Romulus; the *Titenses*, from Titus Tatius; and the *Luceres*, the reason of whose name and origin is unknown. Thenceforward the two kings reigned together, only not with equal power, but with concord.

XIV. Several years after, some relations of king Tatius offered violence to the ambassadors of the *Laurentians*; for which violation of the law of nations, the latter demanded satisfaction; but Tatius paid more regard to the interest and importunities of his relations, and thereby drew upon himself the punishment due to them. For he was slain afterwards at Lavinium, in a tumult raised on his going thither to an anniversary sacrifice. It is said, that Romulus showed less resentment of this proceeding than became him, either because there had been no sincere cordiality between them, while associated in the government, or because he thought that the other deserved the death which he met. He avoided therefore entering into a war on the occasion; but to make some atonement for the ill-treatment of the ambassadors, and the murder of the king, the league between the cities of Rome and Lavinium was renewed. Thus, beyond their expectations, the Romans enjoyed peace on that side; but a war broke out from another quarter, much nearer home, and almost at their gates. The *Fidenatians*, looking with jealousy on the great increase of power in so near a neighbour, determined to

make war on them before they should arrive at that degree of strength which it was evident they would in time acquire, and sent a body of young men in arms, who laid waste the whole country between Fidenæ and the city. Then, turning to the left hand, because the Tiber confined them on the right, and continuing their depredations, they threw the country people into the utmost consternation, and the sudden alarm spreading from the country into the city, made known what had happened. Romulus instantly led out his forces, for a war so near home admitted no delay, and pitched his camp at the distance of a mile from Fidenæ. Leaving there a small guard, and marching out with all the rest of his troops, he ordered a party to lie in ambush, among the bushes that grew there in abundance; then advancing with the other more numerous body of infantry, and all the cavalry, by riding up almost to the gates, and offering battle, in an irregular and insulting manner, he drew the enemy out of the town as he wished. The cavalry, acting in this manner, answered also another purpose, as it afforded a more specious pretext for the retreat, which he was to counterfeit; and when the foot too began to retire, while the horse seemed irresolute, whether to fight or fly, the enemy rushing suddenly out of the gates in crowds, eager to pursue and press on the Roman army in its retreat, were drawn to the place of the ambuscade. The Romans, now rising suddenly, attacked their line in flank; and the ensigns of those who had been left to guard the camp, advancing at the same time, added to their fears. Dismayed at so many dangers, the *Fidenatians* fled, before Romulus; and the horsemen with him, could well turn to pursue them. Thus they, who had lately pursued an enemy, who only pretended to fly, now fled themselves in earnest, with much greater haste, back to the city; but they could not get clear of the enemy; the Romans pressing close on their rear, rushed into the city along with them, before the gates could be shut.

XV. The contagion of the *Fidenatian* war infected the *Veientians*. Induced by the relationship subsisting between them and the *Fidenatians*, (for they also were *Etrurians*.) and urged on besides by their dangerous vicinity of situation, in case the Roman arms were to be turned against all their neighbours, made an incursion into the Roman territories, in the manner of a predatory, rather than of a regular,

<sup>3</sup> He divided the city into three tribes: the *Ramnenses*, so called from Romulus, being his original followers; the *Titenses*, from Titus Tatius, composed of the Sabines; and the *Luceres*, of those who had assembled in the *Lucus*, or sanctuary, or afterwards joined the Romans. Each tribe he divided into ten *curias*, or wards. Each *curia* had its own priest, called *curio*, and its own place of worship, where, on certain stated days, sacrifices were offered to particular deities; and the people of the *curia* feasted together. The centuries of knights were named after the tribes out of which they were taken.

war; and thus, without encamping or waiting the approach of the enemy's army, they returned to Veii, carrying home the plunder collected in the country. On the other side, the Roman commander, not finding the enemy in the country, and being prepared for, and determined on, a decisive action, crossed over the Tiber. The Veientians, hearing that he was forming a camp, and that he intended to advance to their city, marched out to meet him; for they chose rather to engage in the open field, than to remain shut up, and fight from the walls and houses. There, unassisted by any stratagem, the Roman king, through the mere force of his veteran troops, obtained the victory, and pursued the routed enemy to their walls. The city was so strong, and so well secured both by art and by nature, that he did not choose to attempt it, but led home his troops; and, in his way, ravaged the enemy's country for the sake of revenge rather than of booty. These devastations having distressed the Veientians no less than the loss of the battle, they sent deputies to Rome to sue for peace. A part of their lands was taken from them, and a truce granted for a hundred years. These were the principal transactions in peace and war, during the reign of Romulus; and none of them was unsuitable to the belief of his divine origin, or to the rank of a divinity, which after his death he was supposed to have obtained. This may be said of the spirit which he showed in recovering the kingdom for his grandfather, as well as of his wise conduct in founding the city, and establishing its power, by the arts both of war and peace; for, by the strength which it acquired under his management, it became so respectable, that, during forty years after, it enjoyed profound peace and security. He stood, however, much higher in the favour of the people than he did in that of the senate; and was yet more beloved by his army. He established a body-guard of three hundred men, whom he called *Celeres*;<sup>1</sup> and these he kept constantly about his person, in time of peace as well as war.

XVI. Such were his achievements in his

<sup>1</sup> Or, the Swift, if we suppose them to derive their name from the Latin word *celer*. This must be allowed to be the most probable origin of the appellation, although it must be admitted to be by no means certain, that they were not so called, as some allege, from the name of their captain, Celer; while others contend that they were so called from the Greek word *Kíng*, which signifies a horseman.

mortal state. One day, while holding an assembly in the plain, on the borders of the lake of Capra, for the purpose of reviewing his army, a sudden storm arose, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning; the king was enveloped in a thick cloud, which hid him from the eyes of the assembly, and was never more seen upon earth. The Roman youth were at length eased of their apprehensions, by the return of calm and serene weather, after such a turbulent day; but when they saw the royal seat empty, though they readily believed the senators, who had stood nearest to him, that he had been carried up on high by the storm, yet they were struck with such dread at being thus left in a manner fatherless, that, for some time, they remained in mournful silence. At last, some few setting the example, the whole multitude saluted Romulus as "a deity, the son of a deity; the king and parent of the city of Rome;" and implored his favour, with prayers, that he would be pleased always "propitiously to watch over the safety of his own offspring." Some, I believe, even at that time, harboured silent suspicions that the king had been torn in pieces by the hands of the senators. Such a report was spread abroad, but it was little credited, both on account of the high admiration entertained of the man, and because the general consternation caused the other account to be more universally received. It is farther mentioned, that a contrivance of one particular man procured additional credit to this representation of the matter; for Proculus Julius, a person whose testimony, as we are told, deserved respect in any case, even of the greatest importance, while the public were full of grief for the king, and of displeasure against the senators, came out into an assembly of the people, and said, "Romans, yesterday, at the dawn of day, Romulus, the parent of this our city, descending suddenly from heaven, appeared before me; and when, seized with horror, I stood in a worshipping posture, and addressed him, with prayers, that I might be allowed to behold him without being guilty of impiety, Go, said he, tell the Romans that it is the will of the gods that my Rome should be the metropolis of the world. Let them therefore cultivate the arts of war; and be assured, and hand this assurance down to posterity, that no human power is able to withstand the Roman arms. After these words, he went up, and vanished from my sight." It



was wonderful how readily the story was credited on this man's word; and how much the grief of the people, and of the army, was assuaged, by their being satisfied of his immortality.

XVII. Meanwhile the minds of the senators were agitated by ambition and contention for the vacant throne. Factions had not yet taken their rise from the interests of individuals; for, among a new people, no one yet possessed any eminent superiority over the rest. The contest lay between the different bodies of which the state was composed; those of Sabine descent were anxious that a king should be chosen from among them, apprehensive lest they might lose their claim by disuse, there having been no king of their race since the death of Tatius: although, by the terms of the union, they were entitled to equal privileges. On the other hand, the original Romans spurned the thought of a foreigner being placed on the throne. Notwithstanding this diversity in their views, yet all concurred in wishing for a king, for they had not yet tasted the sweets of liberty. The senate now began to fear, lest as the sentiments of many of the neighbouring states were very unfriendly towards them, some foreign power might attack them, while the state was destitute of a government, and the army destitute of a commander. Every one therefore was desirous that there should be some head, but no one party could be induced to give way to another. In this difficulty, the senators shared the government among themselves; forming out of their number, which consisted of a hundred, ten decades, with one president in each, who were to have the direction of public affairs. Each ten governed jointly; the president alone had the lictors and other badges of sovereignty. The time of each holding the government was limited to five days, and the administration went to them all in rotation. In this manner a year [Y. R. 38. B. C. 714.] passed without a king; and that interval, from this circumstance, was called an interregnum; which term is still applied to similar interruptions of the regular government. By this time, the people began to murmur, alleging that slavery was multiplied on them; that they had a hundred masters set over them instead of one; and it became evident that they would no longer be satisfied without a king, nor without one chosen by themselves. The senators, perceiving that

such schemes were in agitation, judged it prudent to make a voluntary offer of what they could not much longer retain. Yet while they gratified the people in surrendering to them the sovereign power, they took care not to give up a larger share of privilege than they kept in their own hands; for they passed a decree, that, when the people should elect a king that election should not be valid, unless the senate approved their choice. And, to this day, the same right is claimed with respect to the enacting of laws, and the appointing of magistrates; though the efficacy of it has been quite taken away: at present, before the people begin to vote, the senate previously declare their approbation of the proceedings of the assembly, and that, even before they are yet resolved upon. The interrex, then, having called an assembly, said, "Romans! be the event prosperous, fortunate, and happy; elect a king: the fathers have thought proper to decree that it should be so. If ye choose a person worthy to be esteemed a fit successor to Romulus, the fathers will join their approbation." This proceeding was so pleasing to the people, that, lest they might appear to be outdone in generosity, they voted, and ordered, nothing more than that the senate should determine, by their decree, who should be king of Rome.

XVIII. There was at that time a person named Numa Pompilius,<sup>3</sup> who was universally celebrated for justice and piety: he lived at Cures, in the country of the Sabines; and was as eminently skilled, as any one in that age could be, in all laws human and divine: he was supposed to have been instructed by Pythagoras of Samos; for which supposition there is no other foundation, than its not being known from what other quarter he derived his knowledge: certain it is, that more than a hundred years after this period, in the reign of Servius Tullius, Pythagoras assembled the youth of the remoter parts of Italy, about Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton, and had them instructed under his own direction. From places so remote, even if he had lived in the time of Numa, how could such a character of him have reached the Sabines, as should have inspired them with the desire of receiving his instructions? In what common language could they have com-

<sup>3</sup> He was the son of a Sabine nobleman, and had been married to a daughter of King Tatius, but was now a widower.



municated? or with what safety could a single man have made his way thither, through so many nations differing in their language and manners? I therefore rather believe, that his mind was, by nature, furnished with virtuous dispositions, and that the instructions which he received were, not so much in foreign learning, as in the coarse and severe discipline of the Sabines, than whom no race of men were less corrupted by refinements. On hearing the name of Numa Pompilius, although the Roman fathers saw that the balance of power would incline to the Sabines, if a king were chosen from among them, yet, no one presuming to prefer himself, or any other of his own party, or, in short, any one of the fathers, or citizens, to him, they all, to a man, concurred in voting that the kingdom should be conferred on Numa Pompilius. [Y. R. 39. B. C. 713.] When he arrived, in consequence of their invitation, he ordered, that, as Romulus, on the founding of the city, had obtained the sovereign power by an augury, so the gods should be consulted, in like manner, concerning himself. Accordingly, being conducted into the citadel by an augur, to which profession was annexed, for ever after, by public authority, the honour of performing that solemn office, he sat down on a stone with his face turned towards the south: the augur took his seat at his left hand, with his head covered, holding in his right hand a crooked wand free from knots, which they called *lituus*; then, taking a view towards the city, and the adjacent country, after offering prayers to the gods he marked out the regions of the sky from east to west; the parts towards the south, he called the right, those toward the north, the left; and, in front of him, he set, in his mind, a boundary at the greatest distance that his eye could reach. Then, shifting the *lituus* into his left hand, and laying his right on Numa's head, he prayed in this manner:—"Father Jupiter, if it is thy will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, display to us, we beseech thee, clear tokens of the same, within those limits which I have marked out." He then named the particular auspices, which he wished should be sent; and these having appeared, Numa was declared king, and came down from the consecrated stand.

XIX. Being thus put in possession of the kingdom, and considering that the city was but of short standing, and had been founded by

means of violence and arms, he formed a design of establishing it anew, upon principles of justice, laws, and morals; and, knowing that the minds of the people, rendered ferocious by a military life, would never accommodate themselves to the practice of these, during the continuance of war, he resolved, by a disuse of arms, to mollify the fierceness of their temper. With this view, he built a temple to Janus,<sup>1</sup> near the foot of the hill Argiletum,<sup>2</sup> which was to notify a state either of war or of peace: when open, it denoted that the state was engaged in war; when shut, that there was peace with all the surrounding nations. Since the reign of Numa, it has been shut but twice; once in the consulate of Titus Manlius, upon the conclusion of the first Punic war: the happiness of seeing it once more shut, the gods granted to our own times, when, after the battle of Actium, the emperor Cæsar Augustus established universal peace, on land and sea. This temple he then shut; and having, by treaties and alliances, secured the friendship of all his neighbours, and thereby removed all apprehension of danger from abroad, he made it his first aim, lest the dispositions of the people, which had hitherto been restrained by fear of their enemies, and by military discipline, should, in time of tranquillity, grow licentious, to inspire them with fear of the gods; a principle of the greatest efficacy with the multitude, in that rude and ignorant age. And as this did not seem likely to make much impression on their minds, without the aid of some pretended miracle, he made them believe that he had nightly meetings with the goddess Egeria; and that, by her direction, he instituted the sacred rites, most acceptable to the gods, and appointed proper priests for each of the deities. His first undertaking was to divide the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon: and because the moon does not make up the number of thirty days in each month, and consequently there are some days wanted to fill

<sup>1</sup> Janus is the most ancient king in Italy, of whom any knowledge has been handed down to posterity: he was the first who introduced civilization, and the useful arts, among the wild inhabitants of that country. He is represented with two faces, as knowing both the past and the future: sometimes with four; in which latter form, one of the many temples dedicated to him at Rome, was erected; having four equal sides, on each side one door and three windows; the four doors were emblematical of the seasons; the twelve windows, of the months; and the whole, of the year.

<sup>2</sup> A small hill to the east of the Palatine.

up the complete year, formed by the revolution of the sun, he managed in such a manner, by inserting intercalary months, that every twenty-fourth year, the space of all the intermediate years being completed, the days coincided with the same position of the sun from whence they had set out. He also appointed days of business, and days of cessation therefrom, foreseeing how expedient it would be in future, that there should be times wherein no business could be brought before the people.

XX. He next turned his thoughts to the appointment of priests, though he performed in person the greatest part of the sacred rites, especially those which now belong to the office of the flamen of Jupiter;<sup>3</sup> judging, that in such a warlike state, the greater number of kings would resemble Romulus, rather than Numa, and would go abroad themselves to war; therefore, lest the sacred rites, the performance of which pertained to the office of the king, should be neglected, he created a flamen of Jove, who was to attend constantly on the duties of that priesthood, and decorated him with a splendid dress, and a royal curule chair. He created likewise two other flamens; one of Mars, the other of Quirinus. He also selected virgins for the service of Vesta, an order of priesthood derived from Alba, and therefore related, in some sort, to the family of the founder of the city. For these he fixed a stipend, to be paid out of the public treasury, that they might, without interruption, attend to the business of the temple; and by enjoining virginity, and other religious observances, gave them a sanctity of character that attracted veneration. He elected also twelve priests, called *salii*, for Mars Gradivus; and gave them as an ornament of distinction, a flowered tunic, and, over the tunic, a brazen covering for the breast. He ordered these to carry the celestial armour, called *Ancilia*, and go in procession through the city, singing hymns, with leaping and solemn dancing. He then chose out of the senators, a pontiff, named Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, and gave him a written and sealed copy of the institutions respecting all the sacred rites, together with directions as to what victims,

and on what days, and in what temples, each should be performed; and out of what funds the expenses of them should be defrayed. He also subjected all other religious performances, whether public or private, to the determination of the pontiff; in order that there should be an authorized person to whom the people might, on every occasion, resort for instruction lest, through their neglect of the rites of their own country, or the introduction of foreign ones, irregularities might take place in the worship of the gods. The same pontiff was also to determine all matters relative, not only to the invocation of the celestial gods, but to funeral solemnities, and the worship of the infernal deities, and when and how such prodigies as appeared either by lightning or any other phenomenon, should be attended to and expiated. For the purpose of obtaining information of the sentiments of the deities, respecting these matters, he dedicated an altar, on the Aventine, to Jupiter Elicius;<sup>4</sup> and consulted the gods, by auguries, concerning the prodigies that were to be expiated.

XXI. The attention of the whole community being diverted from violence and arms, to the considering and adjusting of these matters, necessarily prevented idleness; whilst reverence towards the gods, with the thought of the deity of heaven interfering in the concerns of mankind, filled their breasts with such a degree of piety, that good faith, and regard to the obligation of oaths, operated as powerfully on their minds, as the dread of the laws and of punishment. And while the people formed their manners after the example of the king, as the most perfect model, the neighbouring powers, who had formerly looked upon Rome, not as a city, but as a camp pitched in the midst of them, for the purpose of disturbing the general peace, were brought to entertain such respect for it, as to deem any one guilty of impiety, who should give trouble to a state entirely occupied in the worship of the gods. There was a grove, in the centre of which, from out of a dark cave, flowed a rivulet, fed by a perpetual spring; thither it was Numa's custom frequently to repair unattended, to meet, as he pretended, the goddess Egeria. He therefore dedicated it to the muses, they having been, he alleged, of her councils whom he called his spouse. To Faith, under the de-

<sup>3</sup> For a full account of the duty and office of the different flamens, see Dr Adam's *Roman Antiquities*. Also for those of the vestal virgins, and the *salii*, mentioned in this chapter, see the same learned work, which may be considered as a perpetual commentary upon the Roman historians, in general, and Livy, in particular.

<sup>4</sup> From *elicere*, to solicit information.



signation of Single Faith, he instituted an anniversary festival; in the celebration of which, he ordered the flamens to be carried in a covered chariot, drawn by two horses; and, while employed in the worship of her, to have their hands covered, close down to the fingers, to signify that Faith was to be carefully preserved, and that even its seat, in the right hand, was sacred. He appointed many other sacrifices, and consecrated the places where they were to be performed, which the priests call Argenses. But the greatest of all his works was the establishment of a permanent peace, which he maintained through the whole course of his reign, with no less care than he employed in securing his own authority. Thus two kings in succession, by different methods, one by warlike, the other by peaceful institutions, contributed to the aggrandisement of the state. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The nation, by this time, became possessed not only of great strength, but had also attained to a competent knowledge of the arts both of war and peace.

XXII. On the death of Numa, an interregnum again took place. [Y. R. 82. B. C. 60.] After some time, the people elected to the throne Tullus Hostilius, grandson to that Hostilius who distinguished himself in the battle with the Sabines, at the foot of the citadel; and the senate gave their approbation. He was not only of a temper very different from that of the late king, but more warlike in his disposition than even Romulus himself. His youth and vigour, and at the same time, the renown of his grandfather, stimulated his native courage. Thinking, therefore, that the strength of the state was growing languid, through inactivity, he sought on all sides for an opportunity of stirring up a war. It happened that some Roman and Alban peasants committed mutual depredations on each other's lands: at this time, C. Cluilius held the government of Alba. Ambassadors were sent from both sides, at nearly the same time, to demand restitution. Tullus gave orders to his, that they should attend to nothing else, until they executed their commission: he well knew that the Alban would give a refusal, and then war might be proclaimed, without incurring the charge of impiety. The Albans proceeded with less despatch; being courteously and liberally entertained by Tullus in his palace, they cheerfully enjoyed the pleasures of the king's table.

Meanwhile, the Romans had made the first demand of restitution, and, on the Alban's refusal, had declared war to commence on the thirtieth day after, and returned to Tullus with an account of their proceedings. He then gave the ambassadors an opportunity of proposing the business of their embassy; they, entirely ignorant of what had passed, spent some time, at first, in making apologies; that "it was very disagreeable to them to say any thing that would not be pleasing to Tullus, but that they were compelled by their instructions: they came to demand restitution, and if that were not granted, had orders to declare war." To this Tullus answered: "Tell your king, that the king of Rome appeals to the gods, to judge which of the two states first dismissed, with a refusal, the ambassadors of the other demanding restitution: that, upon that state, they may inflict all the calamities of this war."

XXIII. This answer the Albans carried home, [Y. R. 85. B. C. 667.] and both parties made the most vigorous preparations for a war, which might almost be called a civil war, as it was to be waged, in some manner, between parents and their children, both parties deriving their descent from Troy: for Lavinium owed its origin to Troy, from Lavinium sprung Alba, and, from the race of the Alban kings, the Romans were descended. The issue of the war, however, was such as rendered the dispute less grievous than might have been apprehended: for, without a general engagement, and without any farther damage than the demolition of the houses of one of the cities, the two states were incorporated into one. The Albans first, with very numerous forces, made an irruption into the Roman territories: and, at the distance of no more than five miles from the city, fortified their camp with a trench, which, from the name of their leader, was afterwards called the Cluilian Trench, and retained the name for several ages, until the occasion being in time forgotten, the name too fell into disuse. In this camp, Cluilius the Alban king died, on which the Albans created Mettius Fuffetius their dictator. Tullus, now impatient for action, especially after the death of the king, assured his men that the supreme power of the gods, which had already begun with the head, would inflict, upon the whole body of the Albans, the penalty incurred by their having occasioned this impious war; and, marching past the enemy's camp in the night, he advanced,



with his army ready for action, into the Alban territories. This procedure drew out Mettius from the camp where he lay; he led his troops, by the shortest road, towards the enemy, sending forward an ambassador to tell Tullus, that "it was highly expedient that they should confer together, before they came to an engagement; that, if he would give him a meeting, he was confident that what he had to propose to his consideration would appear to concern the interest of Rome, no less than that of Alba." Tullus, not thinking it proper to decline the proposal, though he saw no probability of any good consequence arising from it, led out his troops into the field; the Albans likewise marched out to meet him. When both parties were drawn up in order of battle, the leaders, attended by a few of the principal officers, advanced into the middle space, where the Alban began thus: — "I understood, from our king Cluilius, that, on our part, injuries sustained, and a refusal of satisfaction, when demanded, were the causes of the present war; and I doubt not that you, Tullus, allege, on your part, the same grounds of quarrel: but if, instead of plausible professions, I may be allowed to declare the truth, it is a thirst for dominion that stimulates two nations connected by their situation, and by consanguinity, to take up arms against each other. Nor do I examine whether the measures pursued are justifiable or not; the determination of that point was the business of him who commenced the war; for my part, it was for the purpose of carrying it on, that the Albans constituted me their leader. Of this, however, Tullus, I wish to warn you; what a formidable power the Etrurians possess, both in our neighbourhood and more especially in yours, you, as being nearer to them, know better than we. On land, they are very powerful; on the sea exceedingly so. Now consider, that, when you shall give the signal for battle, they will enjoy the sight of these two armies engaged as they would a show, and will not fail to attack both the victor and the vanquished together, when they see them fatigued, and their strength exhausted. Wherefore, since we are not content with the certain enjoyment of liberty, but are going to hazard an uncertain cast for dominion or slavery, let us, in the name of the gods, pursue some method, whereby, without great loss, without much blood of either nation, it may be decided which shall have dominion over the

other." This proposal was not displeasing to Tullus, though, from his natural disposition, as well as from confidence of success, he was rather inclined to violent measures. Both of them then turning their thoughts to devise some plan, they adopted one, for which accident had already laid the foundation.

XXIV. It happened, that, in each of the armies, there were three twin brothers, between whom there was no disparity, in point of age, or of strength. That their names were Horatius and Curiatius, we have sufficient certainty, for no occurrence of antiquity has ever been more universally noticed; yet, notwithstanding that the fact is so well ascertained, there still remains a doubt respecting the names, to which nation the Horatii belonged, and to which the Curiatii: authors are divided on the point; finding, however, that the greater number concur, in calling the Horatii, Romans, I am inclined to follow them. To these three brothers, on each side, the kings proposed, that they should support by their arms the honour of their respective countries; informing them, that the sovereignty was to be enjoyed by that nation whose champions should prove victorious in the combat. No reluctance was shown on their parts, and time and place were appointed. Previous to the fight, a league was made between the Romans and Albans, on these conditions; that whichever of the two nations should, by its champions, obtain victory in the combat, that nation should, without further dispute, possess sovereign dominion over the other. Treaties are variously formed, but the mode of ratification is the same in all. The following is the manner in which, as we are told, they proceeded on that occasion; and we have no record of any more ancient treaty. The herald addressed the king in these words: "Dost thou, O king, order me to strike a league with the Pater Patratus<sup>1</sup> of the Alban nation?" Having received the king's order, he said, "O king, I demand vervain from thee:" the king answered, "Take it pure." The herald brought clean stalks of that herb from the citadel. He afterwards asked the king in these words; "Dost thou, O king, constitute me the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites; including, in my privileges, my attendants and implements." The

<sup>1</sup> The duty of the Pater Patratus was, to attend the making of the treaty, and to ratify it by oath.

king replied; "Be it without detriment to me, and to the Roman people, the Quirites, I do constitute thee." The herald was Marcus Valerius, and he made Spurius Fusius Pater Patratus, by touching his head and hair with the vervain. The Pater Patratus is appointed "ad iurandum patrandum," that is, to ratify the league; and this he does in a great many words, which being expressed in a long set form, I may be excused from repeating. Then, after reciting the conditions, he said, "Hear thou, O Jupiter! hear thou, Pater Patratus of the Alban nation: hear, ye people of Alba: as those conditions, from first to last, have been recited openly from those tablets, or that way, without fraud or deceit, in such sense as they are most clearly understood here this day, from those conditions the Roman people will not first depart: if they shall, at any time, first depart from them, under authority of the state, through any fraud or deceit, do thou, O Jupiter, on that day, strike the Roman people in like manner as I shall here, this day, strike this swine; and strike them, thou, with greater severity, in proportion as thy power and ability are greater." So saying, he struck down the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise, by their dictator and their priests, repeated their form of ratification and their oath.

XXV. The league being concluded, the three brothers, on each side, pursuant to the agreement, took arms; the friends of each putting them in mind that "the gods of their country, their country itself, the whole of their countrymen, whether at home or in the army, rested on their prowess the decision of their fate." Naturally bold and courageous, and highly animated besides by such exhortations, they advanced into the midst between the two armies. The two armies sat down before their respective camps, free from all apprehensions of immediate danger to themselves, but not from deep anxiety; no less than sovereign power being at stake, and depending on the bravery and success of so small a number. With all the eagerness therefore of anxious suspense, they fixed their attention on an exhibition, which was far indeed from being a matter of mere amusement. The signal being given, the three youths, who had been drawn up on each side, as in battle array, their breasts animated with the magnanimous spirits of whole armies, rushed forward to the fight, intent on mutual slaughter, utterly thoughtless of their own per-

sonal peril, and reflecting, that, on the issue of the contest, depended the future fate and fortune of their respective countries. On the first onset, as soon as the clash of their arms, and the glittering of their swords, were perceived, the spectators shuddered with excess of horror; and their hopes being, as yet, equally balanced, their voice was suppressed, and even their breath was suspended. Afterwards, in the progress of the combat, during which, not only the activity of the young men's limbs, and the rapid motions of their arms, offensive and defensive, were exhibited to view, the three Albans were wounded, and two of the Romans fell lifeless to the ground. On their fall, the Alban army set up a shout of joy; while the Roman legions were almost reduced to a state of despair, by the situation of their champion, who was now surrounded by the three Curiatii. It happened that he was unhurt; so that, though singly, he was by no means a match for them collectively, yet was he confident of success, against each taken singly. In order therefore to avoid their joint attack, he betook himself to flight, judging from their wounds that they would pursue him with different degrees of speed. He had now fled some way from the place where they had fought, when looking back, he perceived that there were large intervals between the pursuers, and that one was at no great distance from him: he therefore turned about, with great fury, and while the Alban army called out to the Curiatii to succour their brother, Horatius, having in the mean time slain his antagonist, proceeded victorious to attack the second. The Romans then cheered their champion with shouts of applause, such as naturally burst forth on occasions of unexpected success: on his part, he delayed not to put an end to the combat; for, before the third could come up to the relief of his brother, he had despatched him. And now, they were brought to an equality, in point of number, only one on each side surviving, but were far from an equality either in hopes or in strength; the one, unhurt, and flushed with two victories, advanced with confidence to the third contest; the other, enfeebled by a wound, fatigued with running, and dispirited, besides, by the fate of his brethren, already slain, met the victorious enemy. What followed, could not be called a fight; the Roman, exulting, cried out, "Two of you have I offered to the shades of my brothers, the third I will offer to



the cause in which we are engaged, that the Roman may rule over the Alban: and, whilst the other could scarcely support the weight of his armour, he plunged his sword downward into his throat; then, as he lay prostrate, he despoiled him of his arms. The Romans received Horatius with triumphant congratulations, and a degree of joy proportioned to the greatness of the danger that had threatened their cause. Both parties then applied themselves to the burying of their dead, with very different dispositions of mind; the one being elated with the acquisition of empire, the other depressed under a foreign jurisdiction. The sepulchres still remain, in the several spots where the combatants fell; those of the two Romans in one place nearer to Alba, those of the three Albans, on the side next to Rome; but, in different places, as they fought.

XXVI. Before the armies separated, Mettius, in conformity to the terms of the treaty, desired to know from Tullus what commands he would give, and was ordered to keep the young men in readiness, under arms, as he intended to employ them in case of a war breaking out with the Veientians. The two parties then retired to their respective homes. Horatius advanced at the head of the Romans, bearing in triumph the spoils of the three brothers: near the gate Capena he was met by his sister, a maiden who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii: observing, on her brother's shoulder, the military robe of her lover, made by her own hands, she tore her hair, and, with loud and mournful outcries, called on the name of her deceased spouse. His sister's lamentations, in the midst of his own triumph, and of so great public joy, irritated the fierce youth to such a degree, that, drawing his sword, he plunged it into her breast, at the same time upbraiding her with these words, "Begone to thy spouse, with thy unseasonable love, since thou couldst forget what is due to the memory of thy deceased brothers, to him who still survives, and to thy native country: so perish every daughter of Rome that shall mourn for its enemy." Both the senate and people were shocked at the horrid deed; but still, in their opinion, his recent merit outweighed its guilt: he was, however, instantly carried before the king for judgment. The king, unwilling to take on himself a decision of such a melancholy nature, and evidently disagreeable to the multitude, or to inflict the consequent punishment, summoned an assembly of the

people, and then said, "I appoint two commissioners to pass judgment on Horatius for murder, according to the law." The law was of dreadful import: "Let two commissioners pass judgment for murder; if the accused appeal from the commissioners, let the appeal be tried; if their sentence be confirmed, cover his head, hang him by a rope on the gallows, let him be scourged either within the Pomœrium or without the Pomœrium." The two commissioners appointed were of opinion, that, according to that law, they were not authorized to acquit him, however small his offence might be; and, after they had found him guilty, one of them pronounced judgment in these words: "Publius Horatius, I sentence thee to punishment as a murderer; go, lictor, bind his hands." The lictor had come up to him, and was fixing the cord, when Horatius, by the advice of Tullus, who wished to give the mildest interpretation to the law, said, "I appeal:" so the trial, on the appeal, came before the commons. During this trial, the people were very deeply affected, especially by the behaviour of Publius Horatius, the father, who declared that, "in his judgment, his daughter was deservedly put to death; had it not been so, he would, by his own authority as a father, have inflicted punishment on his son." He then besought them that "they would not leave him childless, whom they had beheld, but a few hours ago, surrounded by a progeny of uncommon merit." Uttering these words, the old man embraced the youth, and pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii, which were hung up in the place where now stands the Horatian column; "O my fellow-citizens," he exclaimed, "can you bear to behold him laden with chains, and condemned to ignominy, stripes, and torture, whom, but just now, you saw covered with the ornaments of victory, marching in triumph! a sight so horrid, that scarcely could the eyes of the Albans themselves endure it. Go, lictor, bind the arms, which, but now, wielded those weapons which acquired dominion to the Roman people: cover the head of that man, to whom your city owes its liberty: hang him upon the gallows: scourge him, within the Pomœrium; but do it between those pillars, to which are suspended the trophies of his victory; scourge him, without the Pomœrium, but do it between the tombs of the Curiatii. For to what place can ye lead this youth, where the monuments of his glory would not redeem him from the ignominy



of such a punishment?" The people could not withstand either the tears of the father, or the intrepid spirit of the youth himself, which no kind of danger could appal, and rather out of admiration of his bravery, than regard to the justice of his cause, they passed a sentence of acquittal. Wherefore, that some expiation might be made for the act of manifest murder, the father was ordered to make atonement for his son at the public expense. After performing expiatory sacrifices, which continued afterwards to be celebrated by the Horatian family, he laid a beam across the street, and, covering the young man's head, made him pass, as it were, under the yoke. The beam remains to this day, being constantly kept in repair at the expense of the public, and is called the Sister's beam. A tomb of squared stone was raised for Horatia, on the spot where she fell.

XXVII. The peace with Alba was not of long continuance. The dissatisfaction of the multitude, on account of the power and fortune of the state having been hazarded on three champions, perverted the unsteady mind of the dictator; and as his designs, though honourable, had not been crowned with success, he endeavoured, by others of a different kind, to recover the esteem of his countrymen. With this view, therefore, as formerly, in time of war, he had sought peace, so now, when peace was established, he as ardently wished for war: but, perceiving that his own state possessed more courage than strength, he persuaded other nations to make war, openly, by order of their governments, reserving to his own people the part of effecting their purposes, by treachery, under the mask of allies. The Fidenatians, a Roman colony, being assured of the concurrence of the Veientians, and receiving from the Albans a positive engagement to desert to their side, were prevailed on to take arms and declare war. Fidenæ having thus openly revolted, Tullus, after summoning Mettius and his army from Alba, marched against the enemy, and passing the Anio, pitched his camp at the conflux of the rivers. Between that place, and Fidenæ, the Veientians had crossed the Tiber, and, in the line of battle, they composed the right wing near the river, the Fidenatians being posted on the left towards the mountains. Tullus drew up his own men facing the Veientians, and posted the Albans opposite to the troops of the Fidenatians. The Alban had not more resolution than fidelity,

so that, not daring either to keep his ground, or openly to desert, he filed off slowly towards the mountains. When he thought he had proceeded to a sufficient distance, he ordered the whole line to halt, and being still irresolute, in order to waste time, he employed himself in forming the ranks: his scheme was to join his forces to whichever of the parties fortune should favour with victory. At first, the Romans who stood nearest were astonished at finding their flank left uncovered, by the departure of their allies, and, in a short time, a horseman at full speed brought an account to the king that the Albans were retreating. Tullus, in this perilous juncture, vowed to institute twelve new Salian priests, and also to build temples to Paleness and Terror; then, rebuking the horseman with a loud voice, that the enemy might hear, he ordered him to return to the fight, telling him, that "there was no occasion for any uneasiness; that it was by his order the Alban army was wheeling round, in order to fall upon the unprotected rear of the Fidenatians." He commanded him, also, to order the cavalry to raise their spears aloft; and, this being performed, intercepted, from a great part of the infantry, the view of the Alban army retreating; while those who did see them, believing what the king had said, fought with the greater spirit. The fright was now transferred to the enemy, for they had heard what the king had spoken aloud, and many of the Fidenatians understood the Latin tongue, as having been intermixed with Romans in the colony. Wherefore, dreading lest the Albans might run down suddenly from the hills, and cut off their retreat to the town, they betook themselves to flight. Tullus pressed them close, and after routing this wing composed of the Fidenatians, turned back with double fury against the Veientians, now disheartened by the dismay of the other wing. Neither could they withstand his attack, and the river intercepting them behind, prevented a precipitate flight. As soon as they reached this, in their retreat, some, shamefully throwing away their arms, plunged desperately into the water, and the rest, hesitating on the bank, irresolute whether to fight or fly, were overpowered and cut off. Never before had the Romans been engaged in so desperate an action.

XXVIII. When all was over, the Alban troops, who had been spectators of the engagement, marched down into the plain, and

Mettius congratulated Tullus on his victory over the enemy. Tullus answered him, without showing any sign of displeasure, and gave orders that the Albans should, with the favour of fortune, join their camp with that of the Romans, and appointed a sacrifice of purification to be performed next day. As soon as it was light, all things being prepared in the usual manner, he commanded both armies to be summoned to an assembly. The heralds, beginning at the outside, summoned the Albans first; and they, struck with the novelty of the affair, and wishing to hear the Roman king delivering a speech, took their places nearest to him: the Roman troops, under arms, pursuant to directions previously given, formed a circle round them, and a charge was given to the centurions to execute without delay such orders as they should receive. Then Tullus began in this manner; "If ever, Romans, there has hitherto occurred, at any time, or in any war, an occasion that called on you to return thanks, first, to the immortal gods, and, next, to your own valour, it was the battle of yesterday: for ye had to struggle not only with your enemies, but, what is a more difficult and dangerous struggle, with the treachery and perfidy of your allies: for I will now undeceive you; it was not by my order that the Albans withdrew to the mountains, nor was what ye heard me say, the issuing of orders, but a stratagem, and a pretext of having given orders, to the end that while ye were kept in ignorance of your being deserted, your attention might not be drawn away from the fight; and that, at the same time, the enemy, believing themselves to be surrounded on the rear, might be struck with terror and dismay: but the guilt which I am exposing to you, extends not to all the Albans: they followed their leader, as ye would have done, had I chosen that the army should make any movement from the ground which it occupied. Mettius there was the leader of that march, the same Mettius was the schemer of this war. Mettius it was who broke the league between the Romans and Albans. May others dare to commit like crimes, if I do not now make him a conspicuous example to all mankind." On this the centurions in arms gathered round Mettius, and the king proceeded in his discourse: "Albans, be the measure prosperous, fortunate, and happy to the Roman people, to me, and to you; it is my intention to remove the entire people of Alba to Rome, to give to

the commons the privileges of citizens, and to enroll the principal inhabitants among the fathers, to form of the whole one city, one republic. As the state of Alba, from being one people, was heretofore divided into two, so let these be now re-united." On hearing this, the Alban youth who were unarmed, and surrounded by armed troops, however different their sentiments were, yet, being all restrained by the same apprehensions, kept a profound silence. Tullus then said, "Mettius Fuffetius, if you were capable of learning to preserve faith, and a regard to treaties, I should suffer you to live, and supply you with instructions; but your disposition is incurable: let your punishment, then, teach mankind to consider those things as sacred, which you have dared to violate. As, therefore, you lately kept your mind divided between the interest of the Fidenatians and of the Romans, so shall you now have your body divided and torn in pieces." Then two chariots being brought, each drawn by four horses, he tied Mettius extended at full length, to the carriages of them, and the horses being driven violently in different directions, bore away on each carriage part of his mangled body, with the limbs which were fastened by the cords. The eyes of all were turned with horror from this shocking spectacle. This was the first, and the last, instance among the Romans, of any punishment inflicted without regard to the laws of humanity. In every other case, we may justly boast, that no nation in the world has shown greater mildness.

XXIX. During these proceedings, [Y. R. 87. B. C. 665.] the cavalry had been sent forward to Alba, to remove the multitude to Rome. The legions were now led thither, to demolish the city. As soon as they entered the gates, there ensued not a tumult, or panic, as is usual in cities taken by storm, where the gates being burst open, or the walls levelled by the ram, or the citadel being taken by force, the shouts of the enemy, and the troops running furiously through the city, throw all into confusion with fire and sword; but gloomy silence, and dumb sorrow, so stupified the inhabitants, that, not knowing in their distraction what to leave behind or what to carry with them, and incapable of forming any plan, they stood at their doors, making inquiries of each other, or wandering through their own houses, which they were now to see for the last time. But now, when the horsemen, with shouts, urged



them to depart, and the crash of the houses, which the troops were demolishing in the outer parts of the city, assailed their ears, and the dust, raised in distant places, had filled all parts, enveloping them as with a cloud; each of them hastily snatching up whatever he could, and leaving behind his guardian deity, his household gods, and the house wherein he had been born and educated, they began their departure, and soon filled the roads with one continued troop of emigrants. The sight of each other continually renewed their tears, through the mutual commiseration which it excited in every breast. Their ears were assailed with bitter lamentations, especially from the women, as they passed the temples which they had been used to revere, now filled with armed soldiers, and reflected that they were leaving their gods, as it were, in captivity. When the Albans had evacuated the city, the Romans levelled to the ground all the buildings in every part of it, both public and private, and in one hour ruined and destroyed the work of four hundred years, during which Alba had stood. The temples of the gods, however, they left untouched, for so the king had commanded.

XXX. Meanwhile from this destruction of Alba, Rome received a considerable augmentation. The number of citizens was doubled. The Cælian mount was added to the city; and, in order to induce others to fix their habitations there, Tullus chose that situation for his palace, where, from thenceforth, he resided. The persons of chief note among the Albans, the Tulii, Servilii, Quintii, Gegani, Curiatii, Clodii, he enrolled among the senators, that this part of the state also might receive an addition; and, as a consecrated place of meeting for this body, thus augmented, he built a senate-house, which retained the name of Hostilia, even within the memory of our fathers. And, that every order in the state might receive an accession of strength from this new people, he chose from among the Albans ten troops of horsemen. From among them also he drew recruits, with which he both filled up the old, and formed some new, legions. [Y. R. 100. B. C. 652.] Encouraged by this formidable state of his forces, he declared war against the Sabines, a nation the most powerful of that age, next to the Etrurians, both in point of numbers, and of skill in arms. Injuries had been offered on both sides, and satisfaction demanded in vain. Tullus complained that some Ro-

mam traders had been seized in an open fair at the temple of Feronia. The Sabines, that prior to this, some of their people had fled into the Asylum, and were detained at Rome. These were the reasons assigned for the war. The Sabines, reflecting that a great part of their original strength had been fixed at Rome by Tatius, and that the Roman power had been also lately increased, by the accession of the people of Alba, took care, on their part, to look round for foreign aid. Etruria lay in their neighbourhood, and the state of the Etrurians nearest to them was that of the Veientians. From among these they procured a number of volunteers, who were induced to take part against the Romans, principally by the resentment which they still retained on account of their former quarrels. Several also of the populace, who were indigent and unprovided of a settlement, were allured by pay. From the government they received no assistance, and the Veientians, for it was less surprising in others, adhered to the terms of the truce stipulated with Romulus. Vigorous preparations being made on both sides, and it being evident, that, whichever party should first commence hostilities, would have considerably the advantage, Tullus seized the opportunity of making an incursion into the lands of the Sabines. A furious battle ensued at the wood called Malitiosa, in which the Romans obtained the victory. For this, they were indebted not only to the firm strength of their infantry, but chiefly to the cavalry, which had been lately augmented; since, by a sudden charge of this body, the ranks of the Sabines were thrown into such disorder, that they were neither able to continue the fight, nor to make good their retreat, without great slaughter.

XXXI. After the defeat of the Sabines, the government of Tullus, and the Roman state in general, possessed a large degree of power and of fame. At this time an account was brought to the king and the senate that a shower of stones had fallen on the Alban mount. This appearing scarcely credible, and some persons being sent to examine into the prodigy, there fell from the air, in their sight, a vast quantity of stones, like a storm of hail. They imagined also that they heard a loud voice from the grove on the summit of the hill, ordering, that the Albans should perform religious rites according to the practice of their native country. These the Albans had entirely neglected,



as if, with their country, they had also abandoned its deities, and had adopted the Roman practice, or, perhaps, incensed against fortune, had renounced the worship of the gods. On account of the same prodigy, the Romans also instituted for themselves, by order of government, a festival of nine days; either in obedience to a voice from heaven, uttered on the Alban mount, for that likewise is mentioned, or by direction of the aruspices. Be this as it may, it is certain, that, whenever an account was received of a similar phenomenon, a festival for nine days was celebrated. In a short time after, the country was afflicted with a pestilence; and though this necessarily rendered men averse to military service, yet the king, in himself fond of war, and persuaded that young men enjoyed better health while employed abroad, than when loitering at home, gave them no rest from arms, until he was seized by a tedious disorder. Then, together with the strength of his body, the fierceness of his spirit was reduced to such a degree, that he who lately thought nothing less becoming a king than to busy his thoughts in matters of religion, became, at once, a slave to every kind of superstition, in cases either of great or of trifling import, and even filled the minds of the people also with superstitious notions. The generality, comparing the present state of their affairs with that which they had enjoyed under Numa, became possessed of an opinion, that the only prospect left them, of being relieved from the sickness, was, in obtaining pardon and favour from the gods. It is said, that the king himself, turning over the commentaries of Numa, and discovering therein that certain sacrifices, of a secret and solemn nature, had been performed to Jupiter Elicius, shut himself up, and set about the performance of this solemnity; but, not having undertaken, or conducted, the rites in due form, he not only failed of obtaining any notification from the gods, but, through the resentment of Jupiter, for being addressed in an improper manner, was struck with lightning, and reduced to ashes, together with his house. Tullus reigned thirty-two years, highly renowned for his military achievements.

XXXII. [Y. R. 114. B. C. 638.] On the death of Tullus, the direction of affairs, according to the mode adopted from the beginning, fell into the hands of the senate; they nominated an interrex, who presided at the election, when the people created Ancus Marcius king,

and the senate approved of their choice. Ancus Marcius was the grandson of Numa Pompilius, by his daughter. As soon as he was in possession of the throne, reflecting on the glory which his grandfather had acquired, and considering that the late reign, though highly honourable in other respects, yet, in one particular, had been very deficient, the affairs of religion having been either quite neglected or improperly managed, he judged it to be a matter of the utmost consequence, to provide that the public worship should be performed in the manner instituted by Numa, and ordered the pontiff to make a transcript of every particular rite, from the commentaries of that king, on white tables, and to expose it to the view of the people. From these proceedings, not only his subjects, whose wishes tended to peace, but the neighbouring states also, conceived hopes that the king would conform himself to the manners and institutions of his grandfather. In consequence of which, the Latines, with whom a treaty had been concluded in the reign of Tullus, assumed new courage, and made an incursion into the Roman territories; and, when the Romans demanded satisfaction, returned a haughty answer, imagining the Roman king so averse to action, that he would spend his reign among chapels and altars. The genius of Ancus was of a middle kind, partaking both of that of Numa and of Romulus. He was sensible, not only that peace had been more necessary in the reign of his grandfather, to a people who were but lately incorporated and still uncivilized, but also, that the tranquillity, which had obtained at that time, could not now be preserved, without a tame submission to injuries; that they were making trial of his patience, and would soon come to despise it; in short, that the times required a king like Tullus, rather than one like Numa. However, being desirous, that, as Numa had instituted the religious rites to be observed in time of peace, so the ceremonies, to be observed in war, should have himself for their founder, and that wars should not only be waged, but be proclaimed likewise, according to a certain established mode, he borrowed from the ancient race of the *Æquicolæ* that form of demanding satisfaction which is still used by the heralds. The ambassador, when he comes to the frontiers of the state, from whom satisfaction is demanded, having his head covered with a fillet of wool, says, "O Jupiter, hear me;

hear, ye frontiers," (naming the state to which they belong,) "let justice hear; I am a public messenger of the Roman people. I come, an ambassador duly authorized, according to the forms of justice and religion; let my words therefore meet with credit." He then makes his demands, and afterwards appeals to Jupiter: "If I demand that those persons, and those effects, should be given up to me, the messenger of the Roman people, contrary to justice and the law of nations, then suffer me not to enjoy my native country." These words he repeats, when he passes over the boundaries; the same to the first person that he meets; again, when he enters the gate; and, lastly, when he enters the Forum, only making the necessary change of a few words in the form of the declaration and of the oath. If the persons whom he demands are not given up, then, on the expiration of thirty-three days, that being the number enjoined by the rule, he declares war in this manner: "O Jupiter, hear me! and thou, Juno, Quirinus, and all ye gods of heaven, and ye of the earth, and ye of the infernal regions, hear, I call you to witness, that that people," naming them, whoever they are, "are unjust, and do not perform what equity requires. But concerning those affairs we will consult the elders in our own country, by what means we may obtain our right." After this, the messenger returned to Rome, in order that the opinion of the government might be taken. The king immediately consulted the senate, nearly in these words: "Concerning those matters, controversies, and arguments, which were agitated between the Pater Patratus of the Roman people, the Quirites, and the Pater Patratus of the ancient Latines, and the ancient Latine people, which matters ought to have been granted, performed, and discharged; but which they have neither granted, performed, nor discharged, declare," said he, to the person whose vote he first asked, "what is your opinion?" The other then said, "I am of opinion, that the performance of them ought to be exacted in just and regular war, wherefore I consent to and vote for it." The rest were then asked in order, and the majority of those present being of the same opinion, a vote passed for war. It was a customary practice for the herald to carry a spear pointed with steel, or burnt at the point and dipped in blood, to the frontiers, and there, in the presence of at least three

grown-up persons, to say, "Forasmuch as the states of the ancient Latines, and the ancient Latine people, have acted against and behaved unjustly towards the Roman people the Quirites, forasmuch as the Roman people the Quirites have ordered that there should be war with the ancient Latines, and the senate of the Roman people the Quirites have given their opinion, consented, and voted that war should be made with the ancient Latines; therefore I, and the Roman people, do declare and make war against the states of the ancient Latines, and the ancient Latine people;" and saying this, he threw the spear within their boundaries. In this manner was satisfaction demanded from the Latines, at that time, and war declared; succeeding generations adopted the same method.

XXXIII. Ancus, having committed the care of religious affairs to the flamens and other priests, assembled a new army, set out to the war, and took Politorium, a city of the Latines, by storm. Then, pursuing the practice of former kings, who had augmented the power of the Roman state, by receiving enemies into the number of their citizens, he removed the whole multitude to Rome; and, as the original Romans entirely occupied the ground round the Palatium, the Sabines the Capitol with the citadel, and the Albans the Cælian Mount, the Aventine was assigned to this body of new citizens; and in a little time after, on the reduction of Tellenæ, and Ficana, an additional number of inhabitants were settled in the same place. Politorium was soon after attacked, a second time, by the Roman forces, the ancient Latines having taken possession of it, when left without inhabitants; and this induced the Romans to demolish that city, that it might not again serve as a receptacle for the enemy. At length, the whole force of the Latine war was collected about Medullia, and the contest was carried on there with various success; for the city was not only well defended by works, and secured by a strong garrison, but the army of the Latines having pitched their camp in the open country, fought the Romans several times in close engagement. At last, Ancus, making a vigorous effort with all his force, first defeated them in the field, and then made himself master of the city, from whence he returned, with immense booty, to Rome. On this occasion, too, many thousands of the Latines, being admitted into the number



of citizens, had ground allotted to them near the temple of Murcia, in order to unite the Aventine to the Palatine hill. The Janiculum also was taken in, not for want of room, but to prevent its serving, at any time, as a place of strength to an enemy; and it was determined that this should be joined to the city, not only by a wall, but likewise for the convenience of passage, by a wooden bridge, which was then first built over the Tiber. The Quiritian trench also, no inconsiderable defence to those parts, which, from their low situation, are of easy access, is a work of king Ancus. In consequence of these vast accessions to the state, and the numbers of people becoming so very large, many, disregarding the distinctions between right and wrong, committed various crimes, and escaped discovery. In order to suppress by terror the boldness which the vicious assumed from hence, and which gained ground continually, a prison was built in the middle of the city, adjoining the Forum: and not only the city, but the territory also and boundaries of the state, were extended by this king. The Mærian forest was taken away from the Veientians, the Roman dominion extended as far as the sea, and the city of Ostia built at the mouth of the Tiber, near which salt-pits were formed; and in consequence of the glorious success obtained in war, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

XXXIV. During the reign of Ancus, [Y. R. 121. B. C. 631.] a person named Lucumo, of an enterprising spirit, and possessed of great wealth, came and settled at Rome, led principally by ambition, and hopes of attaining higher honours than he could expect at Tarquinii, where also he was considered as an alien. He was the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, who, having left his native country, in consequence of some intestine commotions, happened to fix his residence at Tarquinii, and marrying there, had two sons. Their names were Lucumo and Aruns. Lucumo survived his father, and inherited all his property. Aruns died before the father, leaving a wife pregnant. The father did not long survive his son, and not knowing that his daughter-in-law was with child, he died without taking any notice of a grandson in his will, so that the boy, who was born after his grandfather's decease, not being entitled to any share of his property, was called, from the poverty of his situation, Egerius. Lucumo, on the

other hand, becoming sole heir, was, by his riches, inspired with elevated notions; and these were much increased by his marriage with Tanaquil, a woman of the highest distinction, who could not endure, with patience, that the rank of the man whom she had married, should remain inferior to that of the family which gave her birth. As the Etrurians looked with contempt on Lucumo, the descendant of a foreign exile, she could not support the indignity, but, disregarding her natural attachment to her country, in comparison with the pleasure of seeing her husband raised to an honourable rank, formed the design of removing from Tarquinii. Rome appeared best suited to her purpose. In a new state, where all nobility was of late date, and acquired by merit, she thought there would be room for a man of spirit and industry. She considered that Tatius, a Sabine, had enjoyed the throne; that Numa had been called to the crown from Cures; and that Ancus was of a Sabine family by his father, and could show only the single image of Numa to entitle him to nobility. It was not difficult to persuade her husband, who was ambitious of honours, and had no natural attachment to Tarquinii, except through his mother, to enter into her designs. Wherefore, carrying their effects along with them, they set out together for Rome. They happened to come through the Janiculum; there, as he sat in the chariot with his wife, an eagle suspending herself on her wings, stooped gently, and took off his cap, and, after hovering for some time, over the chariot, with loud screams, replaced it in its proper position on his head, as if she had been sent by some deity to perform that office; and then, flying up into the air, disappeared. It is said, that this augury was received with great joy by Tanaquil, who was well skilled in celestial prodigies, as the Etrurians generally are. Embracing her husband, she desired him to cherish hopes of high and magnificent fortune, for that such a bird, from such a quarter of the heaven, the messenger of such a deity, portended no less; that it had exhibited the omen on the most elevated part of the human body, and had lifted up the ornament, placed on the head of man, in order to replace it on the same part, by direction of the gods. Full of these thoughts and expectations, they advanced into the city, and having purchased a house there, they gave out his name as Lucius Tarquinius. The circumstance of his being a stranger, and his



wealth, soon attracted the general notice of the Romans; nor was he wanting, on his part, in aiding the efforts of fortune in his favour; he conciliated the friendship of all, to the utmost of his power, by his courteous address, hospitable entertainments, and generous acts; at last his character reached even the palace. Having thus procured an introduction there, he soon improved it to such a degree, by his politeness and dexterity in paying his court, that he was admitted to the privileges of familiar friendship, and was consulted in all affairs both public and private, foreign and domestic, and having acquitted himself to satisfaction in all, was at length, by the king's will, appointed guardian to his children. Ancus reigned twenty-four years, equal in renown, and in the arts both of peace and war to any of the former kings.

XXXV. The sons of Ancus had now nearly reached the age of manhood; for which reason Tarquinius the more earnestly pressed, that an assembly might be convened as speedily as possible for the election of a king. The proclamation for this purpose being issued, when the time approached, he sent the youths to a distance on a hunting party. He is said to have afforded the first instance of making way to the crown, by paying court to the people, and to have made a speech, composed for the purpose of gaining the affections of the populace; telling them, that "It was no new favour which he solicited; if that were the case, people might indeed be displeased and surprised; that he was not the first foreigner, but the third, who aimed at the government of Rome:—that Tattius, from being not only a foreigner, but even an enemy, was made king; and Numa, entirely unacquainted with the city, and not proposing himself as a candidate, had been, from their own choice, invited to accept the crown:—that he, as soon as he became his own master, had removed to Rome, with his wife and all his substance:—that he had spent the most active part of his life at Rome:—that both in civil and military employments he had learned the Roman laws and Roman customs, under such a master as ought to be wished for, king Ancus himself:—that in duty and obedience to the king, he had vied with all men; in kindness towards others, with the king himself." As these assertions were no more than the truth, the people unanimously consented that he should be elected king. [Y. R. 138. B. C. 614.] And this was the reason that this

man, of extraordinary merit in other respects, retained through the whole course of his reign, the same affectation of popularity which he had used in suing for the crown. For the purpose of strengthening his own authority, as well as of increasing the power of the commonwealth, he added a hundred to the number of the senate, who afterwards were entitled, "*minorum gentium*," i. e. of the younger families, and necessarily constituted a party in favour of the king, by whose kindness they had been brought into the senate. His first war was with the Latines, from whom he took the city Appiolæ by storm; and having brought from thence a greater quantity of booty than had been expected, from a war of so little consequence, he exhibited games in a more expensive and splendid manner than any of the former kings. On that occasion, the ground was first marked out for the circus, which is now called "*maximus*" (the principal), in which certain divisions were set apart for the senators and knights, where each were to build seats for themselves, which were called *Fori* (benches). They remained, during the exhibition, on these seats, supported by pieces of timber, twelve feet high from the ground; the games consisted of horse-races and the performances of wrestlers, collected mostly from Etruria; and from that time continued to be celebrated annually, being termed the Roman, and, sometimes, the great games. By the same king, lots for building were assigned to private persons, round the forum, where porticoes and shops were erected.

XXXVI. He intended also to have surrounded the city with a stone wall; but a war with the Sabines interrupted his designs. And so suddenly did this break out, that the enemy passed the Anio, before the Roman troops could march out to meet them, and stop their progress. This produced a great alarm at Rome, and, in the first engagement, the victory remained undecided, after great slaughter on both sides. The enemy afterwards having retired to their camp, and allowed the Romans time to prepare for the war anew, Tarquinius, observing that the principal defect of his army was the want of cavalry, resolved to add other centuries to the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, instituted by Romulus, and to leave them distinguished by his own name. As Romulus, when he first formed this institution, had made use of augury, Accius Nævius, a celebrated augur at that time, insisted that no

alteration or addition could be made to it, without the sanction of the birds. The king was highly displeased at this, and, in ridicule of the art, said, as we are told, "Come, you diviner, discover, by your augury, whether what I am now thinking of can be accomplished." The other having tried the matter according to the rules of augury, and declared that it could be accomplished, "Well," said he, "what I was thinking of was, whether you could cut a whetstone in two with a razor. Take these, then, and perform what your birds portend to be practicable." On which, as the story goes, he, without any difficulty, cut the whetstone. There was a statue of Accius, with a fillet on his head, in the place where the transaction happened, in the Comitium<sup>1</sup> or place of assembly, just on the steps, at the left-hand side of the senate-house. It is also said, that the whetstone was fixed in the same place, there to remain, as a monument of this miracle, to posterity. This is certain, that the respect paid to auguries, and the office of augurs, rose so high, that, from that time forth, no business either of war or peace was undertaken without consulting the birds: meetings of the people, embodying of armies, the most important concerns of the state, were postponed when the birds did not allow them. Nor did Tarquinius then make any change in the number of the centuries of the knights, but doubled the number in each, so that there were one thousand eight hundred men in the three centuries. The additional men were only distinguished by the appellation of the younger, prefixed to the original names of their centuries; and these, at present, for they have been since doubled, are called the Six Centuries.

XXXVII. Having augmented this part of his army, he came to a second engagement with the Sabines. And here, besides that the Roman army had an addition of strength, a stratagem also was made use of, which the enemy, with all their vigilance, could not elude. A number of men were sent to throw a great quantity of timber, which lay on the bank of the Anio, into the river, after setting it on fire; and the wind being favourable, the blazing timber, most of which was placed on rafts, being driven against the piers, where it stuck fast

burned down the bridge. This event not only struck terror into the Sabines during the fight, but prevented their retreating when they took themselves to flight, so that great numbers who had escaped the enemy, perished in the river; and their arms being known at the city, as they floated in the Tiber, gave certain assurance of the victory, sooner almost than any messenger could arrive. In that battle the cavalry gained extraordinary honour. We are told, that being posted on both wings, when the line of their infantry which formed the centre was obliged to give ground, they made so furious a charge on the flanks of the enemy, that they not only checked the Sabine legions, who were vigorously pressing the troops which gave way, but quickly put them to the rout. The Sabines fled precipitately toward the mountains, which but few of them reached. The greatest part, as has been mentioned, were driven by the cavalry into the river. Tarquinius, judging it proper to pursue the enemy closely, before they should recover from their dismay, as soon as he had sent off the booty and prisoners to Rome, and burned the spoils, collected together in a great heap, according to a vow which he had made to Vulcan, proceeded to lead his army forward into the Sabine territories. On the other hand, the Sabines, though they had met with a defeat, and had no reason to hope that they should be able to retrieve it, yet, their circumstances not allowing time for deliberation, advanced to meet him, with such troops as they had hastily levied; and being routed a second time, and reduced almost to ruin, they sued for peace.

XXXVIII. Collatia, and all the land around that city, was taken from the Sabines, and Egerius, son to the king's brother, was left there with a garrison. This was the manner, as I understand, in which the people of Collatia came under the dominion of the Romans, and this was the form of the surrender. The king asked, "Are ye ambassadors and deputies on behalf of the people of Collatia, to surrender yourselves, and the people of Collatia?" "We are."—"Are the people of Collatia in their own disposal?" "They are."—"Do ye surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia, together with your city, lands, waters, boundaries, temples, utensils, all property both sacred and common, under my dominion, and that of the Roman people?" "We do surrender them."—"Well, I receive

<sup>1</sup> The Comitium was a part of the Roman Forum, where, in early times, assemblies of the people were held; and the assemblies of the Curie always.



them." The Sabine war being thus concluded, Tarquinius returned in triumph to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this, he made war on the ancient Latines, during which there happened no general engagement. By leading about his army to the several towns, he reduced the whole Latine race to subjection. Corniculum, old Ficulnea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, all these, which either belonged to the ancient Latines, or had revolted to them, were taken, and soon after peace was re-established. He then applied himself to works of peace, with a degree of spirit, which even exceeded the efforts that he had made in war: so that the people enjoyed little more rest at home, than they had during the campaigns: for he set about surrounding with a wall of stone, those parts of the city which he had not already fortified; which work had been interrupted, at the beginning, by the war of the Sabines. The lower parts of the city about the Forum, and the other hollows that lay between the hills, from whence it was difficult to discharge the water, by reason of their situation, he drained, by means of sewers drawn on a slope down to the Tiber. He also marked out, and laid the foundations for inclosing a court round the temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, which he had vowed during the Sabine war, his mind already presaging the future magnificence of the place.

XXXIX. About that time a prodigy was seen in the palace, wonderful, both in the appearance and in the event. They relate that, whilst a boy, whose name was Servius Tullius, lay asleep, his head blazed with fire, in the sight of many people; that, by the loud cries of astonishment, occasioned by such a miraculous appearance, the king and queen were alarmed; and that when some of the servants brought water to extinguish it, the queen prevented them; and having quieted the uproar, forbade the boy to be disturbed until he awoke of his own accord. In a short time, on his awakening the flame disappeared. Then Tanaquil, calling her husband aside to a private place, said to him, "Do you see this boy, whom we educate in such an humble style? Be assured that he will hereafter prove a light to dispel a gloom which will lie heavy on our

affairs, and will be the support of our palace in distress. Let us therefore, with every degree of attention that we can bestow, nourish this plant, which is, hereafter, to become the greatest ornament to our family, and our state." From that time they treated the boy as if he were their own child, and had him instructed in all those liberal arts, by which the mind is qualified to support high rank with dignity. That is easily brought to pass which is pleasing to the gods. The youth proved to be of a disposition truly royal, so that when Tarquinius came to look for a son-in-law, there was not one among the Roman youth who could be set in competition with him, in any kind of merit; and to him Tarquinius betrothed his daughter. This extraordinary honour conferred on him, whatever might be the reason for it, will not let us believe that he was born of a slave, and had himself been a slave in his childhood: I am rather inclined to be of their opinion, who say, that, when Corniculum was taken, the wife of Servius Tullius, the principal man in that city, being pregnant when her husband was slain, and being known among the rest of the prisoners, and, on account of her high rank, exempted from servitude by the Roman queen, was delivered of a son at Rome, in the house of Tarquinius Priscus: that, in consequence of such kind treatment, an intimacy grew between the ladies, and that the boy also, being brought up in the house from his infancy, was highly beloved and respected; and that the circumstance of his mother having fallen into the enemy's hands, on the taking of her native city, gave rise to the opinion of his being born of a slave.

XL. About the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Tarquinius, Servius Tullius stood in the highest degree of estimation, not only with the king, but with the senate and the commons. At this time, the two sons of Ancus, although they had before this always considered it as the highest indignity, that they should be expelled from the throne of their father, by the perfidy of their guardian, and that the sovereignty of Rome should be enjoyed by a stranger, whose family, so far from being natives of the city, were not even natives of Italy, yet now felt their indignation rise to a higher pitch of violence, at the probability that the crown was not to revert to them even after Tarquinius, but was to continue to sink one step after another, until it fell on the head of a slave: so that,

<sup>1</sup> This is the first instance of a regular triumph mentioned in the Roman History; the invention of which ceremony is, by some, ascribed to Tarquinius. For a full account of the Roman triumph, see Dr Adam.

within the space of a little more than a hundred years from the time when Romulus, descended from a deity, and himself a deity, had, during his abode on earth, held the government, a slave, the son of a slave, should now get possession of it. They looked on it as a disgrace to the Roman name in general, and particularly to their own house, if, while there was male issue of king Ancus surviving, the government of Rome should be prostituted not only to strangers, but to slaves. They determined, therefore, to prevent this dishonour by the sword. But resentment for the injury which they had suffered stimulated them strongly to attack Tarquinius himself, rather than Servius; and also the consideration that the king, if he survived, would be able to take severer vengeance for any murder committed than a private person could; and that, besides, were Servius put to death, it was to be expected that whatever other son-in-law he might choose, would be made heir of the kingdom. For these reasons, they formed a plot against the king himself; for the execution of which, two of the most undaunted of the shepherds were chosen, who, armed with the iron tools of husbandmen, which they were used to carry, pretended a quarrel in the porch of the palace, and attracted, by their outrageous behaviour, the attention of all the king's attendants: then both appealing to the king, and their clamour having reached the palace, they were called in, and brought before him. At first they both bawled aloud, and each furiously abused the other, until being rebuked by a licitor, and ordered to speak in their turns, they desisted from railing. Then, as they had concerted, one began to explain the affair; and while the king, attentive to him, was turned quite to that side, the other, raising up his axe, struck it into his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound, they both rushed out of the house.

XLI. Whilst the persons present raised up Tarquinius, who scarcely retained any signs of life, the lictors seized the assassins, who were endeavouring to escape. An uproar immediately ensued, and the people ran together in crowds, surprised, and eager to be informed of what had happened. Tanaquil, during this tumult, turned out every person from the palace, and ordered the doors to be shut, and at the same time appeared to be very busy in procuring such things as were necessary for the dressing of the wound, as if there were reason

to hope; nor did she neglect to provide other means of safety, in case her hopes should fail. Sending instantly for Servius, and showing him her husband just expiring, she laid hold of his right hand, besought him that he would not suffer the death of his father-in-law to pass unrevenge, nor his mother-in-law to be exposed to the insults of their enemies. "Servius," said she, "if you act as a man, the kingdom is yours, and not theirs, who, by the hands of others, have perpetrated the basest of crimes. Call forth your best exertions, and follow the guidance of the gods, who, formerly, by the divine fire which they spread around your head, gave an evident indication that it would afterwards be crowned with glory. Now let that heavenly flame rouse you. Now awake to real glory. We, though foreigners, have reigned before you. Consider your present situation, not of what family you are sprung. If the suddenness of this event deprives you of the power of forming plans of your own, then follow mine." When the clamour and violence of the populace could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil addressed them from the upper part of the palace, through the windows facing the new street: for the king resided near the temple of Jupiter Stator. She desired them "not to be disheartened:" told them, that "the king had been stunned by a sudden blow; that the weapon had not sunk deep into his body; that he had come to himself again; that when the blood was wiped off, the wound had been examined, and all appearances were favourable; that she hoped he might be able to show himself to them again in a few days; and that, in the mean time, he commanded the people to obey the orders of Servius Tullius; that he would administer justice, and supply the king's place in other departments." Servius came forth in the robe of state, attended by the lictors, and seating himself on the king's throne, adjudged some causes, and, concerning others, pretended that he would consult the king. Thus, though Tarquinius had already expired, his death was concealed for several days; while Servius, under the appearance of supplying the place of another, strengthened his own interest. Then, at length, the truth being made public, and loud lamentations raised in the palace, Servius, supported by a strong guard, with the approbation of the senate, took possession of the kingdom, being the first who attained the sovereignty without the orders of the people.



The sons of Ancus, as soon as they found that the instruments of their villany were seized, and understood that the king was alive, and that the interest of Servius was so strong, had gone into exile to Suessa Pometia.

XLII. And now Servius laboured to confirm his authority, [Y. R. 176. B. C. 576.] not only by schemes of a public, but by others of a private nature. And lest the sons of Tarquinius should entertain the same sentiments of resentment against him, which had animated the sons of Ancus against Tarquinius, he joined his two daughters in marriage to the young princes, the Tarquini, Lucius and Aruns. But by no human devices could he break through the unalterably decrees of fate, or prevent envy of the sovereign power from raising discord and animosity, even among those of his own family. Very seasonable for preserving stability to the present establishment, war was undertaken against the Veientians, the truce with them having expired, and against the other Etrurians. In that war, both the valour and the good fortune of Tullius were very conspicuous: and, after vanquishing a powerful army of the enemy, he returned to Rome, no longer considering his authority as precarious, whether it were to depend on the disposition of the patricians towards himself, or on that of the commons. He then entered on an improvement in civil polity of the utmost importance, intending, that, as Numa had been the founder of such institutions as related to the worship of the gods, so posterity should celebrate Servius, as the author of every distinction between the members of the state; and of that subordination of ranks, by means of which, the limits between the several degrees of dignity and fortune are exactly ascertained. For he instituted the census, an ordinance of the most salutary consequence, in an empire that was to rise to such a pitch of greatness; according to which the several services requisite in war and peace were to be discharged, not by every person indiscriminately, as formerly, but according to the proportion of their several properties. He then, according to the census, formed the plan of the classes and centuries, and the arrangement which subsists at present, calculated to preserve regularity and propriety in all transactions either of peace or war.

XLIII. [Y. R. 197. B. C. 555.] Of those who possessed a hundred thousand *asses*,<sup>1</sup> or

more, he formed eighty centuries, forty elder, and the same number of younger.<sup>2</sup> The collective body of these was denominated the first class. The business of the elder was to guard the city; that of the younger, to carry on war abroad. The arms which they were ordered to provide, were a helmet, shield, greaves, coat of mail, all of brass—these for the defence of the body: their weapons of offence were a spear and a sword. To this class were added two centuries of artificers, who were to serve without arms; the service allotted to them was to attend the machines in war. The fortune fixed for the second class, was from a hundred down to seventy-five thousand *asses*:<sup>3</sup> of these, elder and younger, were formed twenty centuries: the arms for these were, a buckler, instead of a shield, and all the rest, except the coat of mail, the same with the former. The fortune of the third class he fixed at fifty thousand *asses*:<sup>4</sup> the number of centuries was the same, and these regulated by the same distinctions of age; nor was any difference made in their arms, only the greaves were taken from them. In the fourth class the fortune was twenty-five thousand *asses*:<sup>5</sup> the same number of centuries was formed: their arms were different; they were allowed none but a spear and a buckler. The fifth class was larger; it contained thirty centuries: these carried slings and stones, which they were to throw. Among these, the extraordinary, trumpeters, and fifers, were distributed into three centuries. This class was rated at eleven thousand *asses*.<sup>6</sup> The rest of the populace were comprehended under an estimate lower than this, and of them was formed one century, exempted from military service. The foot forces being thus distinguished and armed, he enrolled twelve centuries of horsemen from among the principal persons of the state. He formed likewise six other centuries, out of the three instituted by Romulus, preserving still the original names under which they had been incorporated. Ten thousand *asses*<sup>7</sup> were given these out of the public funds, to purchase horses; and certain widows were appointed, who were to pay them annually two thousand *asses*<sup>8</sup> each, towards the maintenance

<sup>2</sup> The elder, consisted of those who had attained to forty-six years of age; the younger, from seventeen to forty-six.

<sup>3</sup> 242l. 3s. 9d. <sup>4</sup> 161l. 9s. 2d. <sup>5</sup> 80l. 14s. 7d. <sup>6</sup> 35l. 10s. 5d. <sup>7</sup> 32l. 5s. 10. <sup>8</sup> 6l. 9s. 2d.

<sup>1</sup> 322l. 18s. 4d. according to Dr Arbuthnot's calculation.

of their horses. In all these instances, the burden was taken off from the poor, and laid on the rich. To make the latter some amends, additional honours were conferred on them. For henceforth suffrages were given, not according to the mode established by Romulus, and retained by the other kings, man by man promiscuously, with equal weight, and equal privileges; but degrees of precedency were established in such a manner, that while no one appeared to be excluded from giving his suffrage, still the whole power was lodged in the chiefs of the state: the knights being first called, then the eighty centuries of the higher class. If there was a difference of opinion among these, which seldom happened, then the centuries of the second class were to be called; and scarcely ever did an instance occur of their descending beyond this, so as to come to the lowest classes. Nor ought it to be wondered at, that the arrangement, which subsists at present, after the tribes had been increased to thirty-five, and the number of them almost doubled, does not agree in the number of centuries younger and elder, with the amount of those instituted by Servius Tullius: for the city being laid out into four divisions, according to the several quarters and hills (the parts that were inhabited), these were what he called Tribes, I suppose from the tribute; for the mode of the people's paying their shares of this, in an equal proportion to their rated property, took its rise also from him: nor had these tribes any relation to the number and distribution of the centuries.

XLIV. When the census was completed, which he had expedited by the terrors of a law passed concerning such as should neglect to attend it, with denunciations of confinement and death, he issued a proclamation, that all citizens of Rome, horse and foot, should assemble in the Campus Martius at the dawn of day, each in his respective century; and having there drawn up the whole army in order, he performed the lustration or purification of it, by the ceremonies and sacrifices called *Suove-taurilia*.<sup>9</sup> This was called the closing of the lustrum, because it was the conclusion of the census. In that survey eighty thousand citi-

zens are said to have been rated. Fabius Pictor, the most ancient of our writers, adds, that this was the number of those who were able to bear arms. To accommodate so great a multitude, it was found necessary to enlarge the city in proportion: he added to it, therefore, two hills, the Quirinal and Viminal, and immediately adjoining the latter extended the limits of the Esquilæ, and there fixed his own residence, in order to bring the place into repute. He surrounded the city with a rampart, trenches, and a wall, and thus extended the *Pomœrium*. Those who consider merely the etymology of the word, explain *Pomœrium*, as denoting a space on the outside of the wall, *Postmœrium*: but it is rather a space on each side of the wall which the Etrurians, formerly, on the founding of cities, consecrated with the ceremonies used by augurs, in the direction wherein they intended the wall should run, of a certain breadth on both sides of it; with the intention that, on the inside, no buildings should be erected close to the walls, though now they are, in many places, joined to them; and also that, on the outside, a certain space of ground should lie open and unoccupied. This space, which it was unlawful either to inhabit or to till, the Romans called *Pomœrium*, not because it was on the outside of the wall any more than because the wall was on the outside of it: and always, on occasion of an addition being made to the city, as far as they intended that the walls should advance outward, so far these sacred limits were extended.

XLV. Having increased the power of the state by this enlargement of the city, and made every internal regulation that appeared best adapted to the exigencies both of war and peace, the king, who wished that the acquisition of power should not always depend on the mere force of arms, laid a scheme for extending his dominion, by the wisdom of his counsels, and raising, at the same time, a conspicuous ornament to the city. The temple of Diana at Ephesus was at that time universally celebrated, and it was commonly believed, that it had been built by a general contribution from the several states of Asia: Servius, in conversation with the chief men of the Latines, with whom he had taken pains to form connections of hospitality and friendship, both in his public and private capacity, used frequently, in the strongest terms, to recommend concord and a social union between their several gods; and

<sup>9</sup> So called from the victims, *sus, ovis, taurus*, a swine, a sheep, and bull; which, after being three times led round the army, were offered in sacrifice to Mars. See Adam.



by often repeating the same sentiments, prevailed so far at last, that the Latine states agreed to build, in conjunction with the Roman people, a temple to Diana at Rome. This was an acknowledgment that Rome was the sovereign head of both nations, a point which had been so often disputed in arms. But though the Latines, finding all their efforts in war ineffectual, seemed now to have thrown aside all concern with regard to that matter, yet among the Sabines one particular person did not neglect an opportunity, which seemed to be thrown in his way by fortune, of recovering independence, by the execution of a scheme which he planned himself. It is related, that this person, the head of a family, had a heifer calf of extraordinary size and beauty produced by one of his cows: her horns, which remained for many ages fixed in the porch of the temple of Diana, were a monument of this wonder. The matter was considered in the light of a prodigy, as it deserved, and the soothsayers declared, that sovereignty would reside in that state whose subject should sacrifice this heifer to Diana; and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest who had the charge of Diana's temple. The Sabine, as soon as he had fixed on a proper day for the sacrifice, drove the heifer to Rome, brought her to the temple of Diana, and placed her before the altar; the priest, suspecting the truth, from the size of the victim, of which he had heard so much, and remembering the prediction, addresses the Sabine thus: "Stranger, what are you preparing to do? To perform sacrifice to Diana without the necessary purification? Why do you not first dip yourself in a running stream? The Tiber flows along in the bottom of that vale." The stranger, struck with the scruple, and anxious to have every thing performed in due order, that the event might answer to the prodigy, went down from the temple to the Tiber. In the mean time the Roman sacrificed the heifer to Diana, a circumstance which gave great pleasure to the king, and to the whole state.

XLVI. Servius, though long possession had now rendered his title to the crown indisputable, yet having heard that young Tarquinius sometimes threw out insinuations, that he held the government without the order of the people, first ingratiated himself with the commons, by making a general distribution among them of the lands taken from the enemy; and then ventured to propose the question to the people,

whether they "chose and ordered that he should be king?" Whereupon he was declared king, with greater unanimity than had ever before appeared on any similar occasion. But the event did not lessen the hopes which Tarquinius had conceived, of being able to seat himself on the throne: on the contrary, having observed that the proceedings, relative to the lands for the commons, were highly disagreeable to the patricians, he embraced, the more eagerly, the opportunity which this afforded him, of arraigning the conduct of Servius before them, and of increasing his own influence in the senate. This young man was naturally of a fiery temper, and his restless spirit was continually stimulated at home by his wife Tullia: and the palace at Rome was destined to exhibit a scene of tragical villany; so that, disgusted at kings, the people might become more ripe for the asserting of their liberty, and that a reign, founded in wickedness, should prove the last. Whether this Lucius Tarquinius was the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, is not clear; following, however, the authority of the greater number, I have chosen to call him his son. He had a brother, Aruns Tarquinius, a youth of a mild disposition: to these two, as has already been mentioned, were married the two Tullias, the king's daughters, who were also of widely different tempers. It happened, luckily, that the two violent dispositions were not united in wedlock, owing, I presume, to the good fortune of the Roman people, that the reign of Servius being lengthened, the manners of the people might be fully formed. The haughty Tullia was highly chagrined, at finding in her husband no principle either of ambition or enterprise; she turned, therefore, her whole regard towards the other Tarquinius; him she admired, him she called a man, and a true descendant of the royal blood; her sister she despised, who, having got a *man* for her husband, showed nothing of that spirit of enterprise which became a *woman*. Similarity of disposition quickly produced an intimacy between them, as is generally the case; evil is fittest to consort with its like. But it was the woman who set on foot the scene of universal confusion which followed. In the many private conversations which she used to hold with her sister's husband, she refrained not from throwing out the most violent reproaches against her own, to his brother, and against her sister, to that sister's husband;

affirming, that "it were better that both he and she were unmarried, than to be so unsuitably matched; that, through the stupidity of others, they were condemned to a life of inactivity. If the gods had granted her such a husband, as she deserved, quickly would be seen in her own house, that crown which was now upon her father's head." She soon inspired the young man with notions as desperate as her own. Aruns Tarquinius, and the younger Tullia, dying almost immediately after, and thus leaving room in their families for new nuptials, they were joined in matrimony, Servius rather not obstructing, than approving of, the match.

XLVII. From that time forward, Tullius, now in an advanced age, found himself daily exposed to new disquietudes, and his authority to new dangers; for Tullia now prepared to proceed from one wickedness to another, and never ceased, either night or day, teasing her husband not to let the parricides which they had committed, pass without effect. "She wanted not," she said, "a person who should give her the name of a wife, or with whom she might, in silence, submit to bondage; what she desired was, one who would consider himself as worthy of the throne; who would remember that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus; who would prefer the present possession, to distant hopes of a kingdom. If you be such a man as I took you for, when I married you, I address you by the titles of my husband, and my king: if not, my condition is now changed so far for the worse, that in you, together with poverty of spirit, I find villany united. Why not proceed in the business? You are not obliged to set out from Corinth or Tarquinii, as your father was, to struggle for foreign kingdoms. The gods of your family, and those of your native country, and your father's image, and the royal palace in which you reside, and the royal throne in that palace, and the name of Tarquinius, these constitute you, and call you king. Or, if you have not a spirit daring enough for such an enterprise, why deceive the nation? Why assume the figure of a youth of royal blood? Get you hence to Tarquinii, or to Corinth. Sink back again into the original obscurity of your race; fitter to be compared with your brother, than with your father." With these, and other such reproaches and incentives, she spurred on the young man; nor could she herself, with any degree of patience, endure the reflection, that Tanaquil, a

foreign woman, had by her spirited exertions acquired such consequence, as to be able to dispose of the kingdom twice successively; first, to her husband, and next, to her son-in-law; while she, sprung from royal blood, was to have no influence in bestowing it, or taking it away. Tarquinius, hurried on by the phrenzy infused into him by this woman, went round among the patricians, particularly those of the younger families, and solicited their interest; put them in mind of his father's kindness to them, and demanded a requital of it; enticed the young men by presents; and endeavoured to increase his consequence on every occasion, both by magnificent promises on his part, and by heavy charges of misconduct against the king. At length, judging the season ripe for the accomplishment of his purpose, he rushed suddenly into the Forum, attended by a band of armed men, and, while all were struck motionless with terror, proceeded through it, and then seating himself on the king's throne in the senate-house, ordered the senators to be summoned by a herald, to attend their king Tarquinius. They assembled instantly, some having been prepared before for the occasion, others dreading ill consequences to themselves in case they did not attend; for they were filled with amazement at the novelty and strangeness of the proceeding, and thought the case of Servius utterly desperate. Then Tarquinius, beginning his invectives with reflections on the king's immediate ancestors, represented him as a "slave, the son of a slave, who, after the untimely death of his parent, without an interregnum being appointed as usual, without an election being held, had taken possession of the throne, not in consequence of a vote of the people, or of the approbation of the senate, but as the gift of a woman. Being thus descended, and thus created king, ever favouring the lowest class of people, to which he himself belonged, he had, through an antipathy to the honourable descent of others, taken away the lands from the chief men in the state, and distributed them among the very meanest. All the burdens which heretofore had been borne in common, he had thrown on those of highest rank. He had instituted the census, in order that the fortunes of the more wealthy might be more conspicuously exposed to envy, and become a ready fund, out of which he could, when he chose, give bribes to the most needy."



XLVIII. In the midst of this harangue, Servius, having been alarmed by an account of the disturbance, entered, and immediately, from the porch of the senate-house, called out with a loud voice, "What is the matter here, Tarquinius? How dare you presume, while I am alive, to convene the senate, or to sit on my throne?" To this the other, in a determined tone, replied, "That the seat which he occupied was the seat of his own father: that, as the king's son, he was much better entitled to inherit the throne than a slave; and that he (Servius) had been suffered long enough to insult his masters with arbitrary insolence." A clamorous dispute immediately began between the partizans of each; the people ran together in crowds into the senate-house, and it became evident, that the possession of the throne depended on the issue of this contest. On this, Tarquinius, compelled now by necessity to proceed to the last extremity, having greatly the advantage in point of age and strength, caught Servius by the middle, and carrying him out of the senate-house, threw him from the top to the bottom of the stairs, and then returned to keep the senators together. The king's officers and attendants fled immediately. He himself, being desperately hurt, attempted, with the royal retinue, who were terrified almost to death, to retire to his house, and had arrived at the head of the Cyprian street, when he was slain by some, who had been sent thither for that purpose by Tarquinius, and had overtaken him in his flight. It is believed, other instances of her wickedness rendering it credible, that this was done by the advice of Tullia. It is certain, for there is sufficient proof of the fact, that she drove into the Forum in her chariot; and, without being abashed at such a multitude of men, called out her husband from the senate-house, and was the first who saluted him king. She was then ordered by him, to withdraw from such a tumult; and when, in her return home, she arrived at the head of the Cyprian street, where the enclosure of Diana lately stood, as the chariot turned to the right towards the Virbian hill, in order to drive up to the Esquilian mount, the person who drove the horses, stopped and drew in the reins, and showed his mistress the murdered Servius lying on the ground. Her behaviour on this occasion is represented as inhuman and shocking; and the place bears testimony to it, being thence called the Wicked street, where Tullia, divested of all

feeling, agitated by the Furies, the avengers of her sister and husband, is said to have driven her chariot over her father's corpse, and to have carried on her bloody vehicle, part of the body and the blood of that parent, with which she herself was also sprinkled and stained, to the household gods of her and her husband's family, through whose resentment followed, shortly after, a train of events suited to the iniquitous commencement of this reign. Servius Tullius reigned forty-four years, during which his conduct was such, that even a good and moderate successor would have found it difficult to support a competition with him. This circumstance also still farther enhanced his fame, that, together with him, perished all regular and legal government. Mild and moderate as his administration was, yet, because the government was lodged in the hands of a single person, some authors tell us, he intended to have resigned it, had not the wickedness of his family broken off the designs which he meditated, for establishing the liberty of his country.

XLIX. [Y. R. 220. B. C. 532.] Thus began the reign of Lucius Tarquinius, who, from his subsequent behaviour, acquired the surname of the proud; for this unworthy son-in-law prohibited the burial of the king, alleging that Romulus likewise had remained unburied. The principal senators, whom he suspected of favouring the interest of Servius, he put to death; and soon becoming apprehensive, that the precedent of acquiring the crown by wicked means, might be adopted, from his own practice, against himself, he kept an armed band about him for the security of his person: for he had no kind of title to the crown, but that of force, holding it neither by the order of the people, nor with the approbation of the senate. And besides this, as he could place no reliance on the affection of his subjects, he was obliged to raise, in their fears, a fence to his authority. In order to diffuse these the more extensively, he took entirely into his own hands the cognizance of capital offences, which he determined without consulting with any person whatever; so that he could put to death, banish or impose fines, not only on those whom he suspected or disliked, but on persons, with respect to whom he could have no other view, than that of plunder. Having, by these means, diminished the number of the senate, against whom his proceedings were chiefly levelled, he determined not to fill up the vacancies; hoping that the

smallness of their number would expose that body to the greater contempt; and that they would show the less resentment, at their not being consulted on any business; for he was the first of the kings who discontinued the practice of his predecessors, of consulting the senate upon every occasion. In the administration of public affairs, he advised with none but his own private family. War, peace, treaties, alliances, he of himself, with such advisers as he chose, declared, contracted, and dissolved, without any order, either of the people, or of the senate. He took particular pains to attach the nation of the Latines to his interest, availing himself of foreign aid, the more effectually to insure his safety at home: and he formed with their chiefs, not only connections of hospitality, but affinities; to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum he gave his daughter in marriage. Mamilius was of the most illustrious family, by far, of any among the Latines, being descended, if we may give credit to fame, from Ulysses and the goddess Circe. By this match he engaged the support of his numerous friends and relations.

L. Tarquinius now possessed great influence among the Latine chiefs, when he issued orders that they should assemble on a certain day, at the grove of Ferentina, saying, that he wished to confer with them on some matters of common concern. They accordingly met in great numbers, at the dawn of day: Tarquinius himself observed indeed the day, but did not come until a little before sun-set. Meanwhile, many topics were discussed, and various opinions uttered in the assembly. Turnus Herdonius, of Aricia, inveighed violently against Tarquinius, for not attending. "It was no wonder," he said, "that the surname of proud had been bestowed on him at Rome:" for, at this time, they generally gave him that appellation, though only in private discourse. "Could any instance be given of greater pride, than his trifling thus with the whole nation of the Latines? After their chiefs had been brought together by his summons, at so great a distance from home, the very person who called the meeting did not attend. He was certainly making trial of their patience, intending, if they submitted to the yoke, to crush them, when they could not resist. For who did not see plainly, that he was aiming at sovereignty over the Latines? and if his own countrymen had reason to be

pleased at having intrusted him with that power; or if, in reality, it had been intrusted to him, and not forcibly seized on through parricide, then the Latines ought also to intrust him with it. But no: not even in that case, because he was a foreigner. Yet, if the Romans repined at his government, exposed as they were to murders, banishment, and confiscations without end, what better prospect could the Latines entertain? If they listened to him, they would depart each to his own home, and would pay no more regard to the day of assembly, than was shown by the person who appointed it." Whilst this man, who was naturally seditious and turbulent, and who had by these means acquired some degree of power at home, was thus haranguing the people, Tarquinius came into the assembly. This put an end to his discourse. Every one turned away from him to salute Tarquinius, who, being advised by his friends to make an apology for having come at that time of the day, when silence was made, told them, that "he had been chosen arbiter between a father and son, and had been detained by the pains which he was obliged to take to bring about a reconciliation; and that, as that business had consumed the day, he would on the morrow, lay before them what he had to propose." Even this, we are told, was not suffered by Turnus to pass without notice; for he observed, that "there could be no controversy shorter than one between a father and son, which might be despatched in a few words; if the son did not submit to his father, he should take the ill consequences."

LI. Uttering these reflections against the Roman king, the Arician withdrew from the assembly; and Tarquinius, who was more incensed at his behaviour than he appeared to be, began immediately to contrive schemes for the destruction of Turnus, in order to strike the same terror into the Latines, by which he had depressed the spirits of his subjects at home. And as he could not, of his own mere authority, openly put him to death, he effected, by a false accusation, the ruin of an innocent man. By means of some Aricians, of the opposite faction, he bribed a servant of Turnus to suffer a large quantity of swords to be privately conveyed into his lodging: this part of his scheme being completed, during the course of that same night, Tarquinius, a little before day, called together about him the chiefs of the La-



tines, as if he had been alarmed by some extraordinary occurrence, and told them, that "his delay yesterday, as if it were the effect of the particular care of the gods, had been the means of preserving him and them from destruction :—that he had received information that a plan had been laid by Turnus to murder him and the Latine chiefs, in order that he might enjoy alone the government of the Latines :—that he intended to have fallen upon them yesterday, in the assembly, but the business was deferred, because the person who called the meeting, and who was his principal object, was not there: this was the reason of all that abuse thrown on him for being absent ; because, by that absence, he had frustrated his design :—that he had no doubt but, if the intelligence was true, he would, early next morning, when the assembly met, come thither in arms, and attended by an armed force. He was told, that a vast number of swords had been carried to his house ; whether that were false or not, might be instantly known, and he requested that they would go with him directly to Turnus." They saw some grounds of suspicion in the violent temper of Turnus ; his discourse the day before, and the delay of Tarquinius ; and it seemed not impossible that the massacre might have been deferred on that account. They went, therefore, with minds inclined to believe the report, but at the same time determined, unless the swords were discovered, to consider all the rest as groundless. When they came to the spot, guards were placed round Turnus, who was roused from sleep ; and the servants, who, out of affection to their master, prepared to use force, being secured, the swords, which had been concealed, were drawn out from every part of the lodging, and then the affair appeared manifest. Turnus was loaded with chains, and a great tumult ensuing, an assembly of the Latines was immediately summoned. There, on the swords being placed in the midst of them, to such a pitch of fury were they raised, that not allowing him to make a defence, and using an extraordinary method of execution, they threw him into the reservoir of the water of Ferentina, where a hurdle being placed over him, and a heap of stones cast on that, he was drowned.

LII. Tarquinius, having then re-assembled the Latines, and highly commended them, for having inflicted on Turnus, as one convicted of parricide, the punishment which he had merited

by his attempt to overturn the government, spoke to this purpose : " That he might, without doubt, take upon himself to act, in virtue of a right long since established, because all the Latines, deriving their origin from Alba, were comprehended in that treaty, by which, under Tullus, the whole Alban nation, together with their colonies, were subjected to the dominion of the Romans. However, for the sake of the general advantage of all parties, he rather wished that that treaty should be renewed, and that the Latines should, as partners, enjoy the good fortune of the Roman people, than live always under the apprehension or endurance of the demolition of their cities, and the devastation of their lands, to which they had, during the reign of Ancus, first, and afterwards, in that of his father, been continually exposed." He found no difficulty in persuading the Latines, though in that treaty the advantage lay on the side of the Romans : they saw, too, that the chiefs of the Latine nation, in their behaviour, and sentiments, concurred with the king ; and Turnus was a recent instance of the danger to be apprehended by any one who should attempt opposition. The treaty was therefore renewed, and orders were given to the young men of the Latines, that they should on a certain day, according to the treaty, attend in a body under arms, at the grove of Ferentina. And when, in obedience to the edict of the Roman king, they had assembled there, from all the several states, in order that they should not have a general of their own, nor a separate command, or their own colours, he mixed the Romans and Latines together in companies, by dividing every company into two parts, and then forming two of these divisions, one of each nation, into one company, and having by this means doubled the number of the companies, he appointed centurions to command them.

LIII. Iniquitous as he was, in his conduct as king, his behaviour, at the head of an army, was not equally reprehensible : in that capacity, indeed, he would have equalled his predecessors, had not his degeneracy, in other particulars, detracted from the merit which, in that line, he possessed. He began the war against the Volscians, which lasted for more than two hundred years after his death, and took Suessa Pometia from them by storm ; from the sale of the plunder of which place, having amassed silver and gold to the value of forty ta-

lents,' he conceived a design of erecting a temple to Jupiter, of such grandeur as should be worthy of the king of gods and men, worthy of the Roman empire, and of the dignity of the place itself: for the building of this temple, he set apart the money which arose from the spoils. He was soon after engaged in a war, which gave him employment longer than he expected, during which, having in vain attempted, by storm, to make himself master of Gabii, a town in his neighbourhood, and seeing no reason to hope for success from a blockade, after he had been repulsed from the walls, he at length resolved to pursue the attack, not in a method becoming a Roman, but by fraud and stratagem. Accordingly, whilst he pretended to have laid aside all thoughts of proceeding in the war, and to have his attention entirely engaged in laying the foundation of the temple, and the construction of other works in the city, his son Sextus, the youngest of three, pursuant to a plan concerted, fled as a deserter to Gabii, making grievous complaints of his father's intolerable severity towards him, saying, that "he now made his own family feel the effects of his pride, which hitherto had fallen only on strangers, and was uneasy at seeing a number even of his own children about him, so that he intended to cause the same desolation in his own house, which he had already caused in the senate-house, and not to suffer any of his offspring, or any heir of the kingdom, to remain: that he himself had, with difficulty, made his escape from the sword of his father, and could in no place consider himself safe, except among the foes of Lucius Tarquinius." That the war against them, which was pretended to be laid aside, was not at an end; but, on the first opportunity, when he found them off their guard, he would certainly attack them. For his part, if, among them, suppliants could find no refuge, he would traverse every part of Latium, and if rejected there, would apply to the Volscians, the Æquans, and the Hernicians, nor rest, until he found some who were disposed to afford protection to children, from the cruel and unnatural severity of fathers. Perhaps, too, he should meet with those who might be inspired with ardour to take arms, and wage war, against the proudest of kings, and the most overbearing of nations." The Gabians, supposing that, if they did not

show some regard to him, he would go from them, full of resentment, to some other place, received him with every mark of kindness; told him, "he ought not to be surprised, that his father's behaviour towards his children now, was no better than what he had formerly shown towards his subjects and allies; that if other objects could not be found, he would at last vent his rage on himself: assured him, that his coming was very acceptable to them, and that they expected, in a short time, to see the seat of war transferred, with his assistance, from the gates of Gabii to the walls of Rome."

LIV. He was immediately admitted to a share in their public councils; and on these occasions, while he declared, that, in other affairs he would be guided by the opinion of the Gabian elders, who had better knowledge of those matters than he could have, he took every opportunity of recommending war, in respect of which he assumed to himself a superior degree of judgment, because he was well acquainted with the resources of both nations, and knew how utterly detestable to his subjects the king's pride had become, which even his own children could not endure. Whilst he thus, by degrees, worked up the minds of the Gabian chiefs to a renewal of the war, he used to go out himself, with the boldest of the youth, on expeditions and plundering parties; and, as all his words and actions were framed to the purpose of carrying on the deceit, their ill-grounded confidence in him increased to such a degree, that at length he was chosen commander-in-chief of the army. In this capacity, he fought several slight engagements with the Romans, in which he generally got the advantage: so that the Gabians, from the highest to the lowest, began to consider Sextus Tarquinius as a leader sent to them by the favour of the gods. Among the soldiers particularly, from his readiness to expose himself to danger and fatigue, and likewise from the liberal distribution of the spoil, he was so highly beloved, that Tarquinius was not more absolute at Rome than Sextus was at Gabii. Finding himself, therefore, secure of a support sufficient to carry him through any enterprise, he sent one of his attendants to his father at Rome, to inquire in what manner he would choose that he should proceed, since the gods had granted to him the entire disposal of every thing at Gabii: to this messenger, no answer was given in words, I suppose because he did



not seem fit to be trusted. The king, seemingly employed in deep deliberation, walked out into a garden adjoining the palace, followed by the messenger, and walking there in silence, as we are told, struck off with his cane the heads of the tallest poppies. The messenger, weary of repeating the question and waiting for an answer, returned to Gabii without having accomplished his business, as he thought ; told what he himself had said, and what he had seen ; that the king, either through anger or dislike, or the pride natural to his disposition, had not uttered a word. Sextus readily comprehending his father's meaning, and what conduct he recommended by those silent intimations, cut off all the principal men of the state ; some by prosecutions before the people ; others, who, being generally odious, could be attacked with greater safety, he put to death of his own authority ; many were executed openly ; several, against whom accusations would appear less plausible, were privately murdered ; some who chose to fly were not prevented, others were forced into banishment ; and the effects of the absentees, as well as of those who had suffered death, were distributed in largesses among the people : by these means, all sense of the public calamity was so entirely drowned in the sweets of bribery, plunder, and private profit, that, at length, the Gabian state, stripped of its counsellors and supporters, was delivered over, without a struggle, into the hands of the Roman king.

L.V. Tarquinius, having thus acquired possession of Gabii, concluded a peace with the nation of the Æquans, renewed the treaty with the Etrurians, and then turned his thoughts to the internal business of the city : among which, the object of his principal concern was to leave the temple of Jupiter, on the Tarpeian mount, a monument of his reign and of his name, to testify, that of two Tarquini, both of whom reigned, the father had vowed, and the son completed it. And in order that the ground might be clear from the interference of any of the other gods, and the temple to be erected thereon be appropriated wholly to Jupiter, he determined to cancel the inauguration of the temples and chapels, several of which had been vowed, first by Tatius during the very heat of the battle against Romulus, and afterwards consecrated there. It is related, that, during the preparations for founding this structure, the gods exerted their divine power, to exhibit in-

dications of the stability of this great empire : for, whilst the birds admitted the cancelling the inaugurations of all the other chapels, they did not give the signs of approbation, in the case of the temple of Terminus ; and that omen, and that augury, were deemed to import that the residence of Terminus must not be changed ; and his being the only one of the gods who would not submit to be called forth from the boundaries consecrated to him, denoted that all things were to stand firm and immovable. After they had received this presage of its perpetual duration, there followed another prodigy, portending the greatness of the empire ; a human head, with the face entire, is said to have appeared to those who were opening the foundation of the temple ; which appearance denoted, without the help of any far-fetched allusion, that this would be the metropolis of the empire, and the head of the world. Such was the interpretation given of it by the sooth-sayers, both those who were in the city, and others whom they sent for from Etruria, to hold a consultation on the subject. This encouraged the king to enlarge the expense, so that the spoils of Pometia, which, according to his first design, were to have completed the edifice, were scarcely sufficient for the foundations. For this reason, besides his being the more ancient writer, I should rather believe Fabius, that these amounted to no more than forty talents,<sup>1</sup> than Piso, who writes, that forty thousand pounds weight of silver<sup>2</sup> were set apart for that purpose ; a sum of money, that could not be expected out of the spoil of any one city in that age, and which must have been more than sufficient for laying the foundations even of the most magnificent of our modern structures. Intent on finishing the temple, he sent for workmen from all parts of Etruria, and converted to that use, not only the public money, but the public labour ; and although this, which was in itself no small hardship, was added to the toils of military service, yet the people murmured the less, when they considered that they were employing their hands in erecting temples to the gods. They were afterwards obliged to toil at other works, which, though they made less show, were attended with greater difficulty ; the erecting seats in the Circus, and conducting under ground the principal sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the city ;

two works to which the magnificence of modern times can scarcely produce any thing equal. After the people had been fatigued by these labours, the king, considering so great a multitude as a burden to the city, where there was not employment for them, and wishing at the same time to extend the frontiers of his dominions, by means of colonies, sent a number of colonists to Signia and Circeii, to serve as barriers to the city, against an enemy, both by land and sea.

LVI. While he was thus employed, a dreadful prodigy appeared to him; a snake, sliding out of a wooden pillar, terrified the beholders, and made them fly into the palace. This not only struck the king himself with sudden terror, but filled his breast with anxious apprehensions: so that, whereas in the case of public prodigies, the Etrurian soothsayers only were applied to, being thoroughly frightened at this domestic apparition, as it were, he resolved to send to Delphi, the most celebrated oracle in the world; and judging it unsafe to intrust the answers which should be given to indifferent persons, he sent his two sons into Greece, through lands little known at that time, and seas still less so. Titus and Aruns set out, and, as a companion, was sent with them, Lucius Junius Brutus, son to Tarquinia, the king's sister, a young man of a capacity widely different from the appearance which he had put on. Having heard that the principal men in the state, and, among the rest, his brother, had been put to death by his uncle, ~~he~~ resolved that the king should find nothing to dread, either from his manners or his means, and to seek security in contempt. He took care, therefore, to fashion his behaviour to the semblance of foolishness, submitting himself and his fortune to the pleasure and rapacity of the king. Nor did he show any dislike to the surname of Brutus, content that, under the cover of that appellation, the genius, which was to be the deliverer of the Roman people, should lie concealed, and wait the proper season for exertion. He was, at this time, carried to Delphi by the Tarquini, rather as a subject of sport, than as a companion; and is said to have brought as an offering to Apollo, a golden wand, inclosed in a staff of cornelwood, hollowed for that purpose, an emblem figurative of the state of his own capacity. When they arrived there, and executed their father's commission, the young men felt a wish

to inquire, to which of them the kingdom of Rome was to belong; and we are told, that these words were uttered from the bottom of the cave, "Young men, which ever of you shall first kiss your mother, he shall possess the sovereign power at Rome." The Tarquini ordered that this matter should be kept secret, with the utmost care; that Sextus, who had been left behind at Rome, might remain ignorant of the answer, so as to have no chance for the kingdom. They themselves had recourse to lots, to determine which of them should first kiss their mother, on their return to Rome; Brutus judged that the expression of Apollo had another meaning, and, as if he had accidentally stumbled and fallen, he touched the earth with his lips, considering that she was the common mother of all mankind. On their return from thence to Rome, they found vigorous preparations going on for a war against the Rutulians.

LVII. Ardea was a city belonging to the Rutulians, a nation, considering the part of the world and the age, remarkably opulent; and this very circumstance gave occasion to the war; for the Roman king was earnestly desirous, both of procuring money for himself, his treasury being exhausted by the magnificence of his public works, and also of reconciling, by means of the spoils, the minds of his subjects, who were highly dissatisfied with his government: for, besides other instances of his pride, they thought themselves ill-treated by being engaged, for such a length of time, in the employments of handicrafts, and in labour fit for slaves. An attempt was made to take Ardea by storm, and that not succeeding, he adopted the plan of distressing the enemy by a blockade, and works erected round them. In this fixed post, as is generally the case when the operations of war are rather tedious than vigorous, leave of absence was readily granted, and to the principal officers, more readily than to the soldiers; the young men of the royal family in particular frequently passed their leisure time in feasting and entertainments. It happened that while these were drinking together, at the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius, where Collatinus Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, also supped, mention was made of their wives; each extolled his own to the skies: on this a dispute arising, Collatinus told them, that "there was no need of words; it could easily be known, in a few hours, how much his Lucretia excelled the rest:



we are young, and strong; let us mount our horses, and inspect in person the behaviour of our wives: that must be the most unexceptionable proof which meets our eyes, on the unexpected arrival of the husband." They were heated with wine: "Agreed," was the word; at full speed they fly to Rome. Having arrived there at the first dusk of the evening, they proceeded thence to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, not like the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time in luxurious entertainments among those of their own rank, but busily employed with her wool, though at that late hour, and sitting in the middle of the house, with her maids at work around her: the honour of superiority among the ladies mentioned in the dispute was of course acknowledged to belong to Lucretia. Her husband, on his arrival, and the Tarquinius, were kindly received; and the husband, exulting in his victory, gave the royal youths a friendly invitation. There, Sextus Tarquinius, instigated by brutal lust, formed a design of violating Lucretia's chastity by force, both her beauty and her approved modesty serving as incentives: after this youthful frolic of the night, they returned to the camp.

LVIII. A few days after, Sextus Tarquinius, without the knowledge of Collatinus, went to Collatia, with only a single attendant: he was kindly received by the family, who suspected not his design, and, after supper, conducted to the chamber where guests were lodged. Then, burning with desire, as soon as he thought that every thing was safe, and the family all at rest, he came with his sword drawn to Lucretia, where she lay asleep, and, holding her down, with his left hand pressed on her breast, said, "Lucretia, be silent: I am Sextus Tarquinius; my sword is in my hand, if you utter a word, you die." Terrified at being thus disturbed from sleep, she saw no assistance near, and immediate death threatening her. Tarquinius then acknowledged his passion, entreated, mixed threats with entreaties, and used every argument likely to have effect on a woman's mind: but finding her inflexible, and not to be moved, even by the fear of death, he added to that fear, the dread of dishonour, telling her that, after killing her, he would murder a slave, and lay him naked by her side, that she might be said to have been slain in base adultery. The shocking apprehensions, conveyed by this menace, overpower-

ing her resolution in defending her chastity, his lust became victorious; and Tarquinius departed, applauding himself for this triumph over a lady's honour. But Lucretia, plunged by such a disaster into the deepest distress, despatched a messenger to Rome to her father, with orders to proceed to Ardea to her husband, and to desire them to come to her, each with one faithful friend; to tell them, that there was a necessity for their doing so, and speedily; for that a dreadful affair had happened. Spurius Lucretius came with Publius Valerius, the son of Volesus; Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus, in company with whom he chanced to be returning to Rome, when he was met by his wife's messenger. They found Lucretia sitting in her chamber, melancholy and dejected: on the arrival of her friends, she burst into tears, and on her husband's asking, "Is all well?" "Far from it," said she, "for how can it be well with a woman who has lost her chastity? Collatinus, the impression of another man is in your bed; yet my person only has been violated, my mind is guiltless as my death will testify. But give me your right hands, and pledge your honour that the adulterer shall not escape unpunished. He is Sextus Tarquinius, who, under the appearance of a guest, disguising an enemy, obtained here, last night, by armed violence, a triumph deadly to me, and to himself also, if ye be men." They all pledged their honour, one after another, and endeavoured to comfort her distracted mind, acquitting her of blame, as under the compulsion of force, and charging it on the violent perpetrator of the crime, told her, that "the mind alone was capable of sinning, not the body, and that where there was no such intention, there could be no guilt." "It is your concern," said she, "to consider what is due to him; as to me, though I acquit myself of the guilt, I cannot dispense with the penalty, nor shall any woman ever plead the example of Lucretia, for surviving her chastity." Thus saying, she plunged into her heart a knife, which she had concealed under her garment, and falling forward on the wound, dropped lifeless. The husband and father shrieked aloud.

LIX. But Brutus, while they were overpowered by grief, drawing the knife from the wound of Lucretia, and holding it out, reeking with blood, before him, said, "By this blood, most chaste until injured by royal insolence, I

swear, and call you, O ye gods, to witness, that I will prosecute to destruction, by sword, fire, and every forcible means in my power, both Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, and his impious wife, together with their entire race, and never will suffer one of them, nor any other person whatsoever, to be king in Rome." He then delivered the knife to Collatinus, afterwards to Lucretius, and Valerius, who were filled with amazement, as at a prodigy, and at a loss to account for this unusual elevation of sentiment in the mind of Brutus. However, they took the oath as directed, and converting their grief into rage, followed Brutus, who put himself at their head, and called on them to proceed instantly to abolish kingly power. They brought out the body of Lucretia from the house, conveyed it to the forum, and assembled the people, who came together quickly, in astonishment, as may be supposed, at a deed so atrocious and unheard-of. Every one exclaimed with vehemence against the villany and violence of the prince: they were deeply affected by the grief of her father, and also by the discourse of Brutus, who rebuked their tears and ineffectual complaints, and advised them, as became men, as became Romans, to take up arms against those who had dared to treat them as enemies. The most spirited among the youth offered themselves with their arms, and the rest followed their example. On which, leaving half their number at the gates to defend Collatia, and fixing guards to prevent any intelligence of the commotion being carried to the princes, the rest, with Brutus at their head, marched to Rome. When they arrived there, the sight of such an armed multitude spread terror and confusion wherever they came: but, in a little time, when people observed the principal men of the state marching at their head, they concluded, that whatever the matter was, there must be good reason for it. Nor did the heinousness of the affair raise less violent emotions in the minds of the people at Rome, than it had at Collatia: so that, from all parts of the city, they hurried into the forum; where, as soon as the party arrived, a crier summoned the people to attend the tribune of the celeres, which office happened at that time to be held by Brutus. He there made a speech, no way consonant to that low degree of sensibility and capacity, which, until that day, he had counterfeited; recounting the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquinius, the shocking violation of

Lucretia's chastity, and her lamentable death; the misfortune of Tricipitinus, in being left childless, who must feel the cause of his daughter's death as a greater injury and cruelty, than her death itself: to these representations he added the pride of the king himself, the miseries and toils of the commons, buried under ground to cleanse sinks and sewers, saying, that "the citizens of Rome, the conquerors of all the neighbouring nations, were, from warriors, reduced to labourers and stone cutters;" mentioned the barbarous murder of king Servius Tullius, his abominable daughter driving in her carriage over the body of her father, and invoked the gods to avenge the cause of parents. By descanting on these and other, I suppose, more forcible topics, which the heinousness of present injuries suggested at the time, but which it is difficult for writers to repeat, he inflamed the rage of the multitude to such a degree, that they were easily persuaded to deprive the king of his government, and to pass an order for the banishment of Lucius Tarquinius, his wife, and children. Brutus himself, having collected and armed such of the young men as voluntarily gave in their names, set out for the camp at Ardea, in order to excite the troops there to take part against the king. The command in the city he left to Lucretius, who had some time before been appointed by the king to the office of præfect of the city.<sup>1</sup> During this tumult Tullia fled from her house; both men and women, wherever she passed, imprecating curses on her head, and invoking the furies, the avengers of parents.

LX. News of these proceedings having reached the camp, and the king, alarmed at such extraordinary events, having begun his march towards Rome, to suppress the commotions, Brutus, informed of his approach, turned into another road, in order to avoid a meeting, and very nearly at the same time, by different roads, Brutus arrived at Ardea, and Tarquinius at Rome. Tarquinius found the gates shut against him, and an order of banishment pronounced. The deliverer of the city was received in the camp with joy, and the king's sons were driven thence with disgrace. Two of these followed their father, and went into exile at Cære, among the Etrurians. Sextus Tarquinius having retired to

<sup>1</sup> The Præfect of the city was, in these times, a magistrate extraordinary, appointed to administer justice, and transact other necessary business, in the absence of the king, or consuls.



Gabii, as if to his own dominions, was slain by some persons, who were glad of an opportunity of gratifying old animosities, which he had excited there by his rapine and murders. Lucius Tarquinius Superbus reigned twenty-five years. The government of kings continued, from the building of the city to the establishment of its liberty, two hundred and forty-

four years. After that, in an assembly of the centuries, held by the præfect of the city, were elected, conformably to a plan found in the commentaries of Servius Tullius, two magistrates, called consuls. These were, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. [Y. R. 245. B. C. 507.]

# THE HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK II.

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Brutus binds the people, by an oath, never to restore the kingly government; obliges Tarquinius Collatinus, on account of his relationship to the Tarquinii, to resign the consulship, and retire from the city; puts to death his own sons, together with some other young men of rank, for a conspiracy in favour of the Tarquinii; falls in battle against the Veintians and Tarquinians, together with his antagonist Aruns, son of Superbus. War with Porsena. Exploits of Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola, and Clælia. The Claudian tribe formed, and the number of the tribes increased to twenty-one. The Latines, attempting to restore Tarquinius, are defeated by Aulus Postumius, dictator. The commons, on account of the great numbers confined for debt, secede to the Sacred mount; are appeased, and brought back, by the prudence of Menenius Agrippa. Five tribunes of the commons created. Banishment and subsequent conduct of Caius Marcius Coriolanus. First proposal of an Agrarian law. Spurius Cassius, aspiring to regal power, put to death. Oppia, a vestal virgin, convicted of incest, buried alive. The Fabian family undertake the Veientian war, and are all cut off, except one boy. Wars with the Volscians, Æquans, and Veintians. Dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians.

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I. HENCEFORWARD I am to treat of the affairs, civil and military, of a free people, for such the Romans were now become; [Y. R. 245. B. C. 507.] of annual magistrates, and the authority of the laws exalted above that of men. What greatly enhanced the public joy, on having attained to this state of freedom, was, the haughty insolence of the late king: for the former kings governed in such a manner, that all of them, in succession, might deservedly be reckoned as founders of the several parts, at least, of the city, which they added to it, to accommodate the great numbers of inhabitants, whom they themselves introduced. Nor can it be doubted, that the same Brutus, who justly merited so great glory, for having expelled that haughty king, would have hurt the public interest most materially, had he, through an over-hasty zeal for liberty, wrested the government from any one of the former princes. For what must have been the consequence, if that rabble of shepherds and vagabonds, fugitives from their own countries, having, under the sanction of an inviolable asylum, obtained liberty, or at least impunity; and, uncontrolled by dread of kingly power, had once been set in commotion by tribunitian

storms, and had, in a city, where they were strangers, engaged in contests with the patricians, before the pledges of wives and children, and an affection for the soil itself, which in length of time is acquired from habit, had united their minds in social concord? The state, as yet but a tender shoot, had, in that case, been torn to pieces by discord; whereas the tranquil moderation of the then government cherished it, and by due nourishment, brought it forward to such a condition, that, its powers being ripened, it was capable of producing the glorious fruit of liberty. The origin of liberty is to be dated from that period, rather on account of the consular government being limited to one year, than of any diminution made of the power which had been possessed by the kings. The first consuls enjoyed all their privileges, and all their ensigns of authority; in this respect, only, care was taken not to double the objects of terror by giving the fasces to both the consuls. Brutus, with the consent of his colleague, was first honoured with the fasces, and the zeal which he had shown as the champion of liberty in rescuing it from oppression, was not greater than that which he afterwards displayed in the character



of its guardian. First of all, while the people were in raptures at their new acquisition of freedom, lest they might afterwards be perverted by the importunities or presents of the princes, he bound them by an oath, that they would never suffer any man to assume the authority of king at Rome. Next, in order that the fulness of their body might give the greater weight to the senate, he filled up the number of the senators, which had been diminished by the king's murders, to the amount of three hundred, electing into that body the principal men of equestrian rank; and hence the practice is said to have taken its rise, of summoning to the senate those who are Fathers, and those who are Conscripti; for they called those who were elected into this new senate Conscripti. This had a wonderful effect towards producing concord in the state, and in attaching the affection of the commons to the patricians.

II. People then turned their attention to matters of religion; and because some public religious rites had been usually performed by the kings in person, in order that there should be no want of one on any occasion, they appointed a king of the sacrifices. This office they made subject to the jurisdiction of the pontiff, fearing lest honour, being joined to the title, might in some shape be injurious to liberty, which was then the first object of their concern: I know not whether they did not carry to excess their great anxiety to raise bulwarks to it, on all sides, even in points of the most trivial consequence; for the name of one of the consuls, though there was no other cause of dislike, became a subject of jealousy to the people. It was alleged, that "the Tarquinii had been too long accustomed to the possession of sovereign power: Priscus first began: next indeed reigned Servius Tullius, yet though that interruption occurred, Tarquinius Superbus never lost sight of the crown, so as to consider it the right of another; but, by violent and flagitious means, reclaimed it, as the inheritance of his family. Now, that Superbus had been expelled, the government was in the hands of Collatinus; the Tarquinii knew not how to live in a private station; the very name itself was displeasing, and dangerous to liberty." These discourses were, at first, gradually circulated through every part of the city, for the purpose of trying the disposition of the people. After the suspicions of

the commons had, by these suggestions, been sufficiently excited, Brutus called them together: when they were assembled, after first reciting the oath which the people had taken, that "they would never suffer a king at Rome, or any thing else that might be dangerous to liberty;" he told them, that "they must support this resolution with their utmost power; and that no circumstance, of any tendency that way, ought to be overlooked: that from his regard to the person alluded to, he mentioned the matter unwillingly; nor would he have mentioned it at all, did not his affection for the commonwealth outweigh all other considerations. The Roman people did not think that they had recovered entire freedom: the regal family, the regal name remained, not only in the city, but in the government: this was a circumstance, not merely unpropitious, but dangerous, to liberty. Do you, Lucius Tarquinius, of your own accord, remove from us this apprehension: we remember, we acknowledge that you expelled the princes: complete your kindness: carry hence their name. Your countrymen, on my recommendation, will not only give you up your property, but if you have occasion for more, will make liberal additions to it. Depart in friendship. Deliver the state from this, it may be, groundless apprehension; but the opinion is deeply rooted in their minds, that, only with the race of the Tarquinii, will kingly power depart hence." Astonishment at this extraordinary and unexpected affair at first deprived the consul of all power of utterance: and when he afterwards began to speak, the principal men of the state gathered round him, and with earnest importunity urged the same request. Others affected him less; but when Spurius Lucretius, his superior in age, and dignity of character, and his father-in-law besides, began to try every method of persuasion, using, by turns, arguments and entreaties, that he would suffer himself to be overcome by the general sense of his countrymen, the consul, fearing lest hereafter, when he should have returned to a private station, the same measures might be used against him, with the addition perhaps of confiscation of his property, and other marks of ignominy, resigned the office of consul, and, removing all his effects to Lavinium, withdrew from the territories of the state. Brutus, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, proposed to the people, that all who were of the Tarquinian family should be ban-

ished; and in an assembly of the centuries, he elected for his colleague, Publius Valerius, who had been his assistant in expelling the royal family.

III. No person now doubted but war would be immediately commenced by the Tarquinius; that event, however, did not take place so soon as was expected. But, what they entertained no apprehension of, liberty was very near being lost, by secret machinations and treachery. There were, among the Romans, several young men of no inconsiderable families, who, during the reign of the king, had indulged their pleasures too freely; and being of the same age, and constant companions of the younger Tarquinius, had been accustomed to live in a princely style: the privileges of all ranks being now reduced to one level, these grew uneasy at the restraint hereby laid on their irregularities, and complained heavily among themselves, that the liberty of others had imposed slavery on them. "A king was a human being; from him might a request be obtained, whether right or wrong: with him there was room for favour, and for acts of kindness; he could be angry, and he could forgive; he knew a distinction between a friend and an enemy. But the law was a deaf inexorable being, calculated rather for the safety and advantage of the poor, than of the rich; and admitted of no relaxation or indulgence, if its bounds were transgressed. Men being liable to so many mistakes, to have no other security but innocence is a hazardous situation." While their minds were in this discontented state, ambassadors arrived from the Tarquinius, who, without any mention of their restoration, demanded only their effects: the senate, having granted them an audience, continued their deliberations on the subject for several days, being apprehensive that a refusal to give them up, would afford a plausible reason for a war, and the giving them up, a fund in aid of it. Meanwhile the ambassadors were busily employed in schemes of another nature: whilst they openly demanded the effects, they were secretly forming a plan for recovering the throne, and addressing themselves to the young nobles, seemingly on the business which they were supposed to have in charge, they made trial of their dispositions. To those who lent an ear to their suggestions, they delivered letters from the Tarquinius, and concerted measures with them for receiving those princes privately into the city by night.

IV. The business was first intrusted to the brothers of the name of Vitellii, and those of the name of Aquillii; a sister of the Vitellii had been married to the consul Brutus, and there were two sons born of that marriage, now grown up, Titus and Tiberius: these were led in, by their uncles, to take part in the design; and several others of the young nobility were drawn into the conspiracy, whose names, at this distance of time, are unknown. In the meanwhile, the opinion of those, who advised the giving up of the property, having prevailed in the senate, this afforded the ambassadors a pretext for remaining in the city, because they had been allowed time by the consuls to procure carriages for the conveyance of the effects of the princes; all which time they spent in consultations with the conspirators, and had, by pressing instances, prevailed upon them to send letters for the Tarquinius; for "without these, how could they be so fully assured, as an affair of that high importance required, that the report of the ambassadors was not groundless?" These letters, given as a pledge of their sincerity, proved the means of detecting the plot: for the day before that on which they were to return to the Tarquinius, the ambassadors happening to sup with the Vitellii, and the conspirators having here in private had much conversation, as was natural, on the subject of their new enterprise, their discourse was overheard by one of the slaves, who had, before this, discovered that such a design was in agitation, but waited for this opportunity, until the letters should be given to the ambassadors; because these, being seized, would furnish full proof of the transaction. As soon as he found that they were delivered, he made a discovery of the affair to the consuls. The consuls, setting out from home directly, and apprehending the ambassadors and conspirators in the fact, effectually crushed the affair without any tumult; taking particular care, with regard to the letters, that they should not escape them. They instantly threw the traitors into chains, but hesitated for some time with regard to proceeding against the ambassadors; and though, by their behaviour, they had deserved to be treated as enemies, yet regard to the law of nations prevailed.

V. With respect to the effects of the princes, which they had before ordered to be restored, the business was now laid before the senate



for reconsideration; and they, actuated entirely by resentment, decreed, that they should not be restored, but converted to the use of the state. They were, therefore, given up to the commons as plunder, with the intent, that these, after such an act of violence against the princes, as the seizing of their effects, might for ever lose all hope of reconciliation with them. The land of the Tarquinius, which lay between the city and the Tiber, being consecrated to the god of war, has, from that time, been called the Field of Mars. It happened, that there was then on that ground a crop of corn, ripe for the sickle, and, because it would be an impiety to make use of this produce of the field, a great number of men were sent in at once, who, having cut it down, carried it in baskets, and threw it, grain and straw together, into the Tiber, whose waters were low at that time, as is generally the case in the middle of summer. The heaps of corn then being frequently stopped for a while in the shallows, and having contracted a covering of mud, sunk, and remained fixed, and by these means, with the afflux of other materials which the stream is apt to carry down, an island<sup>1</sup> was gradually formed. I suppose that mounds were afterwards added, and assistance given by art, to raise the surface to its present height, and give it sufficient firmness to support temples and porticoes. After the people had made plunder of the effects of the princes, the traitors were condemned and executed. And the execution was the more remarkable on this account, that his office of consul imposed on a father the severe duty of inflicting punishment on his own sons; and that he, who ought not to have been present as a spectator, was yet the very person whom fortune pitched on to exact the penalty of their offence. The youths, all of the first distinction, stood tied to stakes, but the sons of the consul entirely engaged the eyes of the spectators, as if the others were persons unknown; and people felt compassion not only for their punishment, but even for the crime by which they had brought it on themselves: to think that "they could, during that year particularly, have been induced to entertain a design of betraying their country, just delivered from tyranny, their father its deliverer, the consulship, which had commenced in the

Junian family, the patricians, commons, in a word, whatever Rome held in highest veneration, into the hands of one who was formerly a tyrannical king, now an enraged exile." The consuls mounted their throne, and the lictors were sent to inflict the punishment: after stripping the criminals naked, they beat them with rods, and beheaded them; whilst, through the whole process of the affair, the looks and countenance of Brutus afforded an extraordinary spectacle, the feelings of the father often struggling with the character of the magistrate enforcing the execution of the laws. Justice done to the offenders, in order to exhibit a striking example for the prevention of crimes, in their treatment of the several parties, they gave, as a reward to the discoverer of the treason, a sum of money out of the treasury, his freedom, and the rights of a citizen. This man is said to be the first who was made free by the *Vindicta*.<sup>2</sup> Some think that the term "*Vindicta*" was taken from him, his name having been *Vindicus*: after him, it obtained, as a rule, that whoever was made free in that manner, should be considered and admitted a citizen.

VI. Tarquinius, on being informed of these transactions, became inflamed, not only with grief for the disappointment of such promising hopes, but with hatred and resentment; and, finding every pass shut against secret plots, determined to have recourse to open war; and, to that end, he went round to all the cities of Etruria, in the character of a suppliant, addressing himself particularly to the people of Veii and Tarquinius, entreating them, "not to suffer him, who was sprung from themselves, and of the same blood; who was lately possessed of so great a kingdom, now exiled and in want, to perish before their eyes, together with the young men his sons. Others had been invited from foreign countries to Rome, to fill the throne; but he, when in possession of the government, and while he was employing his arms in extending the limits of the Roman empire, was expelled by a villanous

<sup>1</sup> Between the Janiculum and the city. It was afterwards called the Holy Island, from the number of temples built upon it.

<sup>2</sup> The *vindicta* was a rod, or wand, with which the consul, in early times, afterwards the city-prætor, struck the slave presented to him for enfranchisement, the owner having previously given him a slight blow, and let him go out of his hands. The prætor then gave the rod to a lictor, who likewise struck the person manumitted. He was then registered as a freeman, and assumed the cap, the symbol of liberty, with much ceremony, in the temple of Feronia.

conspiracy of men who were most closely connected with him; who, because no one of their number was qualified to hold the reins of government, had forcibly shared the several parts of it among them, and had given up his property to be plundered by the populace, to the intent that all might be equally guilty. He only wished to be restored to his own country and crown, and to be avenged on his ungrateful subjects. He besought them to support and assist him, and, at the same time, to take revenge for the injuries which they themselves had sustained of old, for their legions so often slaughtered, and their lands taken from them." These arguments had the desired effect on the Veientians, every one of whom earnestly, and with menaces, declared that they ought now at least, with a Roman at their head, to efface the memory of their disgraces, and recover, by arms, what they had lost. The people of Tarquinius were moved by his name, and his relation to themselves: they thought it redounded to their honour, that their countrymen should reign at Rome. Thus two armies of two states followed Tarquinius to demand his restoration, and prosecute war against the Romans. When they advanced into the Roman territories, the consuls marched out to meet the enemy. Valerius led the infantry, in order of battle; Brutus, with the cavalry, marched at some distance before them, in order to procure intelligence. In like manner, the vanguard of the enemy was composed of cavalry, under the command of Aruns Tarquinius, the king's son; the king himself followed with the legions. Aruns, perceiving at a distance, by the lictors, that a consul was there, and afterwards, on a nearer approach, plainly distinguishing Brutus by his face, became inflamed with rage, and cried out, "That is the man who has driven us as exiles from our country; see how he marches in state, decorated with our ensigns: ye gods, avengers of kings, assist me!" He then spurred on his horse, and drove furiously against the consul. Brutus perceived that the attack was meant for him; and as it was at that time reckoned not improper for generals themselves to engage in fight, he eagerly offered himself to the combat; and they advanced against each other with such furious animosity, neither thinking of guarding his own person, but solely intent on wounding his enemy, that, in the violence of the conflict, each of them received his antagonist's spear in his body, through his buck-

ler, and being entangled together by the two spears, they both fell lifeless from their horses. At the same time, the rest of the cavalry began to engage, and were shortly after joined by the infantry: a battle then ensued, in which victory seemed alternately to incline to either party, the advantages being nearly equal: for the right wings of both armies got the better, and the left were worsted. At length the Veientians, accustomed to be vanquished by the Roman troops, were routed and dispersed: the Tarquinians, a new enemy, not only kept their ground, but even, on their side, made the Romans give way.

VII. Though such was the issue of the battle, yet so great terror took possession of Tarquinius and the Etrurians, that, giving up the enterprise as impracticable, both armies, the Veientian and the Tarquinian, retired by night to their respective countries. To the accounts of this battle, writers have added miracles; that, during the silence of the following night, a loud voice was uttered from the Arsian wood, which was believed to be the voice of Sylvanus, in these words: "The number of the Etrurians who fell in the engagement was the greater by one. The Romans have the victory." The Romans certainly departed from the field as conquerors, the Etrurians as vanquished: for when day appeared, and not one of the enemy was to be seen, the consul, Publius Valerius, collected the spoils, and returned in triumph to Rome. He celebrated the funeral of his colleague with the utmost degree of magnificence which those times could afford; but a much higher mark of honour to the deceased, was the grief expressed by the public, singularly remarkable in this particular, that the matrons mourned for him as for a parent, during a whole year, in gratitude for his vigorous exertions in avenging the cause of violated chastity. In a little time, the consul who survived, so changeable are the minds of the populace, from having enjoyed a high degree of popularity, became an object not only of jealousy, but of suspicion, attended with a charge of an atrocious nature; it was given out that he aspired at the sovereignty, because he had not substituted a colleague in the room of Brutus; and besides, was building a house on the summit of Mount Velia, which, in such a lofty and strong situation, would be an impregnable fortress. The consul's mind was deeply affected with concern and indignation, at finding that such reports



were circulated and believed: he therefore summoned the people to an assembly, and, ordering the fasces to be lowered,<sup>1</sup> mounted the rostrum. It was a sight highly pleasing to the multitude, to find the ensigns of sovereignty lowered to them, and an acknowledgment thus openly given, that the majesty and power of the people were superior to those of the consul. Attention being ordered, the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who, "after having accomplished the deliverance of his country, and being raised to the highest post of honour, met with death, while fighting in defence of the republic, when his glory had arrived at full maturity, without having excited jealousy: whereas he himself, surviving his glory, was become an object of calumny; and from the character of deliverer of his country, had sunk to a level with the Aquilii and Vitellii. Will no degree of merit, then," said he, "ever gain your confidence, so far as to be secure from the attacks of suspicion? Could I have the least apprehension that I, the bitterest enemy to kings, should undergo the charge of aiming at kingly power? Supposing that I dwelt in the very citadel, and in the Capitol, could I believe that I was an object of terror to my countrymen? Does my reputation among you depend on so mere a trifle? Is my title to your confidence so slightly founded, that it is more to be considered where I am, than what I am? Citizens, the house of Publius Valerius shall be no obstruction to your freedom; the Velian mount shall be secure to you: I will not only bring down my house to the plain, but will fix it under the hill, that your dwellings may overlook that of your suspected countryman. Let those build on the Velian mount to whom ye can better intrust your liberty than to Publius Valerius." Immediately all the materials were brought down from the Velian mount, and the house was built at the foot of the hill, where the temple of victory now stands.

VIII. Some laws were then proposed by the consul, which not only cleared him from all suspicion of a design to possess himself of regal power, but whose tendency was so contrary thereto, that they even rendered him popular, and from thence he acquired the surname of

Publicola. Such, particularly, was that concerning an appeal to the people against the decrees of the magistrates, and that which devoted both the person and goods of any who should form a design of assuming regal power. These laws were highly acceptable to the populace, and, having effected the ratification of them, while alone in office, in order that the credit of them might be entirely his own, he then held an assembly for the election of a new colleague. The consul elected was Spurius Lucretius, who, being far advanced in years, and too feeble to support the duties of his office, died in a few days after. Marcus Horatius Pulvillus was substituted in the room of Lucretius. In some old writers I find no mention of Lucretius as consul; they place Horatius as immediate successor to Brutus: I suppose he was not taken notice of, because his consulate was not signalized by any important transaction. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the consuls Valerius and Horatius cast lots which should perform the dedication, and it fell to Horatius. Publicola set out to conduct the war against the Veientians. The friends of Valerius showed more displeasure, than the occasion merited, at the dedication of a temple so celebrated being given to Horatius. Having endeavoured, by every means, to prevent its taking place, and all their attempts having failed of success, when the consul had already laid his hand on the door-post, and was employed in offering prayers to the gods, they hastily addressed him with the shocking intelligence, that his son was dead, and insisted that his family being thus defiled, he could not dedicate the temple. Whether he doubted the truth of the intelligence, or whether it was owing to great firmness of mind, we are not informed with certainty, nor is it easy to conjecture: but he was no farther diverted from the business he was engaged in, by that information, than just to give orders that the body should be buried; and, still holding the post, he finished his prayer, and dedicated the temple. Such were the transactions at home and abroad, which occurred during the first year after the expulsion of the royal family. The next consuls appointed were, Publius Valerius, a second time, and Titus Lucretius. [Y. R. 246. B. C. 506.]

IX. Meanwhile, the Tarquinius had carried their complaints to Lars Porsena, king of Clusium; and there, mixing admonitions with in-

<sup>1</sup> At the same time, he took the axes out of the fasces, and they were never, afterwards, carried in the fasces of the consuls within the city.

treaties, they at one time besought him that he would not suffer those, who derived their origin from Etruria, and were of the same blood and name, to spend their lives in poverty and exile; then warned him "not to let this new practice of dethroning kings proceed without chastisement; adding, that liberty had in itself sufficient sweets to allure others to follow the example, unless kings would show the same degree of vigour, in support of kingly power, which the people exerted to wrest it from them: the highest ranks would be reduced to a level with the lowest: there would be no dignity, no pre-eminence among the several members of society: there would soon be an end of regal authority, which among gods and men had heretofore been held in the highest degree of estimation." Porsena, considering it as highly conducive to the honour of Etruria, that there should be a king at Rome, and also that that king should be of Etrurian race, led an army to Rome, determined to support his pretensions by force of arms. Never on any former occasion were the senate struck with such terror, so powerful was the state of Clusium at that time, and so great the name of Porsena: nor were they in dread of their enemies only, but also of their own countrymen: lest the Roman populace, overcome by their fears, might admit the kings into the city, and, for the sake of peace, submit to slavery. The senate, therefore, at this season practised many conciliatory measures toward the commons: their first care was applied to the markets, and people were sent, some to the Volscians, others to Cumæ, to purchase corn; the privilege also of selling salt, because the price had been raised to an extravagant height, was taken out of the hands of private persons, and placed entirely under the management of government; the commons were also exempted from port-duties and taxes, that the public expenses might fall upon the rich, who were equal to the burden, the poor paying tax sufficient if they educated their children. This indulgent care preserved such harmony in the state, even during the people's severe sufferings afterwards, from siege and famine, that the name of king was abhorred by all; nor did any single person, in after times, ever acquire such a high degree of popularity by artful intrigues, as the whole senate then obtained by their wise administration.

X. As the enemy drew nigh, every one removed hastily from the country into the city,

on every side of which strong guards were posted. Some parts seemed well secured by the walls, others by the Tiber running close to them. The Sublician bridge was very near affording the enemy an entrance, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles: no other bulwark had the fortune of Rome on that day. He happened to be posted on guard at the bridge, and when he saw the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and the enemy pouring down from thence in full speed, his countrymen in disorder and confusion no longer attempting opposition, but quitting their ranks, he caught hold of every one that he could, and, appealing to gods and men, assured them, that, "it was in vain that they fled, after deserting the post which could protect them; that if they passed the bridge, and left it behind them, they would soon see greater numbers of the enemy in the Palatium and the Capitol, than in the Janiculum; wherefore he advised and warned them to break down the bridge, by their swords, fire, or any other effectual means, while he should sustain the attack of the enemy, as long as it was possible for one person to withstand them. He then advanced to the first entrance of the bridge, and being easily distinguished from those who showed their backs in retreating from the fight, by his facing to the front, with his arms prepared for action, he astonished the enemy by such wonderful intrepidity. Shame however prevailed on two to remain with him, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius, both of them men of distinguished families and characters: with their assistance he, for a time, supported the first storm, and the most furious part of the fight. Even these he sent back, when the bridge was nearly destroyed, and those who were employed in breaking it down called upon them to retire; then darting fierce menacing looks at each of the leaders of the Etrurians, he sometimes challenged them singly, sometimes upbraided them altogether, as slaves of haughty kings, who incapable of relishing liberty themselves, had come to wrest it from others. For a considerable time they hesitated, looking about for some other to begin the combat: shame at length put their troops in motion, and setting up a shout, they poured their javelins from all sides against their single opponent: all which having stuck in the shield with which he guarded himself, and he still persisting with the same undaunted resolution, and with haughty strides, to keep possession of his



post, they had now resolved, by making a violent push, to force him from it, when the crash of the falling bridge, and at the same time a shout raised by the Romans, for joy at having completed their purpose, filled them with sudden dismay, and stopped them from proceeding in the attempt. Then Cocles said, "Holy father, Tiberinus, I beseech thee to receive these arms, and this thy soldier, into thy propitious stream." With these words, armed as he was, he leaped down into the Tiber, and through showers of darts which fell around him, swam safe across to his friends, having exhibited a degree of intrepidity which, in after-times, was more generally celebrated than believed. The state showed a grateful sense of such high desert; a statue was erected to him in the Comitium, with a grant of land as large as he could plough completely in one day. The zeal of private persons too was conspicuous, amidst the honours conferred on him by the public; for, great as the scarcity then was, every one contributed something to him, in proportion to the stock of their family, abridging themselves of their own proper support.

XI. Porsena, disappointed of success in this first effort, changed his plan from an assault to a blockade; and, leaving a force sufficient to secure the Janiculum, encamped his main body in the plain along the bank of the Tiber, at the same time collecting ships from all quarters, at once to guard the passage, that no corn should be conveyed to Rome, and to enable his troops to cross over the river, in different places, as occasion offered, to lay waste the country. In a short time he extended his depredations so successfully, through every part of the Roman territories, that people were obliged to convey their effects into the city, as also their cattle, which no one would venture to drive without the gates. The Etrurians were permitted to act in this uncontrolled manner, not so much through fear, as design; for Valerius the consul, intent on gaining an opportunity of making an unexpected attack on a large number of them, at a time when they were unprepared, overlooked trifling advantages, reserving his force for a severe revenge on a more important occasion. With this view, in order to allure the plunderers, he gave orders to his men to drive out some cattle through the Esquiline gate, which was at the opposite side from the enemy; judging that these would soon

get information of it, because, during the blockade and the scarcity of provisions, many of the slaves turned traitors and deserted. Accordingly they were informed of it by a deserter, and passed over the river in much greater numbers than usual, in hopes of getting possession of the entire booty. Publius Valerius then ordered Titus Herminius, with a small body of men, to lie concealed near the two-mile stone on the Gabian road; Spurius Lartius, with a body of light-armed troops, to stand at the Colline gate until the enemy should pass by, and then to take post in their rear, so as to cut off their retreat to the river; the other consul, Titus Lucretius, with some companies of foot, marched out of the Nævian gate; Valerius himself led down his chosen cohorts from the Cœlian mount, and these were the first who were observed by the enemy. Herminius, as soon as he found that the alarm was taken, rushed out from his ambush, to take his share in the fray, and while the Etrurians were busied in forming an opposition to Valerius, fell upon their rear; the shout was returned, both from the right and from the left; from the Colline gate on the one hand, and the Nævian on the other. The plunderers being thus surrounded, destitute of strength to make head against their adversaries, and shut out from all possibility of a retreat, were cut to pieces. After this the Etrurians confined their ravages to narrower limits.

XII. The siege continued notwithstanding, and provisions becoming exceedingly scarce and dear, Porsena entertained hopes, that, by remaining quiet in his present position, he should become master of the city; when Caius Mucius, a noble youth, filled with indignation on reflecting that the Roman people, while they were in bondage under their kings, were never in any war besieged by any enemy, and that the same people, now in a state of freedom, were held besieged by those very Etrurians whose armies they had often routed, resolved therefore, by some great and daring effort, to remove such reproach. At first he designed to make his way into the enemy's camp, without communicating his intention; but afterwards, dreading lest, if he should go without the order of the consuls, and the knowledge of any, he might be apprehended by the Roman guards, and brought back as a deserter, an imputation for which the present circumstances of the city would afford plausible grounds, he ap-

plied to the senate, and told them, "Fathers, I intend to cross the Tiber, and to enter, if I can, the enemy's camp, not to seek for plunder, or to revenge their depredations in kind; the blow which I meditate, with the aid of the gods, is of more importance." The senate gave their approbation, and he set out with a sword concealed under his garment. When he came into the camp, he took his place close to the king's tribunal, where a very great crowd was assembled. It happened that, at this time, the soldiers were receiving their pay, and a secretary, sitting beside the king, and dressed nearly in the same manner, acted a principal part in the business, and to him the soldiers generally addressed themselves. Mucius, not daring to inquire which was Porsena, lest his not knowing the king should discover what he was, fortune blindly directing the stroke where it was not intended, slew the secretary, instead of the king. Then endeavouring to make his escape through a passage, which with his bloody weapon he cleared for himself among the dismayed crowd, a concourse of the soldiers being attracted by the noise, he was seized by the king's life-guards, and dragged back. Standing there single, among a crowd of enemies, before the king's tribunal, even in this situation, in the midst of fortune's severest threats, showing himself more capable of inspiring terror, than of feeling it, he spoke to this effect: "I am a Roman citizen; my name is Caius Mucius. As an enemy, I intended to have slain an enemy, nor is my resolution less firmly prepared to suffer death, than to inflict it. It is the part of a Roman both to act, and to suffer, with fortitude: nor am I the only one who has harboured such designs against you. There is a long list, after me, of candidates for the same glorious distinction. Prepare therefore, if you choose, for a contest of this sort, wherein you must every hour engage at the hazard of your life, and have the enemy and the sword continually in the porch of your pavilion; this is the kind of war in which we, Roman youths, engage against you; fear not an army in the field, nor in battle; the affair will rest between your single person, and each of us, separately." The king, inflamed with rage, and, at the same time, terrified at the danger, ordered fires to be kindled round him, threatening him with severe punishment unless he instantly explained what those plots were, with which he threat-

ened him in those ambiguous expressions: "Behold," said Mucius, "and perceive what little account is made of the body, by those who have in view the attainment of great glory;" and thrusting his right hand into a chafing-dish of coals which had been kindled for the purpose of a sacrifice, held it there to burn, as if he were void of all sense of feeling: on which the king, thunderstruck in a manner by such astonishing behaviour, leaped from his seat, ordered the youth to be removed from the altars, and said to him, "Retire in safety; for the treatment which you intended for me, was mild in comparison of that which you have practised on yourself. I should wish increase and success to your bravery, if that bravery were exerted on the side of my own country. However, I dismiss you untouched and unhurt; and discharge you from the penalties, which, by the laws of war, I might inflict." Mucius then, as if to make a return for this act of favour told him, "Since I find you disposed to honour bravery, that you may obtain from me by kindness what you could not by threats, know that three hundred of us, the principal youths in Rome, have bound ourselves to each other by an oath, to attack you in this manner; my lot happened to be first; the others will be with you, each in his turn, according as the lot shall set him foremost, until fortune shall afford an opportunity of succeeding against you."

XIII. Mucius, who afterwards got the surname of Scevola, or the left-handed, from the loss of his right hand, being thus dismissed, was followed to Rome by ambassadors from Porsena. The king had been so deeply affected by the danger to which he had been exposed, in the first attempt, from which nothing had protected him but the mistake of the assailant; and by the consideration that he was to undergo the same hazard, as many times as the number of the other conspirators amounted to, that he thought proper, of his own accord, to offer terms of accommodation to the Romans. During the negotiation, mention was made, to no purpose, of the restoration of the Tarquinian family to the throne; and this proposal he made, rather because he had not been able to refuse it to the Tarquini, than from entertaining the slightest expectation of its being accepted by the Romans. He carried the point, respecting the giving up of the lands taken from the Veientians, and compelled the Romans to submit



to give hostages, if they wished to see his forces withdrawn from the Janiculum. Peace being concluded on these terms, Porsena withdrew his troops from the Janiculum, and retired out of the Roman territories. To Caius Mucius, as a reward of his valour, the senate gave a tract of ground on the other side of the Tiber, which was afterwards called the Mucian meadows; and, such honour being paid to courage, excited even the other sex to merit public distinctions. A young lady called *Clœlia*, one of the hostages, (the camp of the Etrurians happening to be pitched at a small distance from the banks of the Tiber,) evaded the vigilance of the guards, and, at the head of a band of her companions, swam across the Tiber, through a shower of darts discharged at them by the enemy, and restored them all, in safety, to their friends at Rome. When the king was informed of this, being at first highly incensed, he sent envoys to Rome, to insist on the restoration of the hostage *Clœlia*; as to the rest, he showed little concern. But his anger, in a little time, being converted into admiration, he spoke of her exploit as superior to those of *Cocles* and *Mucius*; and declared that as, in case the hostage should not be given up, he would consider the treaty as broken off; so, if she should be surrendered, he would send her back to her friends in safety. Both parties behaved with honour; the Romans, on their side returned the pledge of peace, agreeably to the treaty, and with the Etrurian king merit found, not security only, but honours. After bestowing high compliments on the lady, he told her that he made her a present of half of the hostages, with full liberty to choose such as she liked. When they were all drawn out before her, she is said to have chosen the very young boys, which was not only consonant to maiden delicacy, but, in the universal opinion of the hostages themselves, highly reasonable, that those who were of such an age as was most liable to injury, should, in preference, be delivered out of the hands of enemies. Peace being thus re-established, the Romans rewarded this instance of intrepidity, so uncommon in the female sex, with a mark of honour as uncommon, an equestrian statue. This was erected at the head of the sacred street.

XIV. Very inconsistent with this peaceful manner, in which the Etrurian king retired from the city, is the practice handed down from early times, and continued, among other cus-

tomary usages, even in our own days, of proclaiming at public sales, that they are selling the goods of king Porsena: which custom must necessarily either have taken its rise originally during the war, or it must be derived from a milder source than seems to belong to the expression, which intimates that the goods for sale were taken from an enemy. Of the several accounts which have been given, this seems to be the nearest to truth: that Porsena, on retiring from the Janiculum, made a present to the Romans of his camp, which was plentifully stored with provisions collected from the neighbouring fertile lands of Etruria, the city at that time labouring under a scarcity, in consequence of the long siege: and lest the populace, if permitted, might seize on them, as the spoil of an enemy, they were set up to sale, and called the goods of Porsena; the appellation denoting rather gratitude for the gift, than an auction of the king's property, which, besides, never came into the power of the Romans. After he had put an end to the war with Rome, Porsena, that he might not appear to have led his troops into those countries to no purpose, sent his son Aruns, with half of his forces, to lay siege to Aricia: the unexpectedness of the attack struck the Aricians at first with dismay; but afterwards having collected aid, both from the Latine states and from Cumæ, they assumed such confidence, as to venture an engagement in the field. At the beginning of the battle, the Etrurians rushed on so furiously, that at the very first onset they put the Aricians to the rout: the cohorts from Cumæ, opposing art to force, moved a little to one side; and when the enemy, in the impetuosity of their career, had passed them, faced about, and attacked their rear. By these means the Etrurians, after having almost gained the victory, were surrounded and cut to pieces: a very small part of them, their general being lost, and no place of safety nearer, made the best of their way to Rome, without arms, and in their circumstances and appearance merely like suppliants; there they were kindly received, and provided with lodgings: when their wounds were cured, some of them returned home, and gave an account of the hospitality and kindness which they had experienced. A great number remained at Rome, induced by the regard which they had contracted for their hosts and for the city: they had ground allotted to them for building houses,

which was afterwards called the Tuscan street.

XV. The next elected consuls were Publius Lucretius, and Publius Valerius Publicola a third time. [Y. R. 247. B. C. 505.] During this year, ambassadors came from Porsena, for the last time, about restoring Tarquinius to the throne. The answer given to them was, that the senate would send ambassadors to the king; and accordingly, without delay, a deputation, consisting of the persons of the highest dignity among the senators, was sent with orders to acquaint him, that "it was not because their answer might not have been given in these few words, that the king would not be admitted, that they had chosen to send a select number of their body to him, rather than to give the answer to his ambassadors at Rome; but in order that an end might be put for ever to all mention of that business; and that the intercourse of mutual kindness, at present subsisting between them, might not be disturbed by the uneasiness which must arise to both parties, if he were to request what would be destructive of the liberty of the Roman people; and the Romans, unless they chose to comply at the expense of their own ruin, must give a refusal to a person, to whom they would wish to refuse nothing: that the Roman people were not under regal government, but in a state of freedom, and were fully determined to open their gates to declared enemies, rather than to kings: that this was the fixed resolution of every one of them; that the liberty of the city, and the city itself, should have the same period of existence; and, therefore, to entreat him that, that if he wished the safety of Rome, he would allow it to continue in its present state." The king, convinced of the impropriety of interfering any farther, replied, "Since this is your fixed and unalterable resolution, I will neither tease you by a repetition of fruitless applications on the same subject, nor will I disappoint the Tarquinius, by giving hopes of assistance, which they must not expect from me. Let them, whether they look for war or for quiet, seek some other residence in their exile, that there may subsist no cause of jealousy, to disturb, henceforward, the good understanding which I wish to maintain between you and me." To these expressions he added acts still more friendly; the hostages, which remained in his possession, he restored, and gave back the Veientian land, of which the Romans had been deprived by

the treaty at the Janiculum. Tarquinius, finding all hopes of his restoration cut off, retired for refuge to Tusculum, to his father-in-law, Mamilius Octavius. Thus peace and confidence were firmly established between the Romans and Porsena.

XVI. The next consuls were Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius. [Y. R. 249. B. C. 503.] During this year, war was carried on, with success, against the Sabines, and the consuls had the honour of a triumph. The Sabines, afterwards, preparing for a renewal of hostilities in a more formidable manner; to oppose them, and, at the same time, to guard against any sudden danger which might arise from the side of Tusculum, where, though war was not openly declared, there was reason to apprehend that it was intended, Publius Valerius, a fourth time, and Titus Lucretius, a second time, were chosen consuls. [Y. R. 250. B. C. 502.] A tumult which arose among the Sabines, between the advocates for peace and those for war, was the means of transferring a considerable part of their strength to the side of the Romans. For Atta Clausus, called afterwards at Rome Appius Claudius, being zealous in favour of peaceful measures, but overpowered by the turbulent promoters of war, and unable to make head against their faction, withdrew from Regillum to Rome, accompanied by a numerous body of adherents.<sup>1</sup> These were admitted to the rights of citizens, and had land assigned them beyond the Anio. They have been called the old Claudian tribe, to distinguish them from the new members, who, coming from the same part of the country, were afterwards added to that tribe. Appius was elected into the senate, and soon acquired a reputation among the most eminent. The consuls, in prosecution of the war, marched their army into the Sabine territories; and, after reducing the power of the enemy, by wasting their lands, and afterwards in battle, to such a degree, that there was no room to apprehend a renewal of hostilities in that quarter for a long time to come, returned in triumph to Rome. [Y. R. 251. B. C. 501.] In the ensuing year, when Agrippa Menius and Publius Postumius were consuls, died Publius Valerius, a man universally allowed to have excelled all others, in superior talents both for war and peace, full of glory, but in such slender circum-

<sup>1</sup> Not less than five thousand families accompanied him.



stances, that he left not sufficient to defray the charges of his funeral. He was buried at the expense of the public, and the matrons went into mourning for him, as they had done for Brutus. During the same year, two of the Latine colonies, Pomertia and Corn, revolted to the Auruncians, and war was undertaken against that people; a very numerous army, with which they boldly attempted to oppose the consuls, who were entering their borders, was entirely routed, and the Auruncians compelled to make their last stand at Pomertia: nor was the carnage less after the battle was over, than during its continuance; there were greater numbers slain than taken, and those who were made prisoners, were in general put to death; nay, in the violence of their rage, which ought to be confined to foes in arms, the enemy spared not even the hostages, three hundred of whom had been formerly put into their hands. During this year also there was a triumph at Rome.

XVII. The succeeding consuls, Opiter Virginius and Spurius Cassius, [Y. R. 252. B. C. 500.] attacked Pomertia, at first by storm, afterwards by regular approaches.<sup>1</sup> The Auruncians, actuated rather by implacable hatred, than by any hope of success, and without waiting for a favourable opportunity, resolved to assail them; and, sallying out, armed with fire and sword, they filled every place

with slaughter and conflagration; and besides burning the machines, and killing and wounding great numbers of their enemies, were very near killing one of the consuls, (which of them, writers do not inform us,) who was grievously wounded, and thrown from his horse. The troops, thus foiled in their enterprize, returned to Rome, leaving the consul, whose recovery was doubtful, together with a great number of wounded. After a short interval, just sufficient for the curing of their wounds, and recruiting the army, the Romans renewed their operations against Pomertia, with redoubled fury and augmented strength; and when they had anew completed their military works, the soldiers being just on the point of scaling the walls, the garrison capitulated. However, although the city had surrendered, the chiefs of the Auruncians were from all parts dragged to execution, with the same degree of cruelty as if it had been taken by assault: the other members of the colony were sold by auction: the town was demolished, and the land set up to sale. The consuls obtained a triumph, rather in consideration of their having gratified the people's resentment by severe revenge, than of the magnitude of the war which they had brought to a conclusion.

XVIII. The following year [Y. R. 253. B. C. 499.] the consuls were Postumus Cominius and Titus Lartius; when some Sabine youths having, through wantonness, used violence to certain courtezans at Rome, during the celebration of the public games, and a mob assembling, a scuffle ensued, which might almost be called a battle; and, from this trifling cause, matters seemed to have taken a tendency towards a renewal of hostilities. Besides the apprehension of a war with the Sabines, there was another affair which created much uneasiness: undoubted intelligence was received, that thirty states had already formed a conspiracy, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius. While Rome remained in this perplexity, looking forward with anxious apprehension to the issue of such a perilous conjuncture, mention was made, for the first time, of creating a dictator.<sup>2</sup> But in what year,

1 Orig. *Vi, deinde vineis, aliisque operibus*. The great difficulty of translation consists in the impossibility of finding corresponding terms. The modern art of war differs, so entirely, from the ancient, owing to the various improvements that have been introduced into that destructive science, during a period of more than two thousand years, and principally to the invention of gunpowder, that the ancient modes of attack and defence, as well as the various military machines, are not only now disused, but even no equivalent terms can, in any of the modern languages, be found for them. Thus, in the above passage, wherein the translator has taken the liberty, rather of describing the operation, than translating the original, the word *vineæ* occurs: this, as Vegetius informs us, was a machine constructed of timbers, strongly framed together, mounted on wheels and covered with hurdles, over which was put a quantity of earth; the assailants, thus protected against the missile weapons of the enemy, moved forward the machine; and, under cover of it, endeavoured to beat down, or undermine, the walls. The translator here begs leave, once for all, to observe, that he will often take the liberty he has done in this place of dropping terms, which cannot be translated; and which, if left untranslated in the text, could convey no idea whatever to the English reader; endeavouring, however, he hopes not unsuccessfully, by a short description, or slight circumlocution, to make his author's meaning sufficiently intelligible.

2 The dictator was an officer endued with absolute authority over all orders and bodies of men whatever; and from whom there was, in the early times of the republic, no appeal. He could not hold the office longer than six months, nor go out of Italy, nor could he march on horseback without leave previously obtained from

or who the consuls were, who could not be confided in, because they were of the Tarquinian faction, for that also is related, or who was the first person created dictator, we have no certain information. In the most ancient writers, however, I find it asserted, that the first dictator was Titus Lartius, and that Spurius Cassius was appointed master of the horse. They chose men of consular dignity, as ordered by the law enacted concerning the creating of a dictator. For this reason, I am the more induced to believe, that Lartius, who was of consular dignity, and not Manius Valerius, son of Marcus, and grandson of Volesus, who had not yet been consul, was placed over the consuls, as their director and master; as, even if it had been thought proper, that the dictator should be chosen out of that family, they would the rather have elected the father, Marcus Valerius, a man of approved merit, and of consular dignity. On this first establishment of a dictator at Rome, the populace, seeing the axes carried before him, were struck with such terror, as made them more submissive to rule; for they could not now, as under consuls who were equal in authority, hope for protection, from one of them, against the other; but prompt obedience was required of them, and in no case was there any appeal. Even the Sabines were alarmed at the appointment of a dictator by the Romans, the more so, because they supposed that he had been named to act against them; they therefore sent ambassadors to treat of an accommodation; who, requesting of the dictator and senate, that they would pardon the misconduct of thoughtless young men, were answered, that pardon might be granted to young men, but not to the old, who made it their constant practice to kindle one war after another. However, a negotiation was entered into for an adjustment of affairs, and it would have been concluded, if the Sabines had been willing to reimburse the costs expended on the war, for that was the condition required. War was proclaimed, but still a suspension of hostilities continued during the remainder of the year.

XIX. The consuls of the next year, [Y. R. 254. B. C. 498.] were Servius Sulpicius, and

the people. It became the practice, that one of the consuls, in the night, within the territory of the republic, named the dictator; and it was required that the nomination should be confirmed by auspices.

Manius Tullius. Nothing worth mention occurred. Then succeeded Titus Æbutius and Caius Vetusius. In their consulate, Fidenæ was besieged, Crustumeria taken, Præneste revolted from the Latines to the Romans, and a Latine war, the seeds for which had, for several years past, been growing to maturity, could not now be choked. Aulus Postumius dictator, and Titus Æbutius master of the horse, [Y. R. 255. B. C. 497.] marching out a numerous army of cavalry and infantry, met the forces of the enemy at the lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum; and, as it was known that the Tarquini were in the army of the Latines, the rage of the Romans could not be restrained, but they insisted on engaging instantly; for this reason, too, the battle was unusually obstinate and bloody; for the generals not only performed the duty of directing every thing, but, exposing their own persons, mixed with the combatants, and shared the fight; and scarcely one of the principal officers of either army left the field without being wounded, except the Roman dictator. As Postumius was encouraging and marshalling his men in the first line, Tarquinius Superbus, though now enfeebled by age, spurred on his horse furiously against him; but receiving a blow, was quickly surrounded by his own men, and carried off to a place of safety. On the other wing, Æbutius, the master of the horse, made an attack on Octavius Mamilius; nor was his approach unobserved by the Tusculan general, who advanced in full career to meet him, and each aiming his spear at his antagonist, they encountered with such violence, that the arm of Æbutius was pierced through, and Mamilius received a wound in his breast; the latter was received by the Latines in their second line; while Æbutius, disabled by the wound in his arm from wielding a weapon, retired from the fight. The Latine general, not in the least dispirited by his wound, continued his vigorous exertions; and perceiving his men begin to give ground, sent for a cohort of Roman exiles, commanded by Lucius the son of Tarquinius; these, fighting under the impulse of keen resentment, on account of their having been deprived of their property, and of their country, kept the battle for some time in suspense.

XX. The Romans were now on one side giving way, when Marcus Valerius, brother of Publicola, observing young Tarquinius, with



ostentatious fierceness, exhibiting his prowess in the front of the exiles, and inflamed with a desire of supporting the glory of his house, and that those who enjoyed the honour of having expelled the royal family, might also be signalized by their destruction, set spurs to his horse, and with his javelin presented, made towards Tarquinius; Tarquinius avoided this violent adversary, by retiring into the body of his men, and Valerius rashly pushing forward into the line of the exiles, was attacked, and run through, by some person on one side of him, and as the horse's speed was in no degree checked by the wound of the rider, the expiring Roman sunk to the earth, his arms falling over his body. Postumius the dictator, seeing a man of such rank slain, the exiles advancing to the charge with fierce impetuosity, his own men disheartened and giving way, issued orders to his cohort, a chosen band which he kept about his person as a guard, that they should treat as an enemy, every man of their own army whom they should see retreating. Meeting danger thus on both sides, the Romans, who were flying, faced about against the enemy, and renewed the fight; the dictator's cohort then, for the first time, engaged in battle; and, with fresh strength and spirits, falling on the exiles, who were exhausted with fatigue, made great slaughter of them. On this occasion another combat between two general officers took place; the Latine general on seeing the cohort of exiles almost surrounded by the Roman dictator, ordered several companies from the reserve to follow him instantly to the front; Titus Herminius, a lieutenant-general, observing these as they marched up, and, among them, knowing Mamilius, who was distinguished by his dress and arms, encountered him with a strength so much superior to what had been shown a little before, by the master of the horse, that with one blow he slew Mamilius, driving the spear through his side. Thus was he victorious; but having received a wound from a javelin, while he was stripping the armour from his adversary's body, he was carried off to the camp, and expired during the first dressing of it. The dictator then flew to the cavalry, entreating them, as the infantry were now fatigued, to dismount and support the engagement: they obeyed his orders, leaped from their horses, flew forward to the van, and covering themselves with their targets, took post as the front line: this instantly revived the courage of the infan-

try, who saw the young men of the first distinction foregoing every advantage in their manner of fighting, and taking an equal share of the danger. By these means, the Latines were at length overpowered, their troops were beaten from their ground, and began to retreat: the horses were then brought up to the cavalry, in order that they might pursue the enemy, and the line of infantry followed. At this juncture, the dictator, omitting no means of engaging the aid both of gods and men, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor; and to have proclaimed rewards to the first and to the second of the soldiers who should enter the enemy's camp; and so great was the ardour of the Romans, that they never remitted the impetuosity of the charge, by which they had broken the enemy's line, until they made themselves masters of the camp. Such was the engagement at the lake Regillus. The dictator and master of the horse, on their return to the city, were honoured with a triumph.

XXI. During the three ensuing years, [Y. R. 256. B. C. 496.] there was neither war, nor yet a security of lasting peace. The consuls were, Quintus Cloelius and Titus Lartius: then Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minutius, [Y. R. 257. B. C. 495.] in whose consulate the temple of Saturn was dedicated, and the festival called Saturnalia instituted. After them, [Y. R. 258. B. C. 494.] Aulus Postumius and Titus Virginus were made consuls. I find it asserted by some writers, that the battle at the lake Regillus was not fought until this year, and that Aulus Postumius, because the fidelity of his colleague was doubtful, abdicated the consulship, and was then made dictator. Such perplexing mistakes, with regard to dates, occur from the magistrates being ranged in different order, by different writers, that it is impossible, at this distance of time, when not only the facts, but the authors who relate them, are involved in the obscurity of antiquity, to trace out a regular series of the consuls as they succeeded each other, or of the transactions as they occurred in each particular year. Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius, [Y. R. 259. B. C. 493.] were next appointed to the consulship. This year was rendered remarkable by the news of Tarquinius's death; he died at Cumæ, whither, on the reduction of the power of the Latines, he had retired for refuge, to the tyrant Aristodemus. By this news, both the patricians and the commons

were highly elated; but the former suffered their exultation on the occasion to carry them to unwarrantable lengths; and the latter, who, until that time, had been treated with the utmost deference, began to feel themselves exposed to insults from the nobility. During the same year, the colony of Signia, which Tarquinius had founded in his reign, was re-established, by filling up its number of colonists. The tribes of Rome were increased to the number of twenty-one. The temple of Mercury was dedicated on the ides of May.

XXII. During these proceedings against the Latines, it could hardly be said that there was either war or peace with the nation of the Volscians; for, on the one hand, these had got troops in readiness, which they would have sent to the assistance of the Latines, if the Roman dictator had not been so quick in his measures; and, on the other, the Roman had used this expedition, in order that he might not be obliged to contend against the united forces of the Latines and Volscians. In resentment of this behaviour, the consuls led the legions into the Volscian territory; the Volscians, who had no apprehensions of punishment, for a design which had not been put in execution, were confounded at this unexpected proceeding, inasmuch that, laying aside all thoughts of opposition, they gave three hundred hostages, the children of the principal persons at Cora and Pometia; in consequence whereof, the legions were withdrawn from thence, without having come to an engagement. However, in a short time after, the Volscians being delivered from their fears, resumed their former disposition, renewed secretly their preparations for war, and prevailed on the Hernicians to join them; they also sent ambassadors through every part of Latium, to stir up that people to arms. But the Latines were so deeply affected by their recent disaster, at the lake Regillus, and so highly incensed at any persons attempting to persuade them to engage in a war, that they even offered violence to the ambassadors: seizing the Volscians, they conducted them to Rome, and there delivered them to the consuls, with information, that the Volscians and Hernicians were preparing to make war on the Romans. The affair being laid before the senate, the conduct of the Latines was so acceptable to the senators, that they restored to them six thousand of the prisoners: and made an order, besides, that the new magistrates

should proceed in the business relative to an alliance, a point which had been almost absolutely refused them. The Latines then highly applauded themselves for the part which they had acted, and the friends of peaceful measures were held in high estimation; they sent to the Capitol a golden crown, as a present to Jupiter, and, together with the ambassadors and the present, came a great multitude of attendants, consisting of the prisoners who had been sent back to their friends. These proceeded to the several houses of the persons, with whom each of them had been in servitude, returned thanks for their generous behaviour and treatment of them, during the time of their calamity, and formed mutual connections of hospitality. Never, at any former time, was the Latine nation more closely united to the Roman government, by ties both of a public and private nature.

XXIII. But, besides being immediately threatened with a Volscian war, the state itself was torn in pieces by intestine animosities, between the patricians and commons, on account principally of persons confined for debt: these complained loudly, that after fighting abroad for freedom and empire, they were made prisoners and oppressed by their countrymen at home, and that the liberty of the commons was more secure in war than in peace, amongst their foes than amongst their own countrymen. This spirit of discontent, of itself increasing daily, was kindled into a flame, by the extraordinary sufferings of one man. A person far advanced in years, whose appearance denoted severe distress, threw himself into the forum; his garb was squalid, and the figure of his person still more shocking, pale and emaciated to the last degree; besides, a long beard and hair had given his countenance a savage appearance: wretched as was the plight in which he appeared, he was known notwithstanding; several declared, that he had been centurion in the

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1 If a debtor did not discharge his debt, within thirty days after it was demanded, he was summoned before the prætor, who gave him up into the hands of the creditor. He was kept in chains by him for sixty days, and then, on three successive market days, was brought to the prætor's tribunal, where a crier proclaimed the debt, and, sometimes, wealthy persons redeemed the poor, by discharging their debts; but, if that did not happen, the creditor, after the third market-day, had a right to sell him, or keep him a slave in his own house. This slavery was afterwards changed into imprisonment.



army, and filled with compassion for him, mentioned publicly many other distinctions, which he had obtained in the service ; he himself exhibited scars on his breast, as testimonies of his honourable behaviour in several actions. To those who inquired the cause of that wretched condition, both of his person and apparel, (a crowd meantime having assembled round him, which resembled, in some degree, an assembly of the people,) he answered, that " while he served in the army during the Sabine war, having not only lost the produce of his farm by the depredations of the enemy, but his house being burnt, all his goods plundered, his cattle driven off, and a tax being imposed at a time so distressing to him, he was obliged to run in debt: that this debt, aggravated by usury, had consumed, first, his farm, which he had inherited from his father and grandfather ; then, the remainder of his substance ; and, lastly, like a pestilence, had reached his person ; that he had been dragged by a creditor not into servitude, but into a house of correction, or rather a place of execution." He then showed his back disfigured with the marks of fresh stripes : on this sight, after such a relation, a great uproar arose ; and the tumult was no longer confined to the forum, but spread through every part of the city : those who were then in confinement, and those who had been released from it, forced their way into the public street, and implored the protection of their fellow-citizens : there was no spot which did not afford a voluntary associate to add to the insurrection ; from all quarters they ran in bodies, through every street, with great clamour, into the forum. The situation of the senators who happened to be there at that time, and who fell in the way of this mob, became highly perilous, for they would certainly have proceeded to violence, had not the consuls, Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius, hastily interposed their authority. To them the multitude turned their applications ; showed their chains, and other marks of wretchedness ; said, this was what they had deserved ; and, reminding them of their former services in war, and in various engagements, insisted, with menaces rather than supplications, that they should assemble the senate ; they then placed themselves round the senate-house, that they might act as witnesses, and directors of the councils of government. A very small number of the senators, whom chance threw in the way, and these

against their will, attended the consuls : fear kept the rest at a distance : so that nothing could be done by reason of the thinness of the meeting. The populace then conceived an opinion, that there was a design to elude their demands by delay ; that the absence of certain of the senators was occasioned, not by chance, nor by fear, but by their wishes to obstruct the business ; that the consuls themselves showed a backwardness, and that their miseries were manifestly made a matter of mockery. The affair had now nearly arrived at such a state, that even the majesty of the consuls, it was feared, might be insufficient to restrain the rage of the people. At length the senators, beginning to doubt, whether they should incur the greater danger, by absenting themselves, or by attending, came to the senate ; and when, after all this delay, a proper number had assembled, not only the senators, but even the consuls themselves, differed widely in opinion. Appius, a man of a violent temper, thought that the riot ought to be quelled by the weight of the consular authority, and that when one or two were taken into custody, the rest would be quiet ; Servilius, more inclined to gentle remedies, maintained that, as the people's spirits were already wound up to such a pitch of ill-humour, it would be both the safer and the easier method, to bend, than to break them. To add to these perplexities, they were threatened with still greater peril from another quarter.

XXIV. Some Latine horsemen arrived, in the utmost haste, with the alarming intelligence, that the Volscians, in hostile array, were coming to attack the city ; which news, so entirely opposite were the views of the parties into which the state was split, affected the patricians and the commons in a very different manner. The commons exulted with joy ; said the gods were coming to take vengeance for the tyranny of the patricians, and encouraged each other in the resolution not to enrol themselves ; saying, " it was better that all should perish together, than that they should be the only victims ; let the patricians serve as soldiers ; let the patricians take arms, that those who reap the advantages of war, may also undergo its severities and hazards." On the other hand, the senate, dejected and confounded on finding themselves thus encompassed by dangers, from their countrymen on one side, and from the enemy on the other, besought the consul Servilius, whose temper

was adapted to conciliate the regard of the people, that he would find means to extricate the commonwealth from the dreadful apprehensions with which it was beset. Whereupon the consul, dismissing the senate, went forth to the assembly of the people; there he assured them, that the senators were solicitous that care should be taken of the interest of the commons; but that their "fears for the safety of the commonwealth, in general, had interrupted their deliberations, concerning that part of the state, which, though it must be allowed to be the largest, was still but a part; nor could they, while the enemy was just at the gates, allow any business to take place of the necessary provisions for the war; nor, even if they were allowed a little respite, would it be either for the honour of the commons, to have refused to take arms in defence of their country, unless on condition of first receiving hire for it; nor could it fail of injuring the reputation of the senators themselves, if they should appear to have now applied their attention to the good of their countrymen, through fear, rather than afterwards through inclination." He gave proof of his sincerity in this discourse, by an edict, whereby he ordained, that "no person should hold any Roman citizen in bonds or confinement, so as to prevent his giving in his name to the consuls; that no person should take possession, or make sale, of the goods of a soldier, while upon service; nor detain in custody either his children or grandchildren."

On the publication of this edict, such debtors under arrest, as were present, instantly gave in their names, and crowds of others, in every part of the city, rushing out of their confinement, when the creditors had no longer a right to detain them, ran together to the forum, to take the military oath: these composed a large body of troops, and none, during the Volscian war, displayed a greater share of bravery and activity. The consul led out his army against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a small distance from theirs.

XXV. The following night, the Volscians, expecting great advantages from the dissensions of the Romans, approached their camp, in hopes that, in the surrounding darkness, some might desert or betray their posts. They were, however, perceived by the sentinels; the troops were called up, and, the signal being given, they ran to arms; and by these means frustrated the attempt of the Volscians: the remainder

of the night was dedicated to repose by both parties. Next day, at the first dawn, the Volscians, having filled up the trenches, assaulted the rampart, and were proceeding to demolish the fortifications on every side, when the consul, having delayed for some time in order to try the temper of his men, though called on from all sides, and particularly by the debtors, to give the signal, at length, on finding their ardour so great, issued the order for sallying, and sent forth his troops, eager for the fight. At the first onset, the enemy were immediately routed, and their rear harassed in their retreat, as far as the infantry were able to pursue; while the cavalry, not suffering them to recover from their consternation, drove them to their camp. In a little time, the camp itself was surrounded by the legions; and the Volscians not having courage enough left to make a stand there, it was taken and plundered. Next day, the legions were led to Suessa Pometia, whither the enemy had retreated, and shortly after the town was taken, and given up to the troops to be plundered; by these means, the needy soldiers were in some measure relieved. The consul, having acquired great glory, led back his victorious army to Rome. As he was preparing for his departure, ambassadors came to him from the Volscians of Ecetra, who, after the taking of Pometia, felt apprehensions for their own safety: these had peace granted them by decree of the senate, but were deprived of their lands.

XXVI. Immediately after, the Sabines also caused an alarm at Rome; but it was, in fact, a tumult rather than a war. An account was brought by night to the city, that a Sabine army were plundering the country, and had advanced as far as the river Anio, and that they were ravaging and burning all the farms in that neighbourhood. Aulus Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latine war, was instantly despatched thither with all the cavalry, and the consul Servilius followed with a chosen body of foot. The greater part of the stragglers were cut off by the cavalry; nor was the main body of the Sabines capable of resisting the infantry on their approach; fatigued both by their march and by collecting booty, a great number of them in the country-houses, overcharged with meat and wine, had scarcely strength sufficient to enable them to fly. Thus was this Sabine war finished within the same night in which the first account of it had been



received. The next day, while sanguine hopes were entertained that peace with all her neighbours was now securely established, ambassadors came to the senate from the Auruncians, denouncing war, unless the troops were withdrawn from the territories of the Volscians: the army of the Auruncians had set out from home, at the same time with the ambassadors: and intelligence arriving, that it had been seen not far from Aricia, it excited such an alarm among the Romans, that neither could the senate be consulted in a regular manner, nor could they, while busy themselves in taking up arms, give a peaceable answer to those who were advancing against them. The troops marched to Aricia, and not far from thence meeting with the enemy, came to a general engagement, which, without further contest, put an end to the war.

XXVII. When the Auruncians were defeated, the Romans, having vanquished so many different powers, within the space of a few days, expected the fulfilment of the promises made them by the consuls, and strengthened by the engagements of the senate. But Appius, instigated both by his own natural haughtiness, and a desire to undermine the credit of his colleague, issued his decrees on suits between debtor and creditor, with all possible severity; in consequence of which, both those who had formerly been in confinement, were delivered up to their creditors, and others also were taken into custody. When this happened to be the case of any of the soldiers, he appealed to the other consul; a crowd gathered about Servilius, reminded him of his promises, upbraided him with their services in war, and the scars which they had received; insisted that he should lay the affair before the senate; and that, as consul, he should support his countrymen, and, as general, his soldiers. The consul was affected by these remonstrances; but circumstances obliged him to decline interfering, not only his colleague, but the whole faction of the nobles, having gone so violently into opposite measures. By thus acting a middle part, he neither avoided the hatred of the commons, nor procured the esteem of the patricians; the latter, considering him as destitute of the firmness becoming his office, and as too fond of popular applause, while the former looked upon him as a deceiver; and it shortly appeared that he was become no less odious than Appius. A contest happened between

the consuls, as to which of them should dedicate the temple of Mercury. The senate refused to decide the matter, and referred it to the people, passing a vote that to whichever of them the dedication should be granted, the same should preside over the markets, should institute a college of merchants, and join the pontiff in the performance of the ceremonies usual on such occasions. The people gave the honour of the dedication to Marcus Lætorius, a centurion of the first rank, showing plainly that they acted thus, not merely out of respect to the person, on whom they conferred an office of higher dignity than became his station, but with design to affront the consuls. This threw the patricians, and one of the consuls particularly, into a rage; but the commons had now assumed a greater degree of courage, and began to prosecute their measures in a very different method from that in which they had set out. Having given up all hopes of protection from the consuls and the senate, whenever they saw a debtor led to the court, they flew together from all quarters; so that neither could the sentence of the consul be heard amidst their noise and clamours, nor when it was pronounced did any one obey it. All was managed by force; and the whole dread and danger, with respect to their freedom, was transferred from the debtors to the creditors, who, standing single, were abused by the multitude, under the very eye of the consul. To add to the perplexity of the senate, the alarm was spread of an attack being intended by the Sabines; and, orders being issued for levying troops, not a man gave in his name. Meanwhile Appius, in a rage, inveighed bitterly against the criminal lenity of his colleague, saying, that, by his popular silence, he was betraying the commonwealth; and that, besides refusing to enforce the laws with respect to creditors, he neglected also to execute the decree of the senate, for levying troops. He declared that "the interest of the state was not yet entirely deserted, nor the consular office yet stripped of its authority; that he himself would stand forth singly, and vindicate his own dignity, and that of the senate." Though surrounded by the multitude which assembled daily, and were of a temper too violent to be controlled, he ordered one of the principal ringleaders of the mob to be apprehended. When the lictors laid hold of him, he appealed; but the consul would

not, at first, allow the appeal, there being no doubt what the sentence of the people would be. His obstinacy, however, was at length overcome, more by the advice and influence of the nobility, than by the clamours of the people; so firmly did he withstand the indignation of the multitude. From this time, the evil daily gained ground, showing itself not only in open expressions of discontent, but, what was much more pernicious, in secret meetings and private cabals. At length these consuls, so odious to the people, went out of office, Appius in high favour with the patri- cians, Servilius with neither party.

XXVIII. Next entered on the consulship, [Y. R. 260. B. C. 492.] Aulus Virginius and Titus Vetsius. The people now, not being able to judge what sort of consuls they were to have, took care to form nightly meetings, some on the Esquiline, others on the Aventine mount, in order that their proceedings might not be confused, by their being obliged to adopt measures hastily in the forum, and to act, on every occasion, at random, and without a plan. The consuls, considering this as a very dangerous proceeding, which it really was, proposed it to the consideration of the senate, but were not allowed, after proposing it, to take the votes regularly, a great tumult arising on the mention of it among the senators, who exclaimed, and expressed the highest indignation at the consuls attempting to throw on that body the odium of an affair which ought to have been quelled by the consular authority. They told them, that "if there really had been magistrates in the commonwealth, there would have been no council at Rome, but the public one. At present the government was divided and dispersed into a thousand senate-houses and assemblies, some meetings being held on the Esquiline mount, others on the Aventine. That they had no doubt, but one man, such as Appius Claudius, would have dispersed those meetings in a moment's time." The consuls, on receiving this rebuke, asked the senate, what then they would have them do? for they were resolved, they said, to act with all the activity and vigour which the senate might recommend. A decree then passed that they should enforce the levies with the utmost strictness; for that the commons were grown insolent through want of employment. Dismissing the senate, the consuls mounted the tribunal, and cited the younger citizens by their

name. No answer being made, the multitude which stood round, like a general assembly, declared that "the commons could be no longer deceived; and that not a single soldier should be raised, until the public engagements were fulfilled. That every man must have his liberty restored, before arms were put into his hands, that the people might be convinced they were to fight for their country and fellow-citizens, not for their masters." The consuls saw clearly enough what the senate expected from them; but of those who spoke with the greatest vehemence within the walls of the senate-house, not one was present to stand the brunt of the contests, and every thing threatened a desperate one with the commons. It was resolved, therefore, before they should proceed to extremities, to consult the senate again; the consequence of which was, that all the younger senators rushed up hastily to the seats of the consuls, desiring them to abdicate the consulship, and lay down a command which they wanted spirit to support.

XXIX. Having made sufficient trial of the dispositions of both sides, the consuls at length spoke out: "Conscript fathers, lest ye should hereafter say that ye were not forewarned, know that a dangerous sedition is ready to break out. We demand that those who are the most forward to censure us for inactivity, may assist us by their presence, while we hold the levy. We will proceed in the business in such a manner as shall be approved by the most strenuous advocates for vigorous measures, since such is your pleasure." They then went back to the tribunal, and ordered, purposely, one of those, who were within view, to be cited: finding that he stood mute, and that a number of people had formed in a circle round him, to prevent any force being used, the consuls sent a lictor to him, who being driven back, those of the senators who attended the consuls exclaiming against the insolence of such behaviour, flew down from the tribunal to assist the lictor. The populace then, quitting the lictor, to whom they had offered no other opposition than that of binding him from making the seizure, directed their force against the senators; but the consuls interposing quickly, put an end to the scuffle, in which, as neither stones nor weapons had been used, there was more clamour and rage than mischief. The senate, called tumultuously together, proceeded in a manner still more tumultuous; those who had



been beaten, demanding an inquiry into the affair; and the most violent of them endeavouring to carry their point by clamour and noise, rather than by vote. At length, when their rage had somewhat subsided, the consuls, reproaching them with being equally disorderly, in the senate-house as in the forum, began to collect the votes. There were three different opinions; Publius Virginius thought that "the case did not extend to the whole body of the commons, and that those only were to be considered, who, relying on the promises of the consul Publius Servilius, had served in the Volscian, Auruncian, and Sabine wars:" Titus Largius was of opinion, that "the present juncture required something more than the making a return for services performed; that the whole body of the commons were overwhelmed with debt, nor could the progress of the evil be stopped, unless the advantages of the whole were attended to. On the contrary, if distinctions were made, this would add fuel to the dissensions, instead of extinguishing them." Appius Claudius, whose temper, naturally harsh, was roused to a degree of ferocity by his hatred to the commons on the one hand, and the applause of the patricians on the other, affirmed that "all these disturbances were excited, not by the people's sufferings, but their licentiousness; and that the commons were actuated by a spirit of wantonness, rather than by resentment of injuries: this was the consequence of giving them a right to appeal; for all that a consul could do, was to threaten, he could not command, when people are allowed to appeal to those who have been accomplices in their transgressions. Come, said he, let us create a dictator, from whom there is no appeal: this madness, which has set the whole state in a flame, will quickly sink into silence. Let me then see, who will strike a lictor, when he knows that the very person whose dignity he insults, has the sole and entire disposal of his person and of his life."

XXX. To many, the expedient recommended by Appius appeared too rough and violent, and justly so; on the other hand, the propositions of Virginius and Largius were considered as tending to establish a bad precedent; particularly that of Largius, which was utterly subversive of all credit. The advice of Virginius was deemed to be the farthest from excess on either side, and a just medium between the other two. But, through the spirit of fac-

tion, and men's regard to their private interests, (things which ever did and ever will impede the public councils,) Appius prevailed, and was himself very near being created dictator; which proceeding, beyond any other, would have highly disgusted the commons, at a very critical juncture, when the Volscians, the Æquans, and the Sabines, happened to be all in arms at the same time. But the consuls and the elder part of the senate took care that a command in itself uncontrollable, should be intrusted to a person of a mild disposition; and accordingly they chose for dictator Manius Valerius, son of Volesus. Although the commons saw that the dictator was created in opposition to them, yet, as by his brother's law, they enjoyed the privilege of appeal, they dreaded nothing harsh or overbearing from that family. Their hopes were farther encouraged by an edict which the dictator published, of the same tenor in general with the edict of the consul Servilius; but as they thought that they had now securer grounds of confidence, both in the man himself, and in the power with which he was invested, they desisted from the contest, and gave in their names. Ten legions were completed, a force greater than had ever been raised before; of these, three were assigned to each of the consuls, the other four were commanded by the dictator. War could now be no longer deferred: the Æquans had invaded the territories of the Latines; and these by their ambassadors petitioned the senate, that they would either send troops to protect them, or permit them to take arms themselves, to defend their frontiers. It was judged the safer method to defend the Latines without their own assistance, than to allow them to handle arms again: the consul Vetusius was therefore sent thither, who put an end to the depredations. The Æquans retired from the plains, and provided for their safety on the tops of the mountains, relying more on the situation than on their arms. The other consul who marched against the Volscians, not choosing that his time should be wasted in like manner, used every means, particularly by ravaging the country, in order to provoke the enemy to approach nearer, and to hazard an engagement. They were drawn up in order of battle in a plain between the two camps, each party before their own rampart. The Volscians had considerably the advantage in point of numbers; they therefore advanced to the fight, in a careless manner, as if despising the

enemy. The Roman consul did not suffer his troops to move, nor to return the shout, but ordered them to stand, with their javelins fixed in the ground, and as soon as the enemy should come within reach, then to exert at once their utmost efforts, and decide the affair with their swords. The Volscians, fatigued with running and shouting, rushed upon the Romans, whom they believed to be benumbed with fear; but when they found a vigorous resistance, and the swords glittering before their eyes, struck with consternation, just as if they had fallen into an ambuscade, they turned their backs: nor had they strength left to enable them to make their escape, having exhausted it by advancing to the battle in full speed. The Romans, on the other hand, having stood quiet during the first part of the engagement, had their vigour fresh, and easily overtaking the wearied fugitives, took their camp by assault, and pursuing them, as they fled from thence to Velitræ, the victors and the vanquished composing, as it were, but one body, rushed into the city together. People of every kind were put to the sword, without distinction, and there was more blood spilt than even in the fight: a small number only, who threw down their arms, obtained quarter.

XXXI. While these things passed in the country of the Volscians, the Sabines, who were by far the most formidable enemy, were routed, put to flight, and beaten out of their camp by the dictator. He had at first, by a charge of his cavalry, thrown the centre of the enemy's line into disorder; which, while they extended their wings too far, had not been sufficiently strengthened by a proper depth of files. Before they could recover from this confusion, the infantry fell upon them, and continued their attack, without intermission, until they made themselves masters of their camp, and put a conclusion to the war. Since the battle at the lake Regillus, there had not been obtained, in those times, a more glorious victory than this: the dictator entered the city in triumph, and besides the accustomed honours, there was a place in the circus assigned to him and his posterity, for a seat, and a curule chair fixed in it. From the vanquished Volscians the lands of the district of Velitræ were taken, for which inhabitants were sent from the city, and a colony established there. Soon after this, a battle was fought with the Æquans, against the inclination indeed of the consul,

who considered the disadvantage of the ground which the troops had to traverse; but the soldiers accusing him of protracting the business, in order that the dictator might go out of office before they should return to the city, and so his promises fall to the ground without effect, as had those of the former consul, they at length prevailed on him to march up his army, at all hazards, against the steep of the mountain. Rash as this undertaking was, yet, through the cowardice of the enemy, it was crowned with success; for, before a weapon could be thrown, struck with amazement at the boldness of the Romans, they abandoned their camp, which they had fixed in a very strong position, and ran down precipitately into the valleys, on the opposite side: there the Romans gained a bloodless victory, and abundance of booty. Though their arms were thus attended with success, in three different quarters, neither patricians nor commons were free from anxiety respecting the issue of their domestic affairs. With such powerful influence, and with such art also, had the lenders of money concerted their measures, that they were able to disappoint not only the commons, but even the dictator himself: for Valerius, on the return of the consul Vetusius, took care that the first business which came before the senate should be that of the people, who had returned home victorious; and proposed the question, what did they think proper to be done with respect to the persons confined for debt? and when they refused to take the matter into consideration, he said, "My endeavours to restore concord are, I see, displeasing to you: believe me when I solemnly declare, that the time will shortly come when you will wish, that the commons of Rome had just such patrons as I am: as to myself, I will neither be the means of farther disappointments to the hopes of my countrymen, nor will I hold the office of dictator without effect. Intestine discord and foreign wars made it necessary for the commonwealth to have such a magistrate: peace has been procured abroad, at home it is not suffered to take place: it is my determination then, in time of sedition, to appear in the character of a private citizen, rather than that of dictator." Then withdrawing from the senate-house, he abdicated the dictatorship. The case appeared to the commons, as if he had resigned his office out of resentment of the treatment shown to them, and therefore, as if he



had fulfilled his engagements, it not having been his fault that they were not fulfilled, they attended him, as he retired to his house, with approbation and applause.

XXXII. The senate were then seized with apprehensions, that if the citizens should be discharged from the army, their secret cabals and conspiracies would be renewed; wherefore, supposing that, though the levy was made by the dictator, yet as the soldiers had sworn obedience to the consuls, they were still bound by that oath, they ordered the legions, under the pretext of hostilities being renewed by the *Æquans*, to be led out of the city: which step served only to hasten the breaking out of the sedition. It is said, that the plebeians, at first, entertained thoughts of putting the consuls to death, in order that they might be thereby discharged from the oath; but being afterwards informed, that no religious obligation could be dissolved by an act of wickedness, they, by the advice of a person called *Sicinus*, retired, without waiting for orders from the consuls, to the sacred mount, beyond the river *Anio*, about three miles from the city. This account is more generally credited, than that given by *Piso*, who says, the secession was made to the *Aventine*. In this place, without any commander, having fortified their camp with a rampart and trench, they remained quiet for several days, taking nothing from any one but necessary subsistence, neither receiving nor giving offence. Great was the consternation in the city; all was fearful suspense and mutual apprehension: the plebeians, who were left behind by their brethren, dreaded the violence of the patricians; the patricians dreaded the plebeians who remained in the city, not knowing whether they ought to wish for their stay, or for their departure: but "how long could it be supposed that the multitude which had seceded, would remain inactive? And what would be the consequence, if, in the meantime, a foreign war should break out? No glimpse of hope could they see left, except in concord between the citizens, which must be re-established in the state on any terms, whether fair or unfair."

They determined, therefore, to send, as ambassador to the plebeians, *Menenius Agrippa*, a man of eloquence, and acceptable to the commons, because he had been originally one of their body. He, being admitted into the camp, is said to have related to them the following fable, delivered in antiquated language, and an uncouth style:—"At a time when the mem-

bers of the human body did not, as at present, all unite in one plan, but each member had its own scheme, and its own language; the other parts were provoked at seeing that the fruits of all their care, of all their toil and service, were applied to the use of the belly; and that the belly meanwhile remained at its ease, and did nothing but enjoy the pleasures provided for it; on this they conspired together, that the hand should not bring food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it if offered, nor the teeth chew it. While they wished, by these angry measures, to subdue the belly through hunger, the members themselves, and the whole body, were, together with it, reduced to the last stage of decay: from thence it appeared that the office of the belly itself was not confined to a slothful indolence; that it not only received nourishment, but supplied it to the others, conveying to every part of the body, that blood, on which depend our life and vigour, by distributing it equally through the veins, after having brought it to perfection by digestion of the food." Applying this to the present case, and showing what similitude there was between the dissension of the members, and the resentment of the commons against the patricians, he made a considerable impression on the people's minds.

XXXIII. A negotiation was then opened for a reconciliation; and an accommodation was effected, on the terms, that the plebeians should have magistrates of their own, invested with inviolable privileges, who might have power to afford them protection against the consuls: and that it should not be lawful for any of the patricians to hold that office. Accordingly, there were two tribunes of the commons created, *Caius Licinius*, and *Lucius Albinus*; and these created three colleagues to themselves, among whom was *Sicinius*, the adviser of the secession: but who the other two were, is not agreed: some say, that there were only two tribunes created on the sacred mount, and that the devoting law<sup>1</sup> was passed

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<sup>1</sup> Which declared, that any person who should violate the person or privileges of a plebeian tribune, should be devoted to *Ceres*, with his property; and any one might put him to death with impunity. These tribunes, at their first institution, could not properly be called magistrates, having no particular tribunal, nor any jurisdiction over their fellow-citizens. Dressed like private men, and attended only by one officer, or beadle, called *Viator*, they sat on a bench without the senate, into which they were not admitted, except when the consuls required their attendance, to give their opinion

there. [Y. R. 261. B. C. 491.] During the secession of the commons, Spurius Cassius and Postumus Cominius entered on the consulship. In their consulate the treaty with the Latines was concluded; for the purpose of ratifying this, one of the consuls remained at Rome, and the other, being sent with an army against the Volscians, defeated and put to flight those of Antium; and, having driven them into the town of Longula, pursued the blow, and made himself master of the town. He afterwards took Polusca, another town belonging to the same people; then with all his force attacked Corioli. There was then in the camp, among others of the young nobility, Caius Marcius, a youth of quick judgment and lively courage, who was afterwards surnamed Coriolanus. The Roman army, while engaged in the siege of Corioli, applying their whole attention to the garrison, which they kept shut up in the town, without any fear of an attack from without, were assaulted on a sudden by the Volscian legions, who had marched thither from Antium, and at the same time the enemy sallied out from the town: Marcius happened to be then on guard, and being supported by a chosen body of men, he not only repelled the attack of the sallying party, but rushed furiously in at the open gate; and, putting all to the sword in that part of the city, laid hold of the first fire which he found, and threw it on the houses adjoining the wall; on which the shouts of the townsmen mingling with the cries of the women and children occasioned by the first fright, served both to add courage to the Romans, and to dispirit the

Volscians, as they perceived that the town was taken which they had come to relieve. By this means the Volscians of Antium were defeated, and the town of Corioli taken; and so entirely did the glory of Marcius eclipse the fame of the consul, that, were it not that the treaty with the Latines, being engraved on a brazen pillar, remained to testify that it was ratified by Spurius Cassius alone, the other consul being absent, it would not have been remembered that Postumus Cominius was appointed to conduct the war. This year died Menenius Agrippa, through the whole course of his life equally beloved by the patricians and the plebeians; and, after the secession, still more endeared to the latter. This man, who, in the character of mediator and umpire, had re-established concord among his countrymen, the ambassador of the senate to the plebeians, the person who brought back the Roman commons to the city, was not possessed of property sufficient for the expense of a funeral. He was buried at the charge of the commons, by a contribution of a sextans<sup>2</sup> from each person.

XXXIV. The consuls who succeeded were Titus Greganius and Publius Minucius. During this year, [Y. R. 262. B. C. 490.] when the state was undisturbed by foreign wars, and the dissensions at home had been healed, a more grievous calamity of another nature fell upon it: at first a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by the lands lying untilld during the secession of the commons; and afterwards, a famine, not less severe than what is felt in a besieged city. This without doubt would have increased to such a degree that the slaves, and also many of the commons, must have perished, had not the consuls taken measures to remedy it, by sending to all quarters to buy up corn; not only into Etruria on the coast to the right of Ostia, and by permission of the Volscians, along the coast on the left as far as Cumæ, but even to Sicily; for the hatred entertained against them by their neighbours, compelled them thus to look for aid to distant countries. After a quantity of corn had been purchased at Cumæ, the ships were detained by the tyrant Aristodemus, as the property of the Tarquinii, whose heir he was. Among the Volscians, and in the Pomptine district, it could not even be purchased, the persons employed in that business being in dan-

on some affair which concerned the interest of the plebeians. Their sole function was to protect the plebeians by interposing in case of any grievance or imposition attempted by their superiors; and their power extended no farther than one mile round the city. Yet they afterwards found means, under various pretences, and by almost imperceptible degrees, to draw to themselves, and to the commons, the larger share of the power of government; introducing a great degree of democracy into the polity of the state, which, since the expulsion of the kings, had been a kind of aristocracy. They were not allowed to be absent from the city one whole day, except during the Latine festivals, and were obliged to keep their doors open, night and day, to admit complainants. At the same time were elected two other plebeian officers, called assistants to the tribunes; but being afterwards charged with the care of the public buildings, and the cognizance of a like nature, which had before belonged to the consuls, they got the title *Ædiles*; (ad ædibus curandis,) from inspecting the public edifices.



ger of their lives from the violence of the inhabitants. From Etruria, some corn was conveyed by the Tiber, by which the people were supported. At this unseasonable time, while thus distressed by the scarcity, they were in danger of being farther harassed by war, had not a most destructive pestilence attacked the Volscians, when they were just ready to commence hostilities. By this dreadful calamity the enemy were so dispirited, that, even after it had abated, they could not entirely rid their minds of the terror which it had occasioned. Besides, the Romans not only augmented the numbers in their settlement at Velitæ, but sent a new colony into the mountains of Norba, to serve as a barrier in the Pomptine territory. In the succeeding consulate of Marcus Minucius and Aulus Sempronius, [Y. R. 263. B. C. 489.] a great quantity of corn was brought from Sicily, and it was debated in the senate, at what price it should be given to the commons. Many were of opinion, that now was the time to humble the commons, and to recover those rights which, by the secession and violence, had been extorted from the patricians; Marcius Coriolanus particularly, an avowed enemy of the power of the tribunes, said, "If they wish to have provisions at the usual price, let them restore to the patricians their former rights: why am I obliged, after being sent under the yoke, after being ransomed, as it were, from robbers, to behold plebeian magistrates, to behold Scinius invested with power and authority? Shall I submit to such indignities longer than necessity compels me? Shall I, who could not endure Tarquinius on the throne, endure Scinius? Let him now secede, let him call away the commons: the road is open to the sacred mount, and to other hills: let them carry off the corn from our lands, as they did two years ago: let them make the best of the present state of the market, which they have occasioned by their own madness. I affirm with confidence, that when they are brought to reason by their present sufferings, they will themselves become tillers of the lands, rather than take arms and secede, to prevent their being tilled." Whether such a measure were expedient, is not now easy to say; but, in my opinion, it was very practicable for the patricians, by insisting on terms for lowering the price of provisions, to have freed themselves from the tribunitian power, and every other restraint imposed on them against their will.

XXXV. The method proposed appeared to the senate to be too harsh, and incensed the commons to such a degree, that they were very near having recourse to arms. They complained, that, "as if they were enemies, attempts were made to destroy them by famine: that they were defrauded of food and sustenance; that the foreign corn, the only support which, unexpectedly, fortune had given them, was to be snatched out of their mouths, unless the tribunes were surrendered up in bonds to Caius Marcius; unless he were gratified by the personal sufferings of the Roman commons: a new kind of executioner had come forward, who gave them no alternative but death or slavery." They would have proceeded to violence against him as he came out of the senate-house, had not the tribunes very opportunely summoned him to a trial. This suppressed their rage, when every one saw himself a judge, and empowered to decide on the life and death of his foe. At first, Marcius heard the threats of the tribunes with scorn: "The authority given to their office," he said, "extended only to the affording protection, not to the inflicting of punishment. That they were tribunes of the commons, not of the patricians." But the whole body of the commons had taken up the cause with such implacable animosity, that the patricians were under the necessity of devoting one victim to punishment for the general safety. They struggled, however, notwithstanding the weight of the public hatred which they had to contend with, and not only each particular member, but the whole collective body exerted their utmost efforts; and first they tried, whether, by posting their clients in divers places convenient for the purpose, they could not deter the several plebeians from attending the meetings and cabals, and thereby put a stop to farther proceedings. Afterwards they all came forth in a body, addressing the commons with entreaties and supplications; one would have thought that every patrician was going to stand his trial. They besought them, if they did not think proper to acquit Marcius as innocent, yet considering him as guilty, to grant as a favour on their request, the pardon of one citizen, one senator. However, as he himself did not appear on the day appointed, they persisted in their resentment. He was condemned in his absence, and went into exile to the Volscians, uttering menaces against his country, and breathing already the resentment of an enemy. The Volsci.

ans received him kindly, and daily increased their attention and respect, in proportion as they had opportunities of observing the violence of his anger towards his countrymen, against whom he would often utter complaints, and even threats. He lodged in the house of Attius Tullus, who was then the man of by far greatest consequence among the Volscians, and an inveterate enemy to the Romans: so that the one, being stimulated by an old animosity, the other, by a fresh resentment, they began to concert schemes for bringing about a war with Rome. They judged, however, that it would be a difficult matter to prevail on their people to take arms, which they had so often tried without success; that by the many wars which they had sustained at different times, and lately by the loss of their young men in the pestilence, their spirits were broken; and that it was necessary to make use of art, in order that their hatred, which had now lost its keenness through length of time, might be thereby whetted anew.

XXXVI. It happened that preparations were then making at Rome for a repetition of the great games. The reason of repeating them was this: on the morning of the day when the games were to have been celebrated, before the shows began, a master of a family, after lashing his slave loaded with a neck yoke, had driven him across the middle of the circus; the games were afterwards exhibited, as if this affair had no relation to religion. Some short time after, Titus Atinius, a plebeian, had a dream; he imagined Jupiter to have said to him, that "the dancer, who performed previously to the games, had been displeasing to him, and unless those games were repeated, and that, in a magnificent manner, the city would be in danger; and ordered him to go and tell this to the consuls." Although the man's mind was under the influence of a considerable degree of superstition, yet the awe which he felt at the high dignity of the magistrates, and his own apprehensions lest he should be treated by them, and the public, as an object of ridicule, overcame his religious fears: this delay cost him dear; for within a few days he lost his son: and, lest the cause of that sudden disaster should be doubtful, while he was overwhelmed with grief, the same phantom appeared to him in his sleep, and seemed to ask him, "whether he had gotten a sufficient reward for his contempt of the deity?" telling him that "a still greater awaited him, unless he went

immediately and delivered the message to the consuls." This made a deeper impression on his mind, and yet he hesitated and delayed, until at length he was attacked by a grievous disorder, a stroke of the palsy. He then submitted to the admonitions of the divine displeasure: and, wearied out by his past sufferings, and the apprehension of others which threatened him, he called a council of his intimate friends; and, after acquainting them with the several things which he had seen and heard, and with Jupiter's having appeared to him so often in his sleep, and likewise the anger and threats of the deity, so speedily fulfilled in the calamities which had befallen him, he was, in pursuance of the clear and unanimous opinion of all present, carried in a litter into the forum, to the consuls: from thence he was conveyed by their order into the senate-house; where, when he had related the same accounts, to the utter astonishment of all, behold another miracle; it is recorded that he, who had been carried thither incapable of using any of his limbs, had no sooner discharged his duty, than he was able to walk home without assistance.

XXXVII. The senate decreed that the games should be exhibited in the most splendid manner. To these games, in consequence of a plan laid by Attius Tullus, a vast number of the Volscians repaired. Before the commencement of the exhibition, Tullus, according to a scheme concerted at home with Marcius, came to the consuls, told them that he wished to confer with them, in private, on some matters which concerned the commonwealth, and, every other person having retired, he addressed them thus: "It is painful to me in the extreme, to say any thing of my countrymen that is not to their honour: I do not come, however, to charge them with having committed any wrong act, but to guard against such being committed. That the dispositions of our people are fickle, to a degree infinitely beyond what might be wished, numerous disasters have given sensible proofs; for, to your forbearance it is owing, and not to our own deserts, that we have not been utterly destroyed. There are great numbers of the Volscians now in Rome; there are games to be celebrated; the public will be intent on the exhibition: I well remember the outrage which was committed in this city, by the Sabine youths, on a similar occasion. I shudder with apprehension, lest some inconsiderate and rash deed may ensue;



thus much I thought it my duty, both for our own sake, and for yours, to mention beforehand to you, who are consuls; for my own part, I intend instantly to return home, lest, if I should be present, my character might be stained with the imputation of some improper word or action." After this discourse he departed. The consuls proposed the matter to the consideration of the senate; a matter, indeed, unsupported by proof, but yet coming from a person whose authority was of great weight. The authority then, rather than any reason appearing in the case, as it often happens, determined them to use precautions, even though they might be unnecessary; and a decree being passed, that the Volscians should retire from the city, criers were despatched to every quarter, to order them all to remove before night. At first, they were struck with great terror, as they ran up and down to their lodgings, to take away their effects: indignation afterwards filled their minds, when they were beginning their journey; they considered themselves stigmatised as persons infamous and polluted; driven away from the converse of men and gods; from public games, on the day of a festival.

XXXVIII. As they formed in their journey almost one continued train, Tullus, who had proceeded to the fountain of Ferentina, accosted the chief persons among them as each arrived; and, by asking questions, and expressing indignation, while they greedily listened to expressions which favoured their resentment, led them on, and by their means, the rest of the multitude, to a plain that lay near the road, and there began to harangue them, as if at a general assembly: "Although," said he, "ye should forget all the injurious treatment which ye formerly received from the Roman people, the calamities of the Volscian race, and every other matter of the kind, with what degree of patience do ye bear this insult thrown on you, when they commenced their games by exhibiting us to public ignominy? Did ye not perceive, that they performed a triumph over you this day? That, as ye were retiring, ye served as a spectacle to all their citizens, to foreigners, to so many of the neighbouring nations? That your wives and your children were led captives before the eyes of the public? What do ye suppose were the sentiments of those who heard the words of the crier, of those who beheld you departing, or of those

who met this disgraceful cavalcade? What else but that we must be some polluted wretches, whose presence at the shows would contaminate the games, and render an expiation necessary; and that therefore we were driven away from the mansions of a people of such purity of character, from their meeting and converse? And besides, does it not strike you, that we should not now be alive, if we had not hastened our departure? if indeed it ought to be called a departure, and not a flight. And do ye not consider as enemies the inhabitants of that city, wherein, had ye delayed for one day, ye must, every one of you, have perished? It was a declaration of war against you; for which, those who made it will suffer severely, if ye have the spirit of men." Their anger, which was hot before, was, by this discourse, kindled to a flame, in which temper they separated to their several homes; and each taking pains to rouse those of his own state to vengeance, they soon effected a general revolt of the whole Volscian nation.

XXXIX. The commanders appointed for this war, by the unanimous choice of all the states, were Attius Tullus and Caius Marcius the Roman exile; on the latter of whom they reposed by far the greater part of their hopes; nor did he disappoint their expectations, but gave a convincing proof that the commonwealth was more indebted for power to its generals, than to its troops. Marching to Circeii, he first expelled the Roman colonists, and delivered the city, after restoring it to freedom, into the hands of the Volscians: turning thence across the country towards the Latine road, he deprived the Romans of their late acquisitions, Satricum, Longula, Polusca, and Corioli. He then retook Lavinium, and afterwards made a conquest of Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Lavici, and Pedum, one after another. From Pedum, lastly, he led his forces towards Rome, and pitching his camp at the Cluilian trenches, five miles from the city, sent parties to ravage the lands; at the same time appointing persons among the plunderers to take care that the possessions of the patricians should be left unmolested; either because his anger was levelled principally against the plebeians, or with the design of causing thereby a greater dissension between these different orders; and this would, no doubt, have been the consequence, so powerfully did the tribunes, by their invectives against the patricians, excite the resentment of the

commons, which was sufficiently too violent before, but that, however full their minds were of mutual distrust and rancour, their dread of a foreign enemy, the strongest tie of concord, obliged them to unite : in one point only did they disagree ; the senate and consuls placing their hopes entirely in arms, the commons preferring all other measures to war. By this time, Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius were consuls. [Y. R. 266. B. C. 489.] While they were employed in reviewing the legions, and posting troops on the walls, and in other places, where it was thought proper to fix guards and watches, a vast multitude of people assembling, and insisting on peace, terrified them, at first by their seditious clamours, and, at length, compelled them to assemble the senate, and there propose the sending of ambassadors to Caius Marcius. The senate, finding that they could not depend on the support of the commons, took the matter into consideration, and sent deputies to Marcius to treat of an accommodation : to these he replied in harsh terms, " that if the lands were restored to the Volscians, a treaty might then be opened for an accommodation ; but if they were resolved to enjoy, at their ease, what they had plundered from their neighbours in war, he would not forget either the injustice of his countrymen, or the kindness of his hosts, but would take such steps as should show the world, that his courage was irritated by exile, not depressed." The same persons being sent a second time, were refused admittance into the camp. It is related, that the priests afterwards, in their sacred vestments, went as supplicants to the camp of the enemy, but had no more influence on him than the ambassadors.

XL. The matrons then assembled in a body about Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia his wife ; whether this was a scheme of government, or the result of the women's own fears, I cannot discover. It is certain that they carried their point, and that Veturia, who was far advanced in years, and Volumnia, leading two little sons whom she had by Marcius, went to the camp of the enemy ; so that women by tears and prayers, preserved the city, which the men were not able to preserve by arms. When they arrived at the camp, and Coriolanus was informed that a great procession of women was approaching, he, who had not been moved, either by the majesty of the state, represented in its ambassadors, or by the awful address made by the ministers of

religion both to his sight and his understanding, at first resolved to show himself still more inflexible against female tears : but soon after, one of his acquaintance knowing Veturia, who was distinguished above the rest by an extraordinary degree of sadness, as she stood between her daughter-in-law and grandchildren, said to him, " Unless my eyes deceive me, your mother with your wife and children are coming." Coriolanus, in a transport of amazement, and almost distracted, sprang from his seat to embrace his mother as she advanced, who, instead of intreaties, addressed him with angry reproofs : " Let me know," said she, " before I receive your embrace, whether I am come to an enemy or to a son ; whether I am in your camp a prisoner, or a mother. Was it for this, that age has been lengthened out, that I might behold you an exile, and afterwards an enemy ; could you lay waste this land, which gave you birth and education ; whatever degree of anger, whatever thirst of vengeance, might have occupied your mind on your march, did you not, on entering its borders, feel your passion subside ? When you came within sight of Rome, did it not recur to you,—Within those walls are my house and guardian gods, my mother, my wife, my children ? Had I never been a mother, then Rome would not have been now besieged : had I not a son, I might have died free, and left my country free ; but, for my part, there is no suffering to which I can be exposed, that will not reflect more dishonour on you, than misery on me ; and be my lot as wretched as it may, I am not to endure it long ; let these claim your regard, who, if you persist, can have no other prospect, but either untimely death or lasting slavery." His wife and children then embraced him ; and the whole crowd of women, uttering bitter lamentations, and deploring their own and their country's fate, at length got the better of his obstinacy : so that, after embracing and dismissing his family, he removed his camp to a greater distance from the city. In a short time he drew off the troops entirely from the Roman territories, which is said to have incensed the Volscians so highly against him, that he perished under the effects of their resentment ; by what kind of death writers do not agree. In the account given by Fabius, the most ancient writer by far, I find that he lived even to old age ; he mentions positively, that when Marcius became far ad-



vanced in years, he used frequently to utter this remark, that "the evils of exile bore much the heavier on the aged." The men of Rome were not sparing in bestowing on the women the honours which they had earned; so distant were the manners of that age from the practice of detracting from the merits of others: they even erected and dedicated a temple to female Fortune, as a lasting monument of their meritorious conduct. The Volscians afterwards, in conjunction with the Æquans, made another inroad into the Roman territories; but the Æquans soon became dissatisfied at being commanded by Attius Tullus; and in consequence of the dispute, whether the Volscians or the Æquans should give a general to the combined army, a separation ensued, and soon after a furious battle. There the good fortune of the Roman people wasted the two armies of its enemies, in a contest no less bloody than obstinate. The consuls of the next year [Y. R. 267. B. C. 485.] were Titus Sicinius and Caius Aquilius. The Volscians were allotted, as a province, to Sicinius; the Hernicians, for they also were in arms, to Aquilius. The Hernicians were subdued in that year. The operations against the Volscians ended without any advantage being gained on either side.

XLI. The next consuls elected were Spurius Cassius and Proculus Virginius. [Y. R. 268. B. C. 484.] A league was made with the Hernicians. Two-thirds of their lands were taken from them, one-half of which the consul Cassius intended to distribute among the Latines, the other half among the commons. To this donation he proposed to add a considerable tract of land which belonged, he said, to the public, though possessed by private persons. Many of the patricians, who were themselves in possession of this land, were hereby alarmed for their property, and besides, that body in general were seized with anxiety for the safety of the people; observing that the consul, by these donatives was forming an influence at once dangerous to liberty and to right. This was the first proposal of the Agrarian law, which from that time to the present age, has never been agitated without the most violent commotions in the state. The other consul opposed the donations; and in this, he was supported by the patricians; nor did all the commons oppose him: at first, they began to despise a gift, which was not confined to themselves, but extended to the allies, in common

with the citizens: then they were accustomed to hear the consul Virginius in the assemblies frequently, as it were, prophesying, that "the donatives of his colleagues were full of infectious poison; that those lands would bring slavery on such as should receive them; that he was paving the way to arbitrary power; for why should the allies and the Latine nation be thus included? What was the intent of restoring a third part of the lands, taken in war, to the Hernicians, who so lately were enemies, only that these nations might set Cassius at their head as a leader, instead of Coriolanus." Whoever argued and protested against the Agrarian law, as thus proposed, was sure of popularity, and from that time, both the consuls vied with each other in humouring the commons. Virginius declared that he would allow the lands to be assigned, provided they were not made over to any other than citizens of Rome. Cassius, finding that, by his pursuits of popularity among the allies, which he had betrayed in the proposed distribution of the lands, he had lowered himself in the estimation of his countrymen, and, hoping to recover their esteem by another donative, proposed an order that the money received for the Sicilian corn should be refunded to the people. But this the commons rejected with as much disdain, as if he were avowedly bartering for arbitrary power: so strongly were they influenced by their inveterate suspicions of his ambition, that they spurned at all his presents, as if they were in a state of affluence; and no sooner did he go out of office, than he was condemned and executed, as we are informed by undoubted authority. Some say that it was his father who inflicted this punishment on him; that having, at home, held an inquiry into his conduct, he scourged him, and put him to death, and consecrated the allowance settled on his son,<sup>1</sup> to Ceres; that out of this a statue was erected, with this inscription, "Given from the Cassian family." I find in some writers, and it is the more credible account, that he was prosecuted for treason by the quaestors Cæso Fabius and Lucius Valerius; that he was found guilty on a trial before the people, and his house razed by a public decree; it

1 By the Roman law, a father had full and absolute power, even to life and death, over his children, who were in a state of absolute slavery; even what property they might acquire, belonged not to them, but to their father.

stood on the spot which is now the area before the temple of Tellus. However, whether the trial was private or public, he was condemned in the consulate of Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius. [Y. R. 269. B. C. 483.]

XLII. The anger which the people had conceived against Cassius, was not of long continuance. The alluring prospects held out by the agrarian law were sufficient, of themselves, now the proposer of it was removed out of the way, to make a lively impression on their minds; and their eagerness, in pursuit of them, was inflamed, by an act of unreasonable parsimony in the patricians, who, when the Volscians and Æquans were vanquished in that year, deprived the troops of the booty: the whole of what was taken from the enemy, the consul Fabius sold, and lodged the produce of it in the treasury. The name of Fabius was odious to the commons, on account of this conduct: yet the patricians had influence enough to procure the election of Cæso Fabius to the consulship, with Lucius Æmilius. [Y. R. 270. B. C. 482.] This farther exasperated the people, who, by raising a sedition at home, encouraged foreign enemies to attack them: but war put a stop to intestine dissensions. The patricians and plebeians united, and under the conduct of Æmilius, with little loss to themselves, overthrew in battle the Volscians and Æquans, who had revived hostilities. On this occasion, the enemy lost greater numbers during their retreat, than in the battle; for, after they were broken, they were pursued by the cavalry to a vast distance. In the same year, on the ides of July, the temple of Castor was dedicated: it had been vowed, during the Latine war, by Postumius the dictator, and his son being appointed duumvir for the purpose, performed the dedication. This year also the people were tempted to new exertions, by the charms of the agrarian law. The tribunes wished to enhance the importance of their office, by promoting that popular decree. The patricians, convinced that the multitude were, of themselves, too much inclined to desperate measures, looked with horror on such largesses, as incitements to acts of temerity; and they found in the consuls, leaders as active as they could wish, in opposing those proceedings. Their party consequently prevailed: and that not only for the present, but they were unable to appoint as consuls for the approaching year

Marcus Fabius, brother to Cæso, and Lucius Verus, [Y. R. 271. B. C. 481.] who was still more odious to the plebeians, on account of his having been the prosecutor of Spurius Cassius. In that consulship, there was another contest with the tribunes; the law in question was considered as a vain project, and the proposers of it disregarded as claiming merit from holding out to the people's views, advantages which were not attainable. The name of Fabius was now held in the highest estimation after three successive consulates, all of which had been uniformly distinguished by opposition to the tribunitian power; and, for that reason, this dignity was continued in the same family, for a considerable time, from a general persuasion that it could not be placed in better hands. Soon after this, war was undertaken against the Veientians. The Volscians also renewed hostilities. For security against foreign enemies, the strength of the Romans was more than sufficient: but they perverted it to a bad purpose, namely, to the support of quarrels among themselves. To add to the general disquiet, several prodigies appeared: the sky, almost daily exhibiting threatening portents, both in the city and in the country. The soothsayers, employed as well by the state as by private persons, after consulting both entrails, and birds, declared that no other cause of the displeasure of the deity existed, than that the worship of the gods was not duly performed. All their apprehensions however ended in this; Oppia, a vestal, was convicted of a breach of chastity, and suffered punishment.

XLIII. Quintus Fabius, a second time, and Caius Julius, then succeeded to the consulship. [Y. R. 272. B. C. 480.] During this year, the domestic dissensions abated not of their acrimony, and the war abroad wore a more dangerous aspect. The Æquans took up arms. The Veientians even carried their depredations into the territories of the Romans. And as these wars appeared every day more alarming, Cæso Fabius and Spurius Furius were made consuls. [Y. R. 273. B. C. 479.] The Æquans laid siege to Ortona, a Latine city. The Veientians now, satiated with booty, threatened to besiege Rome itself; yet all these dangers which surrounded them, instead of restraining the ill-humour of the commons, only served to augment it. They resumed the practice of refusing to enlist as soldiers, not indeed of their own accord, but by the advice of Spurius Dici-



nus, a plebeian tribune, who, thinking that this was the time to force the agrarian law on the patricians, when it would be impossible for them to make opposition, had undertaken to obstruct the preparations for war. However, all the odium excited by this exertion of the tribunitian power rested solely on the author: nor did the consuls unite their efforts against him with more eager zeal, than did his own colleagues, by whose assistance the levy was completed. Armies were raised for the two wars at the same time; the command of one was given to Fabius, to be led against the *Æquans*; of the other to Furius, against the *Veientians*. In the expedition against the latter, nothing memorable was performed. Fabius met with a great deal more trouble from his countryman, than from the enemy: that single man, by his conduct, as consul, supported the commonwealth, which the troops out of aversion to him, as far as lay in their power, treacherously betrayed to ruin: for, after numberless other instances of military skill, which he had displayed, both in his preparatory measures, and in his operations in the field, and when he had made such a disposition of his forces, that, by a charge of his cavalry alone, he put the enemy to rout, the infantry refused to pursue their broken troops; nor could any motive, not to mention the exhortations of the general, whom they hated, nor even the immediate consequence of infamy to themselves, and disgrace to the public, nor the danger to which they would be exposed, should the enemy resume their courage, prevail on them to quicken their pace, or even to stand in order of battle, so as to resist an attack. Without orders, they faced about; and, with countenances as dejected as though they had been vanquished, retired to their camp, execrating, at one time, the general, at another, the exertions of the cavalry. The consul, however, sought not any remedy against so pestilent an example, showing by one instance among many, that men of the most transcendent abilities are more apt to be deficient in regard to the discipline of their own troops, than in conquering an enemy. Fabius returned to Rome, having reaped little fresh glory from the war, but having irritated and exasperated, to a high degree, the hatred of the soldiers against him. The patricians, notwithstanding, had influence enough to continue the consulship in the Fabian family: they elected Marcus Fabius to that office; and Cneius Man-

lius was appointed his colleague. [Y. R. 274. B. C. 478.]

XLIV. This year also produced a tribune hardly enough to make another attempt at carrying the agrarian law. This was Titus Pontificius, who pursued the same method, as if it had succeeded, with Spurius Licinius, and for some time obstructed the levy: the patricians being hereby again perplexed. Appius Claudius asserted, that "the plan adopted last year had effectually subdued the tribunitian power, for the present, by the very act, and, to all future times, by the example which it had established; since it was discovered how that power might be deprived of efficacy, through the very means supplied by its own strength; for there would, at all times, be one among them, desirous of procuring to himself a superiority over his colleague, and, at the same time the favour of the better part of the community, by promoting the good of the public. They would even find more than one tribune, if more were necessary, ready to support the consuls, though one would be sufficient against all the rest: only let the consuls, and principal senators, exert themselves to secure in the interest of the commonwealth and of the senate, if not all the tribunes, yet as many at least as they could." Convinced of the propriety of Appius's advice, the patricians in general addressed the tribunes with civility and kindness; and those of consular dignity employed whatever personal influence they had over each of them; and thus, partly by conciliating their regard, and partly by the weight of their influence, they prevailed on them to let their powers be directed to the advantage of the state: while the consuls, being supported by four tribunes, against one opposer of the public interest, completed the levy. They then marched their army against the *Veientians*, to whom auxiliaries had flocked from all parts of *Etruria*, induced to take arms, not so much from affection to the *Veientians*, as in the hope that the Roman state might be brought to ruin by intestine discord. Accordingly, in the assemblies of each of the states of *Etruria*, the leading men argued warmly, that "the power of the Romans would be everlasting, unless civil dissention armed them with rage against each other. This was the only infection, the only poison that operated, so as to set limits to the duration of great empires. This evil, whose progress had been long retarded, partly by the

wise management of the patricians, and partly by the patient conduct of the commons, had now proceeded to extremity: out of the one, were formed two distinct states, each of which had its own magistrates, and its own laws. At first, though they used to give a loose to their rancorous animosities, when troops were to be levied, yet these very men, as long as war continued, paid obedience to their officers; and while military discipline remained in force, whatever might be the state of affairs in the city, ruin might be deferred. But now, the Roman soldier carried with him to the field, the custom of refusing submission to superiors: during the last war, in the very heat of battle, the troops conspired to make a voluntary surrender of victory to the vanquished Æquans; deserted their standards, forsook their general, and, in despite of orders, retreated to their camp. Without doubt, if proper exertions were made, Rome might be subdued by means of its own forces: nothing more was necessary, than to make a declaration, and a show of war. The fates and the gods would of themselves accomplish the rest." Such prospects as these had allured the Etrurians to arm, notwithstanding the little success they had experienced in their wars.

XLV. The Roman consuls had no other dread than of the power, and the arms, of their countrymen. When they reflected on the very dangerous tendency of their misbehaviour in the last war, they were deterred from bringing themselves into a situation where they would have two armies to fear at the same time: to avoid therefore being exposed to this double danger, they kept the troops confined within the camp, in hopes that delay, and time itself, might perhaps soften their resentment, and bring them back to a right way of thinking. This encouraged their enemies the Veientians and Etrurians, to act with greater precipitation: at first, they endeavoured to provoke the foe to fight, by riding up to the camp, and offering challenges; and, at length, finding that this had no effect, by reviling both the consuls and the army, telling them, that "the pretence of dissensions among themselves, was an artifice contrived to cover their cowardice; that the consuls were more diffident of the courage of their troops than of their disposition to obey orders: that it was a strange kind of sedition, which showed itself in silence and inaction, among men who had arms in their hands:"

throwing out, besides, many reproaches, some true, and some false, on their upstart origin. Such invectives, though uttered with great vociferation, close to the very rampart and the gates, gave the consuls no manner of uneasiness; but the minds of the uninformed multitude were strongly agitated, at one time by indignation, at another by shame, which diverted them from reflecting on domestic quarrels; they could not bear the thoughts of suffering the enemy to insult them unrevenged, neither could they wish success either to the consuls or the patricians. Thus there was a struggle in their breasts, between their animosity against foreigners, and that which inflamed them against their countrymen: the former at length prevailed, in consequence of the haughty and insolent scoffs of the enemy: they assembled in crowds at the *Prætorium*,<sup>1</sup> demanding the fight, and requiring the signal to be given. The consuls held a consultation together, as if deliberating on the demand, and conferred for a considerable time: they wished to fight; but it was necessary to restrain and conceal that wish, in order, by opposition and delay, to add to the alacrity which had now sprung up in the minds of the troops: they returned for answer, that "the measure was premature: it was not yet a proper time for meeting the enemy. That they must keep within the camp." They then issued orders, that "all should refrain from fighting; declaring, that if any should engage without orders, they would be punished." After the troops were thus dismissed, their ardour for battle increased in proportion to the aversion, which they supposed, in the consuls: besides, the enemy approached with much greater boldness, as soon as it became known that it was determined not to come to an engagement. They thought they might continue their insults with perfect safety; that the soldiers would not be entrusted with arms; that the business would end in a desperate mutiny; and that the final period of the Roman empire was arrived. Buoyed up with these hopes, their parties pressed forward to the very gates, heaped reproaches on the troops, and hardly refrained from assaulting the camp. But now, the Romans could no longer endure such insults; from every quarter of the camp, they ran hastily to the consuls, and did not, as before, propose their demand regularly, through the principal

<sup>1</sup> The general's quarters.



centurions, but joined in one general clamour. The affair was now ripe ; yet still the consuls showed a backwardness : but at length beginning, from the increasing uproar, to dread a mutiny, Fabius, with the consent of his colleague, having caused silence by sound of trumpet, said, " Cneius Manlius, that those men are able to conquer, I know ; but they themselves have given me reason to doubt, whether it is their wish : for which reason I am determined not to give the signal, unless they swear that they will return from the battle with victory. Soldiers have once deceived a Roman consul in the field, but they will never deceive the gods." There was a centurion, called Marcus Flavoleius, who was among the foremost in demanding battle ; he cried out, " Marcus Fabius, I will return victorious from the field ;" and, at the same time, imprecated on himself the anger of Father Jupiter, of Mars Gradivus, and the other gods, if he did not perform his promise : after him the whole army severally took the same oath. As soon as they had sworn, the signal was given ; instantly they marched out to battle, full of rage and of confidence. They bade the Etrurians now throw out their reproaches ; now let the enemy, who was so bold in words, come in the way of their arms. There was not a man, on that day, either plebeian or patrician, who did not display an uncommon degree of valour : the Fabian name, and Fabian race, shone forth with peculiar lustre : they were determined to recover, in that battle, the affection of the commons, which, during the many quarrels of the parties at home, had been withdrawn from them. The line was formed, nor did their Veientian enemy or the Etrurian legions decline the combat.

XLVI. These expected, and indeed firmly believed, that the Romans would show no more willingness to fight with them, than they had with the Æquans : nay, considering the high ferment of their passions, and that, in the present case, the issue of a battle was the more uncertain, they did not despair of obtaining some important advantage. In this they were entirely disappointed, for in no former war did the Romans enter the field, inflamed with keener animosity ; so highly were they exasperated by the taunts of the enemy on one side, and the delay of the consuls on the other. The Etrurians had scarcely time to form their ranks, before they found themselves engaged in close fight, hand to hand with swords, the

most desperate method of deciding a battle, the javelins having in the first hurry been thrown at random, rather than aimed at the enemy. Among the foremost, the Fabian family particularly attracted the notice of their countrymen, and encouraged them by their example : as one of these, Quintus Fabius, who had been consul two years before, advanced before the rest against a thick body of the Veientians, a Tuscan, who assumed resolution from a confidence in his strength, and skill in arms, came up to him unobserved, while he was busily engaged with a number of foes, and thrust him through the breast with his sword ; on the weapon's being drawn out of the wound, Fabius fell to the ground. Both armies felt the fall of this one man, and the Romans were in consequence of it beginning to give ground, when Marcus Fabius, the consul, leaped over the body where it lay, and opposing his buckler to the enemy, called out, " Soldiers, is this what ye bound yourselves to perform ? Was it that ye would return to the camp in flight ? Are ye so much more afraid of the most dastardly enemy, than of Jupiter and Mars, by whom ye swore ? But for my part, though bound by no oath, I will either return victorious, or die here, fighting beside thee, Quintus Fabius." On this, Cæso Fabius, consul of the former year, said, " Brother, do you expect by words to prevail on them to fight ? The gods by whom they have sworn will prevail on them. Let us, as becomes our noble birth, as is worthy of the Fabian name, animate the men by deeds of valour, rather than by exhortations." The two Fabii then rushed forward to the front with their presented spears, and drew the whole line along with them.

XLVII. By these means, the battle was renewed on that side ; nor, in the other wing, was Cneius Manlius, the consul, less strenuous in his efforts against the enemy. Here, too, a like course of events took place : for as the soldiers followed Quintus Fabius with alacrity, so did they here follow the consul Manlius, while he pressed, and almost routed the enemy : and when he was compelled by a severe wound to retire from the field, supposing him slain, they began to shrink. They would indeed have given way entirely, had not the other consul, riding up to the place at full speed with some troops of horse, revived their drooping courage ; calling out, that his colleague was alive, and that he was come to

their support, having defeated the enemy in the other wing : Manlius also showed himself, in order to encourage them to return to the fight. The sight of the two consuls rekindled the courage of the soldiers, and by this time, too, the enemy's line was considerably weakened ; for, confiding in the superiority of their numbers, they had drawn off a part, and sent them to attack the camp : these met but little resistance in the assault, but wasted time afterwards, being more intent on plunder than on fighting. The Roman Triarii,<sup>1</sup> however, who had not been able to prevent their breaking in at first, and who had despatched to the consuls an account of their situation, returned in a compact body to the Prætorium, and without waiting for aid, of themselves renewed the combat. At the same time, the consul Manlius having rode back to the camp, posted troops at all the gates, and blocked up every passage by which the enemy could retreat. The desperate situation in which the Etrurians then saw themselves, inspired them not only with boldness, but with fury ; so that, after they had made several fruitless efforts, attempting every place where they saw any prospect of gaining a passage, one band of their young men made an attack on Manlius himself, whom they distinguished by his armour. His attendants covered him from the first discharge of their weapons ; but could not long withstand their force : the consul receiving a mortal wound, fell, and his defenders were entirely dispersed. This added new confidence to the Etrurians, and so dispirited the Romans, that they fled in dismay, through all parts of the camp ; and would probably have been utterly ruined, had not the lieutenant-generals, hastily removing the consul's body, opened a passage for the enemy by one of the gates. Through this they rushed out ; and, as they were retreating in the utmost disorder, fell in with Fabius, who was flushed with success. In this second encounter many were cut off, and the rest fled different ways. The victory was complete, but the joy, which it occasioned, was greatly damped by the death of two such illustrious persons as Fabius and Manlius : for which reason the consul, when the senate were proceeding to vote him a triumph, told them, that " if the army could triumph without their

general, he would readily consent to it, on account of their extraordinary good behaviour in that war : but as to himself, while his own family was overwhelmed with grief, for the death of his brother Quintus Fabius, and the commonwealth bewailed the loss of a parent, as it were, in that of one of its consuls, he would not accept of the laurel, blasted both by public and private mourning." A triumph refused on such grounds, redounded more to his honour, than if he had actually enjoyed it : so true it is, that fame prudently declined, often breaks forth with increased lustre. He then celebrated the two funerals of his colleague, and his brother, one after the other, and took upon himself the office of pronouncing the panegyric of both ; in which he attributed to them the merit of his own performances, in such a manner, as showed him to be entitled to the greatest share of any. Not losing sight of the design which he had conceived at the beginning of his consulate, of recovering the affection of the commons, he distributed the wounded soldiers among the patricians, to be taken care of, until they were cured. The greater number were given to the Fabii, and by no others were they treated with more attention. Henceforward the Fabii grew high in the favour of the people, and that without any practices prejudicial to the state.

XLVIII. With the same view, Cæso Fabius, whose election to the consulship, with Titus Virginus, [Y. R. 275. B. C. 477.] was owing as much to the support of the commons, as to that of the patricians, would enter on no business, either of wars or levies, or any other matter, until the hopes of concord, which had already made some progress, should be ripened into a perfect union between the plebeians and patricians. In the beginning of the year therefore he proposed, that " before any tribune should stand forth to press the agrarian law, the senate should seize the opportunity, and take to themselves the merit of conferring that favour : that they should distribute among the commons, in as equal proportion as possible, the lands taken from their enemies : for it was but just that they should be enjoyed by those whose blood and labour acquired them." The senate rejected the proposal with disdain ; some of them even complained, that the talents of Cæso, formerly so brilliant, were, through a surfeit of glory, become heavy and languid. No disputes ensued between the factions in

<sup>1</sup> The Triarii were veteran soldiers of approved valour : they formed the third line, hence their name.



the city. The Latines were harassed by incursions of the Æquans; Cæso being sent thither, with an army, retaliated on the Æquans, by ravaging their territories. They retired into the towns, and kept themselves within the walls; consequently, there was no battle of any importance. But, from the arms of the Veintians, a severer blow was received, through the rashness of the other consul: and the army would have been utterly destroyed, had not Cæso Fabius arrived seasonably to its support. From that time there was properly neither peace nor war with the Veintians, whose proceedings were more like those of a banditti, than of regular troops. On the approach of the Roman legions, they retreated into the town, and when they understood that those were withdrawn, they made incursions into the country; shifting alternately from war to quiet, and from quiet to war. For this reason, nothing could be brought to a conclusion. There was also apprehension of other wars, two of which were just ready to break out, that is, with the Æquans and Volscians, who only remained inactive, until the smart of their late disaster should wear off. And besides, it was evident that the Sabines, ever hostile, and all Etruria, would soon be in motion. But the Veintians kept the Romans in continual uneasiness, rather indeed by frequent insults, than by any enterprise which threatened danger, yet this was such a business as would neither allow them to neglect it at any time, nor to turn their attention to other matters. While affairs were in this state, the Fabian family addressed the senate; the consul, in the name of the whole, speaking in this manner:—"Conscript fathers, ye know that the Veintian war requires rather an established, than a strong force, on the frontiers: let your care be directed to other wars; commit to the Fabii that against the Veintians. We pledge ourselves, that the majesty of the Roman name shall be safe on that side: that war, as the particular province of our family, we propose to wage at our own private expense. The state shall not be troubled either for men or money to support it." The warmest thanks were given to them, and the consul coming out of the senate, returned to his house, accompanied by the Fabii in a body, who had stood in the porch of the senate-house, waiting the senate's determination. They received orders to attend next day in arms, at the consul's

gate, and then retired to their respective homes.

XLIX. The report of this conduct spread immediately over the whole city, and all extolled the Fabii with the most exalted encomiums; that a "single family had undertaken to sustain the burden of the state; that the Veintian war was become a private concern, a private quarrel. If there were two other families of equal strength in the city, one of them might claim the Volscians for their share, the other the Æquans; thus all the neighbouring states might be subdued, and the majority of Roman people, in the mean time, enjoy perfect tranquillity. Next day the Fabii took arms, and assembled in the place appointed. The consul, coming forth in his military robe,<sup>1</sup> saw his whole family in the court-yard, drawn up in order of march, and being received into the centre, commanded them to set forward. Never did an army, either smaller in number, or more highly distinguished in fame, and the general admiration of all men, march through the city. Three hundred and six soldiers, all of them patricians, not one of whom would be judged unfit for supreme command by the senate at any time whatever, proceeded on their way, threatening destruction to the state of the Veintians, by the prowess of one family. A crowd attended them, composed, partly, of their own connections, relations, and particular acquaintances, who held no moderation either in their hopes or anxieties; and partly, of such as were attracted by zeal for the public interest, all enraptured with esteem and admiration. They bade "the heroes to proceed; to proceed with happy fortune, and to obtain success proportioned to the merit of their undertaking;" desiring them to expect afterwards, consulships, triumphs, every reward, every honour, which was in the power of the public to bestow." As they passed by the Capitol, the citadel, and other sacred places, whatever deities occurred to the people's sight or thoughts, to them they offered up their prayers, that they would "crown that band with success and prosperity, and soon restore them in safety to their country and their parents." But their prayers were made in vain. Passing through the right-hand postern of the

<sup>1</sup> Before a consul set out on any expedition, he offered sacrifices and prayers in the Capitol; and then, laying aside his consular gown, marched out of the city, dressed in a military robe of state, called *Paludamentum*.

Carmental gate, they arrived at the river Cremera, which they judged to be a proper situation for securing a post by fortifications. Lucius Æmilius and Caius Servilius were soon after elected consuls. [Y. R. 276. B. C. 476.] As long as the operations of the war were confined to predatory expeditions, the Fabii were not only sufficiently able to defend their post, but by their excursions, along the common boundaries, they both effectually secured their own frontiers, and spread terror and devastation in those of the enemy, through the whole tract, as far as the Etrurian territories join the Roman. Their mutual depredations were soon after discontinued, though but for a short time, for the Veientians having collected a reinforcement from Etruria, laid siege to the post at the Cremera; and the Roman legions, led thither by the consul Lucius Æmilius, fought a close engagement with the Etrurians in the field, in which, however, the Veientians had scarcely time to form their troops; for in the midst of the hurry, while they were taking their posts under their several banners, and placing bodies of reserve, a brigade of Roman cavalry charged them suddenly on the flank, in such a manner as to put it out of their power either to make a regular onset, or even to stand their ground. Being thus compelled to retreat to the Red Rocks, where they had their camp, they humbly sued for peace: yet after it had been granted, they renounced it, before the Roman guard was withdrawn from the Cremera; such was their natural inconstancy, and such their bad faith.

L. The contest, then, again lay between the Fabii and the Veientian state, unsupported by any additional forces on either side. There passed between them not only incursions into each other's territories, and sudden attacks on the parties employed in those incursions, but several pitched battles in the open field; in which a single family of the Roman people often obtained victory over a state, at that time the most powerful in Etruria. This, at first, stung the Veientians with grief and indignation; afterwards they formed a design, suggested by the present circumstances, of ensnaring their enemy, elated with success; and they even observed, with pleasure, the confidence of the Fabii daily increasing, from a series of successful attempts. In pursuance of this design, cattle were frequently driven in the way of the plundering parties, as if they had come

there by chance; the fields were deserted by the flight of the peasants, and the bodies of troops sent to repel the invaders, retreated with pretended, oftener than real, fear. The Fabii had now contracted such a contempt of the enemy, that they thought their own arms invincible, and not to be withstood in any place or on any occasion. This presumption carried them so far, that on seeing, from Cremera, some cattle at a distance—a long tract of country lying between, in which, however, but few of the enemy's troops appeared,—they ran down to seize them, and pressed forward with such careless haste, as to pass by the Veientians, who lay in ambush, on each side of the very road through which they marched. They then dispersed themselves on all sides to collect the cattle, which ran up and down, as was natural on being frightened; when, suddenly, the soldiers rose from their concealments, and appeared not only in front, but on every side of them. The shout first struck them with terror, and, in a little time, they were assailed by weapons on all sides. As the Etrurians closed in upon them, they were obliged, hemmed in, as they were, by one continued line of troops, to contract the circle which they had formed, into a narrower compass; which circumstance showed plainly, both the smallness of their number, and the great superiority of the Etrurians, whose ranks were multiplied as the space grew narrower. They then changed their method of fighting, and, instead of making head on all sides, bent their whole force towards one point; where, forming in the shape of a wedge, and exerting every effort of their bodies and arms, they at length forced a passage. Their course led to a hill of moderate acclivity; there, first, they halted; and then the advantage of the ground affording them a little time to breathe, and to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown, they afterwards even repulsed an attack of the enemy; and this little band would probably, with the aid of the ground, have come off victorious, had not a body of Veientians, sent round the ridge of the hill, made their way to the summit: by which means the enemy became again superior; the Fabii were all cut off to a man, and their fort taken. It is agreed, on all hands, that the three hundred and six perished; and that only one single person, then quite a youth, was left, as a stock for the propagation of the Fabian race; and who was, afterwards, on many emergencies,



both in peace and war, to prove the firmest support of the state.

L.I. At the time when this disaster happened, Caius Horatius and Titus Menenius were in the consulship. Menenius was immediately sent against the Etrurians, elated with their victory. He also was worsted in battle, and the enemy took possession of the Janiculum; nor would the city, which, besides the war, was distressed also by scarcity, have escaped a siege, the Etrurians having passed the Tiber, had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the country of the Volscians. So near, indeed, did the enemy approach to the walls, that the first engagement was at the temple of Hope, in which little was gained on either side; and the second, at the Colline gate, in which the Romans obtained some small advantage; and this, though far from decisive, yet by restoring to the soldiers their former courage, qualified them the better to contend with the enemy in future. Aulus Virginius and Spurius Servilius were next elected consuls. After the loss sustained in the last battle, the Veintians avoided coming again to an engagement. They employed themselves in committing depredations, by sending out parties from the Janiculum, which served them as a fortress; and these parties scoured every part of the Roman territories, so that neither the cattle, nor the husbandmen, could any where remain in safety. At last they were entrapped by the same stratagem, by which they had circumvented the Fabii: pursuing some cattle, which had been purposely thrown in their way as a temptation, they fell into an ambuscade. In proportion as their numbers were greater, so was the slaughter. The violent rage which this overthrow excited, gave cause to one of greater magnitude: for, having crossed the Tiber by night, they made an assault on the camp of the consul Servilius; and, being repulsed with great loss, with difficulty effected a retreat to the Janiculum. The consul immediately passed the Tiber, and fortified a camp at the foot of the Janiculum. Next day, as soon as light appeared, partly led by the confidence inspired by his success in the fight of the day before, but chiefly because the scarcity of corn made it expedient to adopt even dangerous measures, provided they were expeditious, he rashly marched up his troops against the steep of the Janiculum, to the camp of the enemy: where he met with a repulse, more shameful than that

which he had given them the preceding day; and both he and his army owed their preservation from destruction to the timely intervention of his colleague. The Etrurians, now enclosed between the two armies, to one or other of which their rear was by turns exposed, were entirely cut off. Thus, through a fortunate act of temerity, the Veintians were effectually overpowered, and the war brought to a conclusion.

L.II. Together with peace, plenty returned to the city, corn being brought from Campania; and every one, as soon as he was freed from the dread of impending famine, producing the stores which he had concealed. In this state of abundance and ease, the people began again to grow licentious, and not finding abroad any cause of complaint, sought for it, as usual, at home. By infusing into their minds the usual poison, the agrarian law, the tribunes threw the people into a ferment, at the same time rousing their resentment against the patricians, who opposed it; and, not only against that body in general, but against particular members of it. Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, the present proposers of the agrarian law, lodged an accusation against Titus Menenius: the charge brought against him was, the loss of the fort of Cremera, when he, the consul, was encamped in a fixed post at no great distance. Him they crushed, although the patricians struggled in his cause with no less zeal than they had shown for Coriolanus, and though his father Agrippa's title to the favour of the public was not yet forgotten. The tribunes, however, went no farther than to impose a fine, though they had carried on the prosecution as for a capital offence. On his being found guilty, they fixed the mulct at two thousand *asses*.<sup>1</sup> This proved fatal to him; for we are told that he could not bear the ignominy and anguish of mind which it occasioned, and that this threw him into a disorder which put an end to his life. Another was soon after brought to trial, Spurius Servilius, against whom, as soon as he went out of the consulship, in the beginning of the year in which Caius Nautius and Publius Valerius were consuls, a prosecution was commenced by two tribunes, Lucius Cædicius and Titius Statius. He did not, like Menenius, meet the attacks of these tribunes with supplications from himself and the patricians, but

1 Five pounds sterling.

with the utmost confidence, inspired by innocence, and by the justice of his claim to the favour of the public. He was charged with misconduct in the battle with the Etrurians at the Janiculum; but being a man of an intrepid spirit, as he had done formerly in the case of public peril, so now in one that threatened himself, he dispelled the danger by facing it with boldness. In a speech full of undaunted fortitude, he retorted on both tribunes and commons, and upbraided them with the condemnation and death of Titus Menenius, the son of that man, to whose good offices the people stood indebted for the restoration of their privileges, for those very laws and magistrates, which enabled them now to let loose their passions in this unreasonable manner. His colleague Virginius, too, being produced as a witness, greatly assisted his cause, by attributing to him a share of his own merit; but what did him the most essential service was, the sentence passed on Menenius; so great a change had taken place in the minds of the people.

LIII. No sooner had these domestic disputes subsided, than a new war broke out with the Veientians, with whom the Sabines had united their forces. After auxiliaries had been brought from the Latines and Hernicians, the consul Valerius, being sent with an army to Veii, instantly attacked the Sabine camp, which they had pitched under the walls of their allies. This occasioned such consternation among the Sabines, that while they ran different ways in small parties, to repel the enemy's assault, the gate, first attacked, was taken; and afterwards, within the rampart, there was rather a carnage than a battle. From the tents the alarm spread into the city, and the Veientians ran to arms in as great a panic as if Veii itself were taken: some went to support the Sabines, others fell upon the Romans, whose whole force and attention were employed on the camp. For a little time the latter were put to a stand and disordered; but soon forming two fronts, they faced the enemy on both sides; and, at the same time, the cavalry, being ordered by the consul to charge, routed and dispersed the Etrurians. Thus were overcome, in the same hour, two armies of the two greatest and most powerful of the neighbouring states. During these transactions at Veii, the Volscians and Æquans had encamped in the Latine territories, and laid waste the country. The Latines, however, being joined by the Hernicians, with-

out the aid either of Roman general or troops, beat them out of their camp, and there, besides recovering their own effects, got possession of immense booty. The consul Caius Nautius was, however, sent against the Volscians from Rome, where, I suppose, it was considered as improper, that the allies should get a custom of carrying on wars, with their own forces and under their own direction, without a Roman general and troops. Every kind of severity and indignity was practised against the Volscians, yet they could not be brought to an engagement in the field.

LIV. The next consuls were Lucius Furius and Aulus Manlius. [Y. R. 280. B. C. 472.] The Veientians fell to the lot of Manlius as his province; but the war with that people did not continue. At their request a truce for forty years was granted them, and they were obliged to furnish corn, and to pay the soldiers. No sooner was peace restored abroad, than discord began at home. The commons were set in a flame at the instigation of the tribunes, on their constant subject, the agrarian law, which the consuls, not deterred by the condemnation of Menenius, or the danger incurred by Servilius, opposed with all their might. On this account, as soon as they went out of office, Titus Genucius, the tribune, laid hold of them. They were succeeded in the consulship by Lucius Æmilius and Opiter Virginius. [Y. R. 281. B. C. 471.] In some annals, instead of Virginius, I find Vopiscus Julius set down for consul. During this year, whoever were the consuls, Furius and Manlius being summoned to a trial, before the people, went about in the garb of suppliants, addressing not only the commons, but the younger patricians. The latter they advised and cautioned to "keep at a distance from public employments, and the administration of affairs, and to look on the consular fasces, the prætexta, and curule chair, as nothing better than the decorations of a funeral; for those splendid badges, like the fillets of victims, were placed on men who were doomed to death. But, if there were such charms in the consulship, let them, once for all, be convinced, that the office was crushed, and held in captivity by the tribunitian power; that a consul must act in every thing according to command, and, like a bailiff, be obedient even to the tribune's nod. If he should exert himself, if he should show any respect to the patricians, if he should suppose that there was any powerful part in the



state but the commons alone, let him place before his eyes the banishment of Caius Marcius, with the penalty and death of Menenius." By such discourses the patricians were fired with indignation, and from that time they no longer held their consultations publicly, but in private, and suffered but few to be privy to them: and here, however, they might differ in other points, in this they were unanimous, that the accused should be rescued from danger by any means possible, whether right or wrong; and the most violent method proposed, was the most acceptable. Nor were they at a loss for an actor to perpetrate any, the most atrocious deed: on the day of trial, therefore, the people, standing in the forum, in eager expectation of the tribune's appearing, first began to wonder that he did not come down; then beginning, from his delay, to suspect something amiss, they supposed that he had been terrified from attending by the nobles, while some complained that the cause of the public was deserted and betrayed by him. At length, an account was brought of the tribune's being found dead in his house. As soon as this report had spread through the assembly, every one separated different ways, just as an army disperses on the fall of its leader. The tribunes, particularly, were seized with the greatest terror, warned by the death of their colleague, how very little security the devoting laws afforded them. The patricians, on the other side, exulted with too little moderation: and so far were they from feeling any compunction at the deed, that even those who were clear of the crime, wished to be considered as the perpetrators of it; and they declared openly, that the tribunitian power must be subdued by severity.

LV. Soon after this victory had been obtained, by means which furnished a precedent of the worst tendency, a proclamation was issued for a levy of soldiers: and the tribunes being awed into submission, the consuls accomplished the business without any interruption. The commons, on this, were highly enraged, more on account of the acquiescence of the tribunes, than of the execution of the orders of the consuls; they declared that "there was an end of their liberty; that they were reduced again to their old condition, for the tribunitian power had expired with, and was buried in the grave of Genucius. Other means must be devised and practised, to put a stop to the tyranny of the patricians. There re-

mained now only one method to be pursued; which was, that the commons, since they were destitute of every other protection, should undertake their own defence. The retinue of the consuls consisted of twenty-four lictors, and even these were plebeians; no force could be more contemptible; or less capable of resistance, if people had but the spirit to despise them; but every one magnified those matters, and made them objects of terror to himself." While they thus spurred on each other with such discourses as these, it happened that a lictor was sent by the consul to a plebeian of the name of Volero. Publilius, who had insisted, that, having been a centurion, he could not be compelled to enlist as a common soldier. Volero appealed to the tribunes; but none of them supporting him, the consuls ordered the man to be stripped, and the rods to be got ready: "I appeal to the people," said Volero: "the tribunes choose rather that a Roman citizen should be beaten with rods before their eyes, than that themselves should be murdered in their beds by your faction." The more vehemently he exclaimed, the more violently did the lictor proceed in tearing off his clothes, and stripping him. Then Volero, who was a man of great bodily strength, and aided also by those who took part with him, drove away the lictor, and retired into the thickest part of the crowd, where he heard the loudest expressions of indignation at the treatment which he received; at the same time crying aloud, "I appeal, and implore the protection of the commons. Support me, citizens; support me, fellow-soldiers. You have nothing to expect from the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of your support." The people inflamed with passion, prepared themselves as for a battle: and there was every appearance of the contest proceeding to such extremity, as that no regard whatever would be paid either to public or private rights. The consuls, having undertaken to face this violent storm, quickly experienced that dignity, unsupported by strength, is not exempt from danger. Their lictors were abused, the fasces broken, and themselves forced to take refuge in the senate-house, uncertain how far Volero would push his victory. In some time after, the tumult subsiding, they assembled the senators, and complained to them of the ill-treatment which they had suffered, of the violence of the commons, and the audacious behaviour of

Volero. Though many harsh methods of proceeding were proposed, the opinion of the elder members prevailed; who recommended to the senate, not to let their conduct be as strongly marked by passionate resentment, as that of the commons was by inconsiderate violence.

LVI. The commons, interesting themselves warmly in favour of Volero, chose him at the next election tribune for the year: the consuls being Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius. [Y. R. 282. B. C. 470.] And now, contrary to the expectation of all men, who supposed that he would give a loose to the reins of the tribunitian power, in harassing the consuls of the preceding year; postponing his own resentment, and affecting only the public interest, without uttering even a word to offend the consuls, he proposed a law that plebeian magistrates should be elected in assemblies where the votes were given by tribes. This, though covered under an appearance which, at first view, showed not any evil tendency, was considered as a matter of no trivial consequence; as it would entirely deprive the patricians of the power of electing such tribunes as they liked, by means of the votes of their dependents. To prevent this proposition, which was highly pleasing to the commons, from passing into a law, the patricians strained every nerve; and though neither the influence of the consuls nor that of themselves could prevail on any one of the college of tribunes to protest against it, that being the only power that could effectually stifle it; yet, as it was in itself an affair of great weight, and required long and laborious exertions, the obstacles thrown in its way were sufficient to delay it until the following year. The commons re-elected Volero to the tribuneship; and the patricians, judging that this business would not end without the severest struggle, procured the consulship for Appius Claudius, son of Appius, who both hated, and was hated by, the commons, in consequence of the contentions between them and his father. Titus Quintius was given him for colleague. The law was the first matter agitated in the beginning of the year; and though Volero was the author of it, yet Lætorius his colleague, from having more recently joined in the business, became in consequence the more eager for its adoption: his renown in war inspired him with confidence, for there was no one of that age possessed of more personal prowess. Volero contented

himself with arguing in favour of the law, and avoided all abuse against the consuls; but Lætorius began with severe invectives against Appius and his family, charging them with having always shown a disposition in the highest degree overbearing and cruel: asserting that the patricians had elected him not for a consul, but an executioner, to torment and torture the plebeians. Being however a rough soldier, unskilled in the art of speaking, he was at a loss for expressions suited to the boldness of his thoughts; and finding himself unable to proceed in his discourse, he said, "Citizens, since I cannot speak with the same readiness with which I can perform what I have spoken, I request your attendance to-morrow. Either I will lose my life, here in your presence, or I will carry the law." Next day the tribunes took possession of the temple; and the consuls and nobles placed themselves among the crowd, in order to oppose the law. Lætorius ordered all persons to retire, except those who were to vote; but the younger nobility kept their seats, and paid no regard to the officer; on which Lætorius ordered some of them to be taken into custody. The consul Appius insisted, that "a tribune had no power over any but the plebeians; for he was not a magistrate of the people at large, but of the commons; that even he himself could not, conformably to ancient usage, of his own authority, compel people to withdraw, the words in use being, *If ye think proper, Romans, retire.*" It was easy for him to disconcert Lætorius in arguing, even thus contemptuously, about his authority; the tribune therefore, inflamed with anger, sent one of his officers to the consul, while the consul sent a lictor to the tribune, calling out that he was but a private person without command and without magistracy; nor would the tribune have escaped ill-treatment, had not the whole assembly joined, with great warmth, in taking his part against the consul; and at the same time, the alarm having spread among the populace, brought a great concourse from all parts of the city to the forum. Appius, notwithstanding, inflexibly withstood the violence of the storm; and the dispute must have terminated in blood, had not Quintius, the other consul, giving it in charge to the consulars to take away his colleague from the forum by force, if they could not do it otherwise, now soothing the enraged plebeians with intreaties, then begging the tribunes to dismiss the assembly, so as to "give



time for their anger to cool," telling them, that "delay would not diminish aught of their power, but would afford them the advantage of uniting prudence with that power; that the patricians would still be under the direction of the people, and the consul under that of the patricians.

LVII. With great difficulty, the commons were pacified by Quintius; and with much greater, was the other consul quieted by the patricians; and the assembly of the people being at length dismissed, the consuls convened the senate. There, fear and anger prevailing by turns, produced for some time a variety of opinions; but having gained time for reflection, in proportion as passion gave place to reason, they became more and more averse from inflammatory measures; in so much, that they returned thanks to Quintius, for having, by exertions, put a stop to the quarrel. Appius they requested to "be satisfied with such a degree of deference to the consular authority, as was compatible with concord between the several parts of the state; for whilst the tribune and consuls violently drew all power, each to their own side, there was none left in the other members of the community. The object of the dispute was not the safety of the commonwealth, but who should have the disposal of it, mangled and torn as it was." On the other hand, Appius appealed to gods and men that "the state was betrayed and deserted through cowardice; that the consul was not wanting in support of the senate, but the senate in support of the consul; and that they were submitting to more grievous laws than those which were imposed at the sacred mount." Yielding, however, to the unanimous judgment of the senate, he desisted, and the law was carried through without farther opposition.

LVIII. Then, for the first time, were the tribunes elected in an assembly of the people, voting by tribes. Piso relates also, that there were three added to their number, having before been but two. He even names the tribunes, Caius Sicinius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duilius, Spurius Icilius, Lucius Mecilius. During the dissensions at Rome, war commenced with the Æquans and Volscians, who had committed depredations on the Roman lands, with design, that if the commons should again think proper to secede, they might find a refuge with them. When the differences in the city were afterwards composed, they remov-

ed their camp to a greater distance: Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians, the Æquans fell to Quintius as his province. The same severity, which Appius had shown at home, he practised at the head of the army abroad, and even with less reserve, as he was out of the reach of any control from the tribunes. He detested the commons to a degree of rancour, even beyond what he inherited from his father; and considered himself as vanquished by them; for that when he had been set up as the only person, who, in the character of consul, was qualified to oppose the tribunitian power, that law had been carried which the former consuls had been able to prevent, though they made not such strenuous exertions as himself against it, nor did the patricians expect so much from them. His anger and indignation hereby excited, he sought to wreak on the army every kind of rigour which the command had put in his power: but no degree of violence was able to subdue the temper of the troops, such an unconquerable spirit of opposition had they imbibed. In every part of their business they showed indolence and carelessness, negligence and stubbornness; neither shame nor fear had any effect on them. If he wished that the army should proceed with more expedition, they marched the slower; if he came to encourage them to hasten their work, every one relaxed the diligence which he had used before; when he was present, they cast down their eyes; as he passed by, they muttered curses against him; so that while he seemed invulnerable to popular dislike, his mind was occasionally affected with disagreeable emotions. After trying every kind of harsh treatment without effect, he renounced all intercourse with the soldiers, declaring that the army was corrupted by the centurions, whom, in a gibing manner, he sometimes called plebeian tribunes, and Voleroes.

LIX. Not one of these circumstances was unknown to the Volscians, who, for that reason, pressed forward their operations the more vigorously, in hopes, that the Roman army would be animated with the same spirit of opposition against Appius, which they had formerly displayed against Fabius, when consul; and, in fact, in Appius's case, it showed itself with a much greater degree of inveteracy than in that of Fabius; for they were not only unwilling to conquer, like Fabius's troops, but even chose to be conquered. When led out

to the field, they fled shamefully to their camp, or made a halt, until they saw the Volscians advancing to the rampart, and committing great slaughter on the rear of the army. The necessity of repelling the victorious enemy from the rampart, then prevailed on them to fight, which, however, they did in such a manner, as made it evident, that they acted only because Roman soldiers would not suffer their camp to be taken: in other respects, they rejoiced at their own losses and disgrace. All this had so little effect towards softening the stubborn fierceness of Appius, that he resolved to exhibit farther examples of severity; but when he had summoned an assembly for the purpose, the lieutenant-generals and tribunes gathered hastily about him, and cautioned him "not to hazard a trial of the extent of an authority, whose whole efficacy depended on the will of those who were to obey it; informed him, that the soldiers in general declared that they would not attend the assembly; and that, in every quarter, they were heard loudly demanding that the camp should be removed out of the Volscian territories. They reminded him that the conquering army had approached almost to the gates and to the rampart, and that if he persisted, there was not only reason to apprehend, but every certain indication of a most grievous calamity ensuing." At length, yielding to persuasion, as nothing but a delay of punishment could be the consequence, he prorogued the assembly; gave orders that the troops should be in readiness to march next day; and, at the first dawn, gave, by sound of trumpet, the signal for setting out. When the army had scarcely got clear of the camp, and while they were just forming in order of march, the Volscians, as if they had been summoned by the same signal, made an attack on their rear; and, the alarm spreading from thence to the van, caused such consternation, as threw both the battalions and ranks into confusion, so that neither could orders be heard, nor a line formed. No one now thought of any thing but flight; and with such precipitation did they make their way through the ranks, that the enemy ceased to pursue sooner than the Romans to fly. In vain did the consul follow his men, calling on them to halt. But when he had at length collected them together, he encamped in a peaceful part of the country: and there, having summoned an assembly, after uttering severe and just reproaches against

the army, as betrayers of military discipline, and deserters from their posts, asking each where were their standards? where were their arms? he beat with rods, and beheaded, the soldiers who had thrown away their swords, the standard-bearers who had lost their ensigns, and also such of the centurions, and of the privates, as had quitted their ranks. Of the rest of the multitude every tenth man was drawn by lot and punished.

LX. In a very different manner were matters conducted in the country of the Æquans. There seemed a mutual contest carried on between the consul and his troops, who should exceed the other in civility and good offices. Quintius was naturally of a milder disposition, and besides, the ill consequences attending the harshness of his colleague made him feel the greater satisfaction in indulging his own temper. The Æquans, not daring to meet in the field, a general and army so cordially united, suffered them to carry their depredations through every part of the country; and in no former war was a greater abundance of booty brought off from thence, all which was distributed among the soldiers. Their behaviour was also rewarded with praises, in which the minds of soldiers find as much delight as in gain. The troops returned home in better temper towards their general, and, on the general's account towards the patricians also; declaring, that the senate had given to them a parent, to the other army a master. This year, during which they experienced a variety of fortune in their military operations, and furious dissensions both at home and abroad, was particularly distinguished by the assemblies of the people voting by tribes: a matter which derived its seeming importance rather from the honour of the victory obtained by one party over the other, than from any real advantage accruing from it. For the share of power, which was either gained by the commons, or taken from the patricians, was trifling, in proportion to the great degree of dignity of which the assemblies themselves were deprived by the exclusion of the patricians.

LXI. The following year, [Y. R. 284. B. C. 468.] the consulate of Lucius Valerius and Tiberius Æmilius was disturbed by more violent commotions, both in consequence of the struggles between the different orders of the state concerning the agrarian law, and also of the trial of Appius Claudius; who, having



taken a most active part, in opposition to the law, and supported the cause of those who were in possession of the public lands, as if he were a third consul, and thought it his duty, had a criminal prosecution instituted against him by Marcus Duilius and Caius Sicinius. Never hitherto had a person, so odious to the commons, been brought to trial before the people, overwhelmed as he was with their hatred, on his father's account, besides the load which his own conduct had drawn on him; and hardly ever did the patricians exert such strenuous efforts in favour of any other, seeing this champion of the senate, the assertor of its dignity, their bulwark against all the outrageous attempts, both of tribunes and commons, exposed to the rage of the populace, only for having in the contest exceeded, in some degree, as they conceived, the bounds of moderation. Appius Claudius himself was the only one among the patricians, who looked with scorn on the tribunes and commons, even affecting a disregard as to his own trial. Neither the threats of the commons, nor the entreaties of the senate, could ever prevail on him either to change his garb,<sup>1</sup> or use a suppliant address, or even to soften and relax, in any degree, the usual harshness of his language, when he was to plead his cause before the people. He still preserved the same expression of countenance, the same stubborn fierceness in his looks, and the same vehemence in his discourse; so that a great many of the commons felt no less dread of Appius, while he stood a culprit at their bar, than they had done when he was consul. He pleaded in his defence, and that with all the haughtiness which he could have shown, had he been the accuser, just as he used to behave on every other occasion; and, by his intrepidity, so astonished the tribunes and commons, that, of their own choice, they adjourned the trial to another day, and afterwards suffered the business to cool. The day of adjournment was not very distant, yet, before it arrived, he was seized with a disorder and died. The tribunes endeavoured to prevent his being honoured with a funeral panegyric, but the commons would not allow that the last day of so great a man should be defrauded of the usual glories. They listened to the encomiums pronounced on him after his death with as favourable an attention as they

had shown to the charges brought against him, when alive, and, in vast numbers, attended his funeral.

LXII. During this year, the consul Valerius marched with an army against the Æquans; and, finding it impracticable to entice them to an engagement, made an assault on their camp. A violent storm of thunder and hail obliged him to desist, and people's surprise was increased, when, as soon as the signal for retreat had been given, the weather became perfectly calm and clear; so that they were deterred by a religious scruple from again attacking a camp which had been defended by an evident interposition of some divinity, and vented all their rage in devastations on the enemy's lands. The other consul, Æmilius, conducted the war in the country of the Sabines, and there also, the enemy keeping within their walls, the lands were laid waste; at length, by the burning, not only of the country-houses, but of the villages, which in that populous country were very numerous, the Sabines were provoked to give battle to the troops employed in the depredations; and, being obliged to retreat without having gained any advantage, removed their camp, next day, to a place of greater safety. This appeared to the consul a sufficient reason to consider the enemy as vanquished, and to cease any farther operations; he accordingly withdrew his men, without having made any progress in the war.

LXIII. While these wars still raged abroad, and party divisions at home, Titus Numicius Priscus and Aulus Virginius were elected consuls. [Y. R. 285. B. C. 467]. There was reason to believe that the commons would not endure any farther delay with respect to the agrarian law, and every degree of violence was ready to be committed, when it was discovered, by the smoke from the burning of the country-houses, and by the inhabitants flying to the city, that the Volscians were at hand; this incident repressed the sedition, when just ripe, and on the point of breaking forth. The consuls were instantly ordered by the senate to lead out the youth from the city against the enemy; and this made the rest of the commons less turbulent. On the other side, the assailants, without performing any thing farther than alarming the Romans by the destruction of some few buildings, retired with great precipitation. Numicius marched to Antium against the Volscians; Virginius against the Æquans. Here,

<sup>1</sup> It was usual for persons under accusation to put on a mourning dress, and to let their hair and beard grow.

the army falling into an ambuscade, and being in the utmost danger of a total overthrow, was rescued by the bravery of the soldiers from the imminent peril to which the carelessness of the consul had exposed them. The operations against the Volscians were better conducted; in the first engagement, the enemy was routed, and compelled to fly into Antium, which, considering those times, was a city of great strength; the consul therefore not choosing to venture to attack it, took from the Antians another town called Ceno, which was not near so strong. Whilst the Æquans and Volscians gave employment to the Roman armies, the Sabines carried depredation to the very gates of the city; however, they themselves, in a few days after, suffered, from the two Roman armies, greater losses than any which they had occasioned; both the consuls, provoked at their proceedings, having marched into their territories.

LXIV. Towards the close of the year, there was some interval of peace, but disturbed, as was always the case, by struggles between the patricians and plebeians. The latter were so incensed, that they refused to attend the assembly held for the election of consuls, so that by the votes of the patricians and their dependents, Titus Quintius and Quintus Servilius were appointed to the consulship. [Y. R. 286. B. C. 466.] These experienced a year similar to the preceding; the beginning of it filled with civil broils, which were afterwards repressed by the breaking out of foreign wars. The Sabines, marching across the plains of Crustumium with great rapidity, carried fire and sword through all the country on the banks of the Anio; and though, when they had advanced almost to the Colline gate, and the walls of the city, they met with a repulse, yet they carried off a vast booty both of men and cattle. The consul Servilius marched in pursuit, with design to bring them to an engagement: but not being able to overtake their main body in the champaign country, he spread devastation to such an extent, as to leave nothing unmolested, and returned with a quantity of spoil, exceeding, by many degrees, what the enemy had carried off. In the campaign against the Volscians also, the arms of the state were remarkably successful, through the conduct both of the general and of the soldiers: first, they fought a pitched battle, on equal ground, with great loss of blood on both sides. The Ro-

mans, however, whose small number made them feel the loss more sensibly, would have quitted the field, had not the consul, by a happy feint, re-animated the troops, calling out, that the enemy were flying on the other wing: they then returned to the charge, and the opinion that victory was on their side, was the means of their obtaining it in reality. But Titus fearing lest, if he pressed the fugitives too far, he might have the battle to fight over again, gave the signal for retreat. After this, an interval of some few days passed, during which both parties reposed, as if they had tacitly agreed to a suspension of arms; and, in the mean time, vast multitudes from every state of the Volscians and Æquans flocked to their camp, not doubting but that the Romans, when informed of their numbers, would make their retreat by night. About the third watch, therefore, they came to attack the camp. Quintius, after appeasing the tumult which the sudden alarm had excited, and ordering the soldiers to stay quiet in their tents, led out a cohort of Hernicians to form an advanced guard, mounted the trumpeters, with others of their band, on horses, and ordered them to sound their instruments before the rampart, so as to keep the enemy in suspense until day-light. During the remainder of the night, every thing was quiet in the camp, so that the Romans were not even prevented from sleeping. The Volscians, on the other hand, expecting every instant an attack, were kept in a state of earnest attention by the appearance of the armed infantry, whom they believed to be Romans, and whom they also conceived to be more numerous than they really were, from the bustle and neighing of the horses, and which, being under the management of riders with whom they were acquainted, and having their ears continually teased with the sound of the instruments, made in their trampling a considerable noise.

LXV. When day appeared, the Romans, marching into the field in full vigour, after being thoroughly refreshed with sleep, at the first onset overpowered the Volscians, fatigued with standing and want of rest. However, the enemy might be said to retire, rather than to be routed; for some hills, which lay behind them, afforded a safe retreat to all the troops that were stationed to the rear of the first line, whose ranks were still unbroken. On coming to this place, where the height of the ground



was against him, the consul ordered his men to halt : but it was with great difficulty that they could be restrained ; they called out, and insisted on being allowed to pursue the advantage which they had gained : while the horsemen, collected round the general, were still more ungovernable, loudly declaring that they would advance before the front line. While Titus hesitated, between the confidence which he knew he might place in the valour of his men, and the difficulty of the ground, all cried out, with one voice, that they would proceed ; and they instantly put their words in execution ; sticking their spears in the ground, that they might be lighter to climb the steeps, they ran forward in full speed. The Volscians having at the first onset discharged their missile weapons, began to pour down on them, as they approached. The incessant blows from the stones of the higher ground, and which lay among their feet, so galled and disordered the Romans, that their left wing was by this means almost overborne ; when the consul, just as they were beginning to give way, reproaching

them with their rashness, and at the same time with want of spirit, made their fears give place to shame. At first, they stood their ground with determined firmness ; then, as they recovered strength to renew the attack, in spite of the disadvantage of situation, they ventured to advance, and raising the shout anew, moved forward in a body. Rushing on again in full career, they forced their way, and when they had reached almost to the summit of the hill, the enemy turned their backs, and the pursuers and pursued, exerting their utmost speed, both rushed into the camp together, almost in one body. In this consternation of the Volscians, their camp was taken. Such of them as could make their escape, took the road to Antium ; thither also the Roman army marched ; and, after a siege of a few days, the town surrendered, not because the force of the besiegers was stronger now than in the former attack, but because the spirits of the besieged were broken by the late unsuccessful battle, and the loss of their camp.

THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK III.

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Dissensions about the agrarian laws. The Capitol seized by exiles and slaves. Quintus Cincinatus called from the cultivation of his farm, to conduct a war against the Æquans; vanquishes them, and makes them pass under the yoke. The number of the tribunes of the people augmented to ten. Ten magistrates, called decemvirs, invested with the authority of the consuls, and of all other magistrates, are appointed for the purpose of digesting and publishing a body of laws. These, having promulgated a code of laws, contained in ten tables, obtain a continuation of their authority for another year, during which, they add two more to the former ten tables. They refuse to resign their office, and retain it a third year. At first, they act equitably and justly; afterwards, arbitrarily and tyrannically. At length the commons, provoked by a base attempt of one of them, Appius Claudius, to violate the chastity of a daughter of Virginius, seize upon the Aventine mount, and compel them to resign. Appius and Oppius, two of the most obnoxious, are thrown into prison, where they put an end to their own lives; the rest are banished. War with the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquans. Unjust determination of the Roman people, who being chosen arbitrators in an affair between the people of Ardea and Aricia, concerning some disputed lands, adjudge them to themselves.

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I. Soon after the taking of Antium, Titus Æmilius and Quintus Fabius were elected consuls. [Y. R. 287. B. C. 465.] This Quintus was the single one of the Fabii who remained alive when the family were cut off at the Cremera. Æmilius had before, in his former consulate, recommended the distribution of lands among the commons: now, therefore, on his being a second time invested with that office, those, who expected the lands, conceived sanguine hopes of the law being passed. The tribunes, supposing that an affair for which such struggles had often been made, in opposition to both the consuls, might probably be accomplished now, when one of those magistrates was an advocate for it, set the business on foot; and the consul continued in the same sentiments. The possessors of the lands, and most of the patricians, complaining loudly that a person at the head of the state aimed to distinguish himself by intrigues more becoming a tribune courting popularity, by making donations out of other people's property, removed the odium of the whole transaction from the tribunes to the consul. A desperate contest would have ensued, had not Fabius

struck out an expedient to prevent it, by a plan disagreeable to neither party; which was, that, as a considerable tract of land had been taken from the Volscians in the preceding year, under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quintius, a colony should be led off to Antium, a town at no great distance, convenient in every respect, and a sea-port; by these means, the commons might come in for lands, without any complaints from the present possessors at home, and harmony might be preserved in the state. This proposition was approved of, and he had commissioners, called triumvirs, appointed to distribute the same; these were Titus Quintius, A. Virginius, and Publius Furius; and such as chose to accept of those lands, were ordered to give in their names. The gratification of their wishes, as is generally the case, instantly begat disgust; and so few subscribed to the proposal, that, to fill up the colony, they were obliged to take in a number of the Volscians. The rest of the populace chose rather to prosecute claims of land at Rome, than to receive immediate possession of it elsewhere. The Æquans sued to Quintus Fabius for peace, for he had gone



against them with an army; yet they themselves broke it, by a sudden incursion into the Latine territories.

II. In the year following, [Y. R. 288. B. C. 464.] Quintus Servilius, who was consul with Spurius Postumius, being sent against the Æquans, fixed his camp in the Latine territory, a post which he intended to retain. Here the troops were compelled by sickness, to remain inactive within their lines; by which means the war was protracted to the third year, in which Quintus Fabius and Titus Quintius were consuls. As Fabius, in consequence of his former successes there, had granted peace to the Æquans, that province was now particularly assigned to him. He set out with confident expectations, that the splendour of his name would be sufficient to induce the Æquans to put an end to hostilities, and sent ambassadors to the general meeting of that nation, with orders to tell them, that Quintus Fabius, consul, gave them notice, that as he had brought peace to Rome from the Æquans, so now he brought war to the Æquans from Rome; having armed for war the same hand which he had formerly given to them as a pledge of peace. Which of the parties had, by perjury and perfidy, given occasion to this rupture, was known to the gods, who would soon prove avengers of the crime: yet, notwithstanding this, he was still more desirous that the Æquans should, of their own accord, repent of their misconduct, than suffer the evils of war. If they repented, they should find safety in that clemency which they had already experienced: if they chose to persist in a conduct which involved them in the guilt of perjury, they must expect, in the progress of the war, to find the resentment of the gods even greater than that of their enemies." So far were these declarations from producing the desired effect on them, that the ambassadors narrowly escaped ill-treatment, and an army was sent to Algidum against the Romans. [Y. R. 289. B. C. 463.] When the news of these transactions was brought to Rome, the indignity of the affair, rather than the danger, called out the other consul from the city, and the two consular armies advanced to the enemy in order of battle, prepared for an immediate engagement. But this happening rather late in the day, a person called out from one of the enemy's posts, "Romans, this is making an ostentatious parade, not waging war: ye draw up your forces for battle, when night is at hand.

We require a greater length of day-light to decide the contest which is to come on: return into the field to-morrow at sun-rise; ye shall have an opportunity of fighting, doubt it not." The soldiers were led back into camp until the next day, highly irritated by those expressions, and thinking the approaching night would appear too long, which was to occasion a delay to the combat: the intervening hours, however, they employed in refreshing themselves with food and sleep. Next morning, as soon as it was light, the Roman army were the first, by a considerable time, to take their post in the field. At length, the Æquans also came forward. The battle was fought with great fury on both sides, for the Romans were stimulated both by anger and hatred, while the Æquans, conscious that the dangers to which they were exposed were the consequence of their own crimes, and despairing of ever being treated with confidence in future, felt a necessity of making the most desperate exertions. However, they were not able to withstand the Roman troops. They were driven from the field, and retreated to their own territories; where the outrageous multitude, not at all the more disposed to peace from their failure, censured their leaders for having hazarded success in a pitched battle; a manner of fighting in which the Romans possessed superior skill. The Æquans, they said, were better fitted for predatory expeditions; and there was greater reason to hope for success, from a number of detached parties acting separately, than from one army of unwieldy bulk.

III. Leaving therefore a guard in the camp, they marched out, and fell upon the Roman frontiers with such fury, as to carry terror even to the city. Such an event caused the greater uneasiness, because it was entirely unexpected; for nothing could be less apprehended, than that a vanquished enemy, almost besieged in their camp, should entertain a thought of committing depredations. The country people, in a panic, pouring into the gates, and, in the excess of their fright, exaggerating every thing, cried out, that they were not small ravaging parties, nor employed in plundering; but that the legions, and the entire army of the enemy were approaching, marching rapidly towards the city, and prepared for an assault. The first who heard these rumours, spread them about among others, unauthenticated as they were, and therefore the more liable to exaggeration;

which caused such a hurry and confused clamour, every one calling to arms, as in some measure resembled the consternation of a city taken by storm. Luckily Quintius the consul had returned from Algidum; this proved a remedy for their fears; he calmed the tumult, upbraiding them with being afraid of a vanquished people, and posted guards at the gates. He then convened the senate, and having, by their directions, issued a proclamation for a cessation of all civil business,<sup>1</sup> marched out to protect the frontiers, leaving Quintus Servilius to command in the city; but he found no enemy in the country. The other consul encountered the Æquans with extraordinary success; for he attacked them on the road while heavy laden with booty, which so embarrassed their motions, as to render them unfit for action, and took severe revenge for the devastations which they had committed. He succeeded so effectually, that few made their escape, and the whole of the booty was recovered. On this the consul Quintius returned to the city, and took off the prohibition of business, when it had continued four days. The general survey was then held, and the lustrum was closed by Quintius;<sup>2</sup> the number of citizens rated in the survey, being one hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred and fourteen, besides the orphans of both sexes. Nothing memorable passed afterwards in the country of the Æquans: they took shelter in their towns, abandoning their surrounding possessions to fire and devastation. The consul, after having repeatedly carried hostilities and depredations through every part of the enemy's country, returned to Rome with great glory, and abundance of spoil.

IV. The next consuls were Aulus Postumius Albus and Spurius Furius Fusus, [Y. R.

<sup>1</sup> *Iustitium*; *quia jus sistebatur*. In cases of great and immediate danger, all proceedings at law were suspended; the shops also were shut, and all civil business stopped, until the alarm was over.

<sup>2</sup> The *lustrum* was a period of five years, at the expiration of which a general review of the people was held, and their number, state, and circumstances inquired into. The senate also was reviewed by one of the censors: and if any one, by his behaviour, had rendered himself unworthy of a place in that body, or had sunk his fortune below the requisite qualification, his name was passed over by the censor, in reading the roll of senators: and thus he was held to be excluded from the senate. When the business was done, the censor, to whose lot it fell, *condidit lustrum*, closed the lustrum, by offering a solemn sacrifice in the Campus Martius.

290. B. C. 462.] The Furi, some writers have called Fusii: this I mention, lest any should think there was a difference in the persons, when it is only in the name. There was no doubt entertained, but that one of the consuls would march an army against the Æquans; these, therefore, requested assistance from the Volscians of Ecetra, who gladly complied with the request; and so inveterate was the hatred which those states bore towards the Romans, that they eagerly vied with each other, in making the most vigorous preparations for war. This coming to the knowledge of the Hernicians, they gave notice to the Romans, that the people of Ecetra had revolted to the Æquans. The colony of Antium was also suspected, because on that town being taken, a great multitude had fled thence for refuge to the Æquans; and while the war with that people lasted, these proved the most valiant soldiers in their army. Afterwards, when the Æquans were driven into their towns, this rabble withdrawing privately, and returning to Antium, seduced the colonists there from their allegiance to the Romans, which, even before that time, was not much to be relied on. Before the business was yet ripe, on the first information being laid before the senate of their intention to revolt, directions were given to the consuls to send for the heads of the colony, and inquire into the truth of the matter. These having readily attended, and being introduced to the senate by the consuls, answered the questions put to them in such a manner, that the suspicions against them were stronger when they were dismissed, than before they came. War was then considered as inevitable. Spurius Furius, to whose lot that province had fallen, marching against the Æquans, found the enemy in the country of the Hernicians, employed in collecting plunder; and, being ignorant of their numbers, because they had never been seen altogether, he rashly hazarded an engagement, though his army was very unequal to the forces of the enemy. At the first onset, he was driven from his ground, and obliged to retreat to his tents; nor did the misfortune end there: in the course of the next night, and the following day, his camp was surrounded on all sides, and attacked so vigorously, that there was no possibility even of sending a messenger from thence to Rome. The Hernicians brought an account both of the defeat, and of the consul and the army being besieged, which struck the



senate with such dismay, that by a decree, in that form which has been always deemed to be appropriated to cases of extreme exigency, the other consul Postumius was charged "to take care, that the commonwealth should receive no detriment." It was judged most expedient that the consul himself should remain at Rome, in order to enlist all who were able to bear arms; and that Titus Quintius should be sent as proconsul to the relief of the camp, with an army composed of the allies; to complete the number of which, the Latines, Hernicians, and the colony at Antium, were ordered to supply Quintius with subitary soldiers; this was the appellation then given to auxiliaries called out on a sudden emergency.

V. For some time there was a great variety of movements, and many attempts made; both on one side and on the other; for the enemy, relying on their superiority in number, endeavoured to weaken the force of the Romans, by obliging them to divide it into many parts, in hopes that it would prove insufficient to withstand them on every different quarter. At the same time that the siege of the camp was carried on, a part of their forces was sent to ravage the lands of the Romans, and to attempt even Rome itself, if a favourable occasion should offer. Lucius Valerius was left to guard the city, and the consul Postumius was sent to protect the frontiers from the enemy's incursions. No degree of vigilance and activity was left unemployed in any particular: watches were stationed in the town, out-posts before the gates, and guards along the walls; and, as was necessary in a time of such general confusion, a cessation of civil business was observed for several days. Meanwhile, at the camp, the consul Furius, after having endured the siege for some time, without making any effort, burst forth, from the Decuman gate,<sup>1</sup> on the enemy, when they least expected him; and though he might have pursued their flying troops with advantage, yet, fearing lest an attack might be made on the camp from the opposite side, he halted. Another Furius, who was a lieutenant-general, and brother to the consul, hastily pushed forward too far; and so eagerly intent was he on the pursuit, that he neither perceived his own party retreating, nor the enemy intercepting him be-

hind: being thus shut out from assistance, and having often in vain essayed, by every kind of effort, to open himself a passage, he fell, fighting with great bravery. The consul, on the other hand, hearing that his brother was surrounded, turned back on the enemy, and while, forgetting all caution, he rushed too precipitately into the thick of the fight, he received a wound, and was, not without difficulty, carried off by his attendants. This both damped the courage of his own men, and rendered the enemy more daring; and so highly were the latter elated by the death of the lieutenant-general, and the consul's being wounded, that no force could afterwards withstand them, so as to prevent their driving the Romans back to their camp, and compelling them to submit again to a siege, with both strength and hopes considerably diminished; they were even in danger of utter destruction, had not Titus Quintius, with the troops supplied by the Latines and Hernicians, come to their relief. He attacked the Æquans on their rear, whilst their attention was employed on the Roman camp, and as they were insultingly exhibiting to view the head of the lieutenant-general; and a sally being made from the camp at the same time, on a signal given by him at some distance, a great number of the enemy were surrounded and cut off. Of the Æquans who were employed in the Roman territories, the number slain was less, but their defeat and dispersion was more complete. Being divided into separate parties, and busied in collecting plunder, they were attacked by Postumius in several places, where he had posted troops in convenient situations; when, not knowing what course to take, and pursuing their flight in great disorder, they fell in with Quintius, who, after his victory, was returning home with the wounded consul. Then did the consular army, exerting themselves with extraordinary alacrity, take full vengeance for the consul's wound, and for the loss of the lieutenant-general and the cohorts. Many heavy losses were sustained on both sides in the course of that campaign: but it is difficult, at this distance of time, to assign, with any degree of certainty, the precise number of those who were engaged, and of those who fell. Yet Valerius Antius undertakes to estimate them, affirming that, of the Romans, there fell in the country of the Hernicians five thousand three hundred; that, of the plundering parties of the Æquans, who spread themselves over

<sup>1</sup> The Decuman gate was in the rear of the encampment. For the order and disposition of a Roman camp, see Adam's Roman Antiquities.

the Roman territories, two thousand four hundred were slain by the consul Aulus Postumius; that the other body of them, who, while they were carrying off the spoil, fell in with Quintius, escaped not without a much greater loss, there being slain of these, four thousand, (and pretending exactness, he adds,) two hundred and thirty. After this, the troops returned to Rome, and the order for cessation of civil business was discharged. The sky appeared as on fire in many places, and other portents either occurred to people's sight, or were formed by terror in their imaginations. To avert the evils which these foreboded, a proclamation was issued for a solemn festival, to be observed for three days, during which all the temples were filled with crowds, both of men and women, supplicating the favour of the gods. The cohorts of the Latines and Hernicians were then dismissed by the senate to their respective homes, with thanks for their spirited behaviour. During the campaign, a thousand men, who came from Antium after the battle, but too late to be of any service, were sent off in a manner little less than ignominious.

VI. The elections were then held, and Lucius Æbutius and Publius Servilius being chosen consuls, entered on their office, on the calends of August, which was at that time considered as the beginning of the year with respect to them. [Y. R. 291. B. C. 461.] This was a season of great distress; for, during this year, a pestilential disorder spread itself, not only through the city, but over the country, affecting both men and cattle with equal malignity; the violence of the disorder was increased by admitting into the city the cattle, and also the inhabitants of the country, who fled thither for shelter from the enemy's ravages. Such a collection of animals of every kind nearly suffocated the citizens by the intolerable stench; while the country people, crowded together in narrow apartments, suffered no less from the heat, the want of rest, and their attendance on each other; besides which, mere contact served to propagate the infection. While they could scarcely support the weight of the calamities under which they laboured, ambassadors from the Hernicians suddenly arrived with intelligence, that the Æquans and Volscians in conjunction had encamped in their territory, and from thence were ravaging the country with very numerous forces. Besides the proof,

which the thinness of the senate afforded to the observation of the allies, of the low state to which the commonwealth was reduced by the pestilence, the answer which they received, demonstrated a great dejection of spirits: that "the Hernicians themselves, with the assistance of the Latines, must provide for their own safety. That the city of Rome, through the sudden anger of the gods, was depopulated by sickness. If they (the Romans) should find any respite from that calamity, they would, as they had done the year before, and on all occasions, give assistance to their allies." Thus the ambassadors departed, carrying home the most sorrowful intelligence; as they now found themselves obliged, with their own single strength, to support a war, to which they had hardly been equal, even when assisted by the power of Rome. The enemy remained not long in the country of the Hernicians, but proceeded thence, with hostile intentions, into the Roman territory; which, without the injuries of war, was now become a desert. Without meeting there one human being even unarmed, and finding every place through which they passed destitute, not only of troops, but of the culture of the husbandman, they yet came as far as the third stone on the Gabian road. By this time Æbutius the Roman consul was dead, and his colleague Servilius so ill, that there was very little hope of his recovery; most of the leading men were seized by the distemper, as were the greater part of the patricians, and almost every one of military age; so that they wanted strength, not only to form the expeditions which were requisite in a conjuncture so alarming, but even to mount the guards, where no exertion was necessary. The duty of the watches was performed by such of the senators in person, as by their age and strength were qualified for it; the care of posting and visiting these, was intrusted to the plebeian ædiles; on them devolved the whole administration of affairs, and the dignity of the consular authority.

VII. The commonwealth in this forlorn state, without a head, without strength, was saved from destruction by its guardian deities, who inspired the Volscians and Æquans with the spirit of banditti, rather than of warriors; for so far were they from conceiving any hope, either of mastering, or even of approaching the walls of Rome, and such an affect had the distant view of the houses and adjacent hills, to divert their thoughts from the attempt, that



murmurs spread through all the camp; each asking the other, "why they should throw away their time without employment, and without booty, in a waste and desert country, among the putrid carcasses of men and cattle; when they might repair to places that had felt no distress; to the territory of Tusculum, where every kind of opulence abounded?" and accordingly, they hastily put themselves in motion, and, crossing the country, passed on through the territory of Lavici, to the Tusculan hills; and to that quarter was the whole storm and violence of the war directed. Meanwhile, the Hernicians and Latines, prompted not only by compassion, but also by the shame which they must incur, if they neither gave opposition to the common enemy, marching to attack the city of Rome, nor even when their allies were besieged, afforded them any assistance, united their forces, and proceeded to Rome. Not finding the enemy there, and pursuing their tracks by such intelligence as they could procure, they met them coming down from the heights of Tusculum to the Alban vale. There an engagement ensued, in which they were by no means a match for the combined forces, and the fidelity of the allies proved, for the present, unfortunate to them. The mortality occasioned by the distemper at Rome was not less than what the sword caused among the allies. The consul Servilius, with many other illustrious persons, died: namely, Marcus Valerius and Titus Virginius Rutilus, augurs; Servius Sulpicius, principal curio; while, among persons of inferior note, the virulence of the disorder spread its ravages on every side. The senate, unable to discover a prospect of relief in any human means, directed the people to have recourse to vows and to the deities: they were ordered to go, with their wives and children, to offer supplications, and implore the favour of the gods; and all being thus called out by public authority, to perform what each man was strongly urged to by his own private calamities, they quickly filled the places of worship. In every temple, the prostrate matrons, sweeping the ground with their hair, implored a remission of the displeasure of heaven, and deliverance from the pestilence.

VIII. From that time, whether it was owing to the gods having become propitious, or to the more unhealthy season of the year being now past, the people began to find their health gradually restored. And now their attention

being turned to public business, several interregna having expired, Publius Valerius Publicola, on the third day after he had entered on the office of interrex, caused Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus and Titus Veturius, or Vetusius, Geminus, to be elected consuls. [Y. R. 292. B. C. 460.] These assumed their office on the third of the ides of August, at which time the state had recovered its strength so far as to be able not only to repel an attack, but to act offensively on occasion. Wherefore, on the Hernicians sending information, that the enemy had made an irruption into their frontiers, they cheerfully promised to assist them. Two consular armies were raised. Veturius was sent to carry on an offensive war against the Volscians. Tricipitinus being appointed to protect the territories of the allies from all incursions, proceeded no farther than the country of the Hernicians. Veturius, in the first engagement, routed and dispersed his enemy. While Lucretius lay encamped among the Hernicians, a party of plunderers, unobserved by him, marched over the Prænentine mountains, and from thence descended into the plains. These laid waste all the country about Præneste and Gabii, and from the latter turned their course towards the high grounds of Tusculum. Even Rome was very much alarmed, more so by the unexpectedness of the affair, than that they wanted strength to defend themselves. Quintus Fabius had the command in the city. He armed the young men, posted guards, and soon put every thing into a state of safety and tranquillity. The enemy therefore, not daring to approach the walls, but hastily carrying off whatever they could find in the adjacent places, set out on their return, making a long circuit, and while their caution relaxed, in proportion as they removed to a greater distance, they fell in with the consul Lucretius, who having procured intelligence of all their motions, lay with his troops drawn up, and impatient for the combat. These the consul, with premeditated resolution, attacked, who, terrified and thrown into disorder by this sudden appearance of danger, and though considerably greater in number, were easily routed and put to flight. He then drove them into deep valleys, from which, being surrounded by his troops, it was difficult to escape. On this occasion the Volscian race was nearly extinguished. I find in some histories, that there fell, in the field and the pursuit, thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy; that one

thousand two hundred and fifty were made prisoners; and that twenty-seven military standards were taken. However, though, in those accounts, the numbers may be somewhat exaggerated, the slaughter certainly was very great. The victorious consul, possessed of an immense booty, returned to his former post. The consuls then made a junction of their forces. The Volscians and Æquans also united their shattered troops. On which ensued the third battle in the course of that campaign. The same good fortune attended the Romans, the enemy being routed, with the loss of his camp.

IX. Thus did the course of affairs at Rome return into its former channel, and successes abroad immediately excited commotions at home. Caius Terentillus Arsa was tribune of the people that year. He, taking advantage of the absence of the consuls, as an opportunity favourable to tribunitian intrigues, entertained the commons for several days with railings against the arrogance of the patricians; but levelled his invectives chiefly against the consular government, as possessing an exorbitant degree of power, and intolerable in a free state: "In name," he said, "it was less odious than regal government; while, in fact, it was rather more oppressive—as, instead of one tyrant, two had been set over them, invested with immoderate and unlimited rule; who, while they themselves were privileged and uncontrolled, directed every terror of the laws, and every kind of severity against the commons. Now, in order to prevent their continuing for ever to possess this arbitrary influence, he would propose, that five commissioners be appointed to compose a set of laws for the regulation of the consular government. Whatever share of authority the people should think proper to intrust in the hands of the consuls, such they should enjoy; but they should not hold their own will and absolute determinations as law." When this decree was published, the patricians were filled with dread, lest, in the absence of the consuls, the yoke might be imposed on them: the senate was called together by the præfect of the city, Quintus Fabius, who inveighed against the proposition, and the author of it, with such vehemence, as to omit no kind of threats, or means of intimidation, which could have been applied, had both the consuls, provoked to the highest, stood beside the tribune. He urged, that "this man had lain in ambush, and, watching his opportunity, had made an assault on the

commonwealth. If the gods, in their anger, had sent a tribune like him, during the last year, while sickness and war raged together, his designs could not have been prevented. When both the consuls were dead, and the enfeebled state lay overwhelmed in universal anarchy and confusion, he would probably have introduced laws for abolishing the consular government, and would have become a leader to the Volscians and Æquans in an attack upon the city. And, after all, where was the occasion for such a law? If a consul, in his behaviour towards the citizens, proved himself arbitrary or cruel, was it not in the tribune's power to bring him to a trial? to prosecute him, where his judges would be those very persons, against one of whom the injury was committed? His manner of acting tended to render, not the consular government, but the office of tribune, odious and intolerable; because, from being in a state of peace and amity with the patricians, he was forcing it back into the old evil practices. But it was not intended to beseech him to desist from proceeding as he had begun. Of you the other tribunes," said Fabius, "we request, that ye will, first of all, consider, that your office was instituted for the protection of individuals, and not for the destruction of any part of the community; that ye were created tribunes of the commons, not foes of the patricians. It reflects as much dishonour on you, as it does concern on us, that the commonwealth should be invaded in the absence of its chief magistrates. Take measures with your colleague, that he may adjourn this business until the arrival of the consuls; ye will not hereby lessen your rights, but ye will lessen the odium which such proceedings must excite. Even the Æquans and Volscians, when the consuls were carried off last year by the sickness, refrained from adding to our afflictions by a cruel and implacable prosecution of war." The tribunes accordingly made application to Terentillus, and the business being suspended in appearance, but in reality suppressed, the consuls were immediately called home.

X. Lucretius returned with a very great quantity of spoil, and much greater glory. He added to the glory which he had acquired, by exposing, on his arrival, all the spoil in the field of Mars, in order that every one should have an opportunity, during three days, to recognise and carry home his share of the same. The remainder not having claimants, was sold.



All men agreed in opinion, that a triumph was due to the consul; but the consideration of that matter was postponed, because the tribune had renewed his attempts to carry his law; and this was deemed by the consul an affair of more importance. The business was canvassed during several days, both in the senate, and the assembly of the people; at length, the tribune yielded to the weight of the consul's authority, and desisted. Then was paid to the consul and his army, the honour which they so justly merited. He triumphed over the Volscians and Æquans, his own legions attending him in the procession. To the other consul was granted the honour of entering the city in ovation,<sup>1</sup> unattended by the troops. In the following year, [Y. R. 293. B. C. 459.] the law of Terentillus, supported by the concurrence of all the tribunes, again assailed the consuls. These were Publius Volturnius and Servius Sulpicius. In this year the sky appeared on fire, and a violent earthquake happened; it was also now believed that an ox spoke, an incident to which in the last year credit had been refused. Among other prodigies, a shower of flesh fell, which, as was reported, was in a great measure intercepted in its fall by a vast number of birds flying about the place, and what escaped them, lay scattered on the ground for several days, without any degree of putrefaction, or being even changed in smell. The books<sup>2</sup> were consulted by the *duumviri* presiding over sacred rites, and it was predicted that dangers impended from a course of foreigners; that an attack was to be

made on the higher parts of the city, and lives lost in consequence; among other things, warning was given, that all seditious practices should be avoided. This the tribunes cried out against, as a forgery, contrived for the purpose of hindering the passing of their law; and matters were tending to a desperate contest; when lo! that things might revolve in the same circle every year, the Hernicians brought an account, that the Volscians and Æquans, notwithstanding their late defeat, were recruiting their armies; that their chief dependance was upon Antium; that the people of that colony held meetings openly at Ecetra; that they were the first movers of the war, and composed the greatest part of the forces. As soon as this intelligence was communicated to the senate, an order was passed for levying troops, and the consuls were directed to take the management of the war between them, so that one should have the Volscians as his province, the other the Æquans. The tribunes exclaimed loudly to their faces in the forum, that "this Volscian war was but a concerted farce; that the Hernicians had been instructed how to act their part in it; that now the Roman people were not deprived of liberty by manly efforts, but cheated out of it by cunning. That because it was incredible, that the Volscians and Æquans, who were almost exterminated, could of themselves commence hostilities, new enemies had been sought for, and slanders thrown on a loyal colony closely connected with Rome; that the war was proclaimed, indeed, against the unoffending people of Antium, but waged against the commons of Rome, whom they intended to lead out of the city with precipitate haste, loaded with arms, thus wreaking their vengeance on the tribunes by the expulsion and banishment of the citizens. That by these means, and let not people think there was any other design, all efforts in favour of the law would be effectually overpowered, if they did not, before matters proceeded farther, while they were yet at home, and retained the garb of citizens, adopt such measures as would prevent their being driven out of possession of the city, and obliged to submit to the yoke. If they had spirit, they should not want support; the tribunes were all unanimous in their favour; there was no danger, no reason of apprehension from abroad. The gods had taken care the year before that they might now stand up with safety in

1. The ovation was an inferior kind of triumph, in which the victorious general entered the city, crowned with myrtle, not with laurel; and instead of bullocks, as in the triumph, sacrificed a sheep, *ovis*; hence the name.

2. These were the famous sibylline books, purchased, it was said, by Tarquinius Superbus, from an old woman whom nobody knew, and who was never seen again. These books, which were supposed to contain prophetic information of the fate and fortune of the Roman state, were carefully deposited in a stone chest, in a vault under the Capitol, and two officers chosen from the order of patricians, called *duumviri sacrorum*, appointed to take care of them. The number of these was afterwards increased to ten, half of whom were plebeians; then to fifteen, upon which occasion they were called *Quindecimviri*; which name they retained when augmented to sixty. Upon occasions of extreme danger, of pestilence, or the appearance of any extraordinary prodigies, these officers were ordered by the senate to consult, or to pretend to consult, the books, and they reported what expiations and other rites were necessary to avert the impending evil.

defence of their liberty." Such was the language of the tribunes.

XI. But on the other side, the consuls, fixing their chairs within view of them, began to proceed in the levy; thither the tribunes hastened, and drew the assembly with them. A few were cited by way of experiment, and immediately outrages commenced. Whenever a lictor, by the consul's command, laid hold of any person, a tribune ordered him to be set at liberty. Nor did either party confine themselves within the limits of that authority, to which their office entitled them; every measure taken was to be supported by force. The same line of conduct, which the tribunes had observed in obstructing the levy, was followed by the consuls in their opposition to the law, which was brought forward on every day whereon an assembly could be held. The riot was continued by the patricians refusing to withdraw, after the tribunes had ordered the people to proceed to the place of voting. The elder citizens hardly ever attended the meetings on this affair, by reason that they were not regulated by prudence, but abandoned to the direction of rashness and violence; and the consuls generally kept out of the way, lest, in such general confusion, they should expose their dignity to insult. There was a young man, called Cæso Quintius, full of presumption, on account both of the nobility of his descent, and his personal size and strength; to these qualifications bestowed by the gods, he added many warlike accomplishments, and had evinced a considerable degree of eloquence in the forum, insomuch that no person in the state was deemed to possess greater abilities, either for acting or speaking. This man having placed himself in the midst of the body of the patricians, conspicuous in stature above the rest, and as if he carried in his eloquence and bodily strength, every power of the consulship or dictatorship, withstood by his single efforts the attacks of the tribunes, and the whole popular storm. In consequence of his exertions, the tribunes were often driven out of the forum, and the commons routed and dispersed. Such of them as came in his way, he caused to be stripped, and otherwise severely handled; so that every one saw, that if he were allowed to proceed in this manner, it would be impossible to carry the law. At this juncture, when the tribunes were almost reduced to despair, Aulus Virginius, one of their body, instituted

a criminal prosecution on a capital charge against Cæso. But by this proceeding he rather irritated than repressed his impetuous temper: he thence became the more vehement in his opposition to the law, persecuted the commons, and harassed the tribunes, in a manner, with open hostilities. The prosecutor suffered the accused to run headlong to ruin, and to draw down on himself such a degree of public displeasure, as would serve to inflame men's minds on the charges which he had brought against him, and in the mean time frequently introduced the law, not so much in hope of carrying it through, as with design to provoke the rashness of Cæso. Many inconsiderate expressions and actions, which often passed on these occasions among the young men, were all, through the general prejudice against him, imputed to Cæso's violent temper. The law, however, was still opposed, and Aulus Virginius frequently observed to the people, "Do ye not perceive, Romans, that it is impossible for you to have, at the same time, Cæso among the number of your citizens, and this law which ye wish for? Though why do I speak of this law? Your liberty is endangered by him; he surpasses in tyrannical pride, all the Tarquinius together: wait until he is made consul or dictator, whom ye now behold in a private station, exerting all the prerogatives of royalty." He was supported in these invectives by great numbers, who complained of being personally abused by Cæso, and importuned the tribune to go through with the prosecution.

XII. The day of trial now approached, and it was manifest that the people in general had conceived an opinion, that the existence of their liberty depended upon the condemnation of Cæso. Then at length he was compelled, though not without indignation, to solicit the favour of each: he was followed by his relations, who were the principal persons in the state. Titus Quintius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, after recounting many honourable achievements of his own, and of his family, affirmed, that "there never had appeared, either in the Quintian family, or in the Roman state, any person possessed of such a capacity, and who exhibited so early, such displays of valour. That he served his first campaign under himself, and had often in his sight fought with the enemy." Spurius Furius declared, that "he had, by order of Quintius Capitolinus, come to his relief, when in a



dangerous situation; and that there was no one person to whom he thought the public so much indebted for the restoration of their affairs." Lucius Lucretius, consul the preceding year, in the full splendour of fresh glory, attributed to Cæso a share of his own merits; enumerated the battles he had been engaged in; related extraordinary instances of his good behaviour, both on expeditions and in the field; advised and warned them, rather "to preserve among themselves, than to drive into a foreign country, a youth of such extraordinary merit, endowed with every accomplishment which nature and fortune could bestow, and who would prove a vast accession to the interest of any state, of which he should become a member. That the only parts in his character which could give offence, heat and vehemence, diminished daily, as he advanced in age; while the only requisite wanting, namely, prudence, was continually gathering strength: that as his faults were on the decline, and his virtues advancing to maturity, they should allow a man of such rare talents to become an old member of their community." Along with these, his father, Lucius Quintus, surnamed Cincinnatus, not dwelling on his praises, for fear of heightening the public displeasure, but intreating their forgiveness for his mistakes and his youth, besought them to pardon the son for the sake of him who, neither in word or deed, had ever given offence to any. But some, either through respect or fear, avoided listening to his intreaties; while others, complaining of the ill-treatment which they and their friends had received, showed beforehand, by their harsh answers, what their sentence would be.

XIII. Besides the notorious instances of the ill conduct of the accused, there was one charge which bore heavily on him: Marcus Volscius Fictor, who some years before had been tribune of the people, stood forth and testified, that "a short time after the pestilence in the city, he met with a number of young men rioting in the Suburra;<sup>1</sup> that a scuffle ensued, and that his brother, who was advanced in years, and not thoroughly recovered from the disorder, received from Cæso a blow of his fist, which felled him to the ground; that he was carried home from thence, and that he believed this blow was the cause of

his death; but that he was prevented from prosecuting him for such an atrocious act, by the consuls of the preceding years." The loud asseverations of Volscius on the matter so enraged the people, that they could hardly be restrained from falling on Cæso, and putting him to death. Virginius ordered him to be seized, and carried to prison: the patricians opposed force to force. Titus Quintus exclaimed, that "a person formally accused of a capital crime, whose trial was shortly to come on, ought not, before trial, and without sentence passed, to suffer violence." The tribune declared, that "he had no intention of inflicting pains before condemnation, but that he would keep him in custody until the day of trial, that the Roman people might have it in their power to punish the man who had been guilty of murder." The other tribunes being appealed to, resolved on a middle course, and thereby avoided every impeachment of their right to give protection: they forbade his being put in confinement, and declared it as their determination, that Cæso should give bail for his appearance, and that a sum of money should be secured to the people, in case of his failing so to do. The sum in which it was reasonable that the sureties should be bound, came then to be discussed; it was referred to the senate; and, until they should come to a resolution, the accused was detained in the public assembly. It was determined that he should find sureties, and that each surety should be bound to the amount of three thousand *asses*:<sup>2</sup> the number of sureties to be furnished was left to the decision of the tribunes; they fixed it at ten, and on that number being bound, the prosecutor consented that the offender should be admitted to bail. He was the first who gave bail, in this manner, where the penalty was to be applied to the use of the public. Being dismissed from the forum, he went the night following into exile among the Etrurians. On the day appointed for his trial it was pleaded in his favour, that he had gone into exile; nevertheless, Virginius presiding in the assembly, his colleagues, on being appealed to, dismissed the meeting, and the forfeited money was exacted from his father with such severity, that all his property being sold, he lived for a long time in an obscure cottage beyond the Tiber, as if banished from his country. This

<sup>1</sup> A part of the town, so called.

<sup>2</sup> 9*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

trial, and the proceedings about the law, gave full employment to the state. There was no disturbance from foreign enemies.

XIV. The tribunes, flushed with this success, imagined, from the dismay into which the patricians had been thrown by the exile of Cæso, that the passing of the law was almost certain. But though the elder patricians had in fact relinquished the administration of affairs, the younger part of them, especially those who were Cæso's friends, instead of suffering their spirits to droop, assumed a higher degree of vehemence in their rage against the commons. Yet in one particular they improved their plan exceedingly, which was by moderation. The first time, indeed, after Cæso's banishment, when the law in all their proceedings became the question, having prepared themselves for the occasion, and formed in a body with a great band of their dependents, they, as soon as the tribunes afforded a pretext by ordering them to retire, attacked the people furiously, and all exerted themselves with activity so equal, that no one carried home a greater share than another, either of honour or of ill-will; while the commons complained, that a thousand Cæsos had started up in the room of one. During the intermediate days, however, in which the tribunes brought forward no proceedings respecting the law, nothing could be more mild and peaceable than these same persons; they saluted the plebeians kindly; entered into conversation with them; invited them to their houses; took care of their affairs in the forum, and allowed even the tribunes themselves to hold meetings for any other purposes without interruption. In a word, they showed no kind of incivility to any, either in public or private, except when the business of the law began to be agitated. On other occasions, as I have said, the behaviour of the young patricians was popular, and the tribunes not only executed the rest of their business without disturbance, but were even re-elected for the following year without one offensive expression, much less any violence being used. By thus soothing and managing the commons, they rendered them, by degrees, more tractable, and, by these methods, the passing of the law was evaded during that whole year.

XV. The succeeding consuls, Caius Claudius, son of Appius, and Publius Valerius, found, on entering on the office, the commonwealth in a state of perfect tranquillity. [Y. R.

294. B. C. 458.] The new year had brought no change in affairs. The thoughts of every member of the state were occupied, either in wishes for the passing of the law, or in apprehensions of being obliged to submit to it. The more the younger patricians endeavoured to insinuate themselves into the favour of the commons, the more earnestly did the tribunes strive to counteract them; exciting suspicions to their prejudice in the minds of the populace; and asserting, that there was a conspiracy formed. They maintained likewise, that Cæso was at Rome; that plans had been concerted for putting the tribunes to death, and massacring the commons; that the elder patricians had engaged the younger to abolish the office of tribune, and to reduce the state to the same form which had subsisted before the secession to the sacred mount. While fears were entertained of an attack from the Volscians and Æquans, which had now become a stated matter, and occurred regularly almost every year, a new danger made its appearance nearer home. A number of exiles and slaves, amounting to four thousand five hundred, under the command of Appius Herdonius, a Sabine, seized on the Capitol and citadel by night, and put to death all those in the latter, who refused to join the conspiracy, and take arms along with them. Some, during this tumult, ran down to the forum with all the precipitance which their fright inspired, and the cries of, "to arms," and "the enemy are in the city," resounded alternately. The consuls were afraid either to arm the commons, or let them remain without arms, not knowing what this peril was, which had so suddenly assailed the city; whether it was occasioned by foreign or domestic forces; whether by the disaffection of the commons, or the treachery of the slaves. They exerted themselves to quiet the tumults; but, not unfrequently, these very endeavours served but to exasperate them the more: for it was impossible, in such a state of terror and consternation, to make the populace obey command. They gave them arms notwithstanding, but not to all without distinction, only to such as they could safely rely on in all emergencies, not yet knowing with what enemy they had to contend. The rest of the night was passed in posting guards in proper places all over the city, the magistrates still remaining in anxious suspense, and unable to find out who the enemy were, or what their number. Daylight then arriving,



made a discovery of the insurgents, and of their leader: Appius Herdonius from the capitol invited the slaves to liberty, telling them, that "he had undertaken the cause of all the unfortunate, with intent of restoring to their country those who had been unjustly driven into banishment, and of delivering those who groaned under the grievous yoke of slavery. He rather wished that this might be accomplished by the voluntary act of the Roman people: but if it was not to be so effected, he would rouse the Volscians and Æquans in the cause, and would persevere in the attempt to the utmost extremity."

XVI. The affair appeared now to the consuls and senate in a less formidable light, yet they still dreaded lest, besides the purposes which were declared, that this might be a scheme of the Veientians or the Sabines; and that the disaffected might, in consequence of a concerted plan, be supported presently by the Sabine and Etrurian legions; and that their everlasting enemies, the Volscians and Æquans, might come, not, as formerly, to ravage the country, but to seize on the city, which their favourers already possessed in part. Many and various were their fears, the principal of which was their dread of the slaves, lest every one should find in his own house an enemy, whom it was neither safe to trust, nor, by apparent distrust, to provoke to infidelity and hate. So critical, indeed, was their situation, that, had perfect harmony subsisted in the state, they could scarcely hope to be extricated from it. But amidst the crowd of dangers which started up on every side, no one had any apprehensions from the turbulence of the tribunes or the commons: that was deemed an evil of a milder nature; and which, as it always began to operate in times undisturbed by foreign affairs, they supposed would now be at rest. Yet this alone proved the heaviest aggravation of their distress; for such madness possessed the tribunes, that they insisted, that they were not enemies, but people under the appearance of enemies, who had seized on the capitol, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the commons from the business of the law; and that these guests and dependents of the patricians, if the law were once passed, and it were perceived that the tumults, which they raised, had not answered their purpose, would depart in greater silence than they came. They then called away the people from their arms, and

held an assembly for passing the law. In the mean time, the consuls convened the senate, more terrified by the danger apprehended from the tribunes, than from the exiles and slaves.

XVII. On hearing that the people were laying down their arms, and quitting their posts, Publius Valerius, leaving his colleague to preside in the senate, rushed forth from the senate-house, and came to the assembly of the tribunes, whom he thus accosted: "What mean ye, tribunes, by these proceedings? Do ye intend, under the command and auspices of Appius Herdonius, to overturn the commonwealth? Has he been successful in corrupting you, though he had not authority sufficient to influence the slaves? Do ye think this a proper time, when the foe is within our walls, for arms to be laid aside, and laws to be proposed?" Then directing his discourse to the populace, "If, Romans, ye are unconcerned for the city and for yourselves, yet pay respect to the gods of your country, now taken captive. Jupiter supremely good and great, Juno queen of heaven, Minerva, with the other gods and goddesses, are held in confinement: a band of slaves occupies the residence of the tutelar deities of the state. Do ye think this method of acting consistent with sound policy? These slaves have a powerful force, not only within the walls, but in the citadel, looking down on the forum and the senate-house; meanwhile, in the forum, are assemblies of the people; in the senate-house, the senate sitting; just as in time of perfect tranquillity the senator gives his opinion, the other Romans their votes. Ought not every man, as well of the patricians as commoners, the consul, tribunes, citizens, all in short, to have snatched up arms in such a cause, to have run to the capitol, to have restored to liberty and peace that most august residence of the supremely good and great Jupiter? O father Romulus, grant to thine offspring that spirit, by which thou formerly recoveredst the citadel from these same Sabines, when they had got possession of it by means of gold. Direct them to pursue the same path, in which thou leddest the way, and which thine army followed. Lo, I as consul will be the first to follow thee and thy footsteps, as far as a mortal can follow a divinity." The conclusion of his speech was, that "he now took up arms, and summoned every citizen of Rome to arms. If any one should attempt to prevent the execution of this order, he would never," he said,

"regard the extent of the consular authority, nor of the tribunitian power, nor the devoting laws; but, be he who he might, or where he might, whether in the capitol or in the forum, he would treat him as an enemy. Let the tribunes, then, give orders for arming against Publius Valerius the consul, since they had forbidden it against Appius Herdonius, and he would not hesitate to use those tribunes, in the same manner which the founder of his family had the spirit to show towards kings." On this declaration, every one expected the utmost degree of violence, and that the enemy would be gratified with the sight of a civil war among the Romans. Yet neither could the law be carried, nor the consul march to the capitol; night coming on, put a stop to the contests; and the tribunes, dreading the armed attendants of the consuls, retired. And as soon as the fomenters of sedition had withdrawn, the patricians went about among the commons, and introducing themselves into their circles of conversation, threw out discourses adapted to the juncture, advising them to "consider well into what hazards they were bringing the commonwealth;" telling them that "the contest was not between the patricians and plebeians, but whether the patricians and plebeians together, the fortress of the city, the temples of the gods, and the guardian deities of the state, and of private families, should all be given up into the hands of the enemy." While these measures were employed in the forum to appease the dissensions, the consuls had gone to visit the gates and walls, lest the Sabines or Veientians might make any hostile attempt.

XVIII. The same night, messengers arrived at Tusculum, with accounts of the citadel being taken, the capitol seized, and of the other disturbances which had taken place in the city. Lucius Mamilius was at that time dictator at Tusculum. He instantly assembled the senate, and introducing the messengers, warmly recommended, that "they should not wait until ambassadors might arrive from Rome to request assistance, but instantly send it; the danger and distress of their allies, with the gods, who witnessed their alliance, and the faith of treaties, demanded it. That the deities would never afford them again perhaps so good an opportunity of engaging the gratitude of so powerful a state, and so near a neighbour." It was immediately resolved, that assistance should be sent; and the youth were enrolled and armed.

Coming to Rome at day-break, they were at a distance taken for enemies; it was imagined that they were the Æquans or the Volscians; but this groundless alarm being removed, they were received into the city, and marched down in a body to the forum, where Publius Valerius, having left his colleague to secure the gates, was employed at the time in drawing up the people in order of battle. They had been prevailed on to arm by the confidence placed in his promises, when he assured them, that, "as soon as the capitol should be recovered, and peace restored in the city, if they would suffer themselves to be convinced of the dangerous designs that lurked under the law proposed by the tribunes, he would give no obstruction to the assembly of the people, mindful of his ancestors, mindful of his surname, by which, attention to promote the interest of the community was handed down to him, as an inheritance from his ancestors." Led by him, then, and notwithstanding that the tribunes cried out loudly against it, they directed their march up the steep of the capitol. They were joined by the troops of Tusculum; and citizens and allies vied with each other for the glory of recovering the citadel; each leader encouraging his own men. The besieged, on this, were greatly terrified, having no reliance on any thing but the strength of the place; and while they were thus disconcerted, the Romans and allies pushed forward to the assault. They had already broken into the porch of the temple, when Publius Valerius, leading on the attack, was slain at the head of his men. Publius Volumnius, formerly consul, saw him fall, and charging those about him to cover the body, rushed forward to take the place and the office of the consul. The ardour and eagerness of the soldiers were such, as hindered their perceiving so great a loss, and they gained the victory, before they knew that they were fighting without their leader. Many of the exiles defiled the temple with their blood; many were taken alive; Herdonius was slain. Thus was the capitol recovered. Punishments were inflicted on the prisoners, suitable to their several conditions either of free-men or slaves. Thanks were given to the Tusculans. The capitol was cleansed and purified. It is said that the plebeians threw into the consul's house a quadrans each, that his funeral might be solemnized with the greater splendour.

XIX. Peace being re-established, the tri-



bunes earnestly pressed the senate to fulfil the promise of Publius Valerius, and pressed Claudius to acquit the shade of his colleague of breach of faith, and suffer the business of the law to proceed. The consul declared, that he would not listen to the matter, until he should have a colleague appointed in the room of the deceased. The disputes on this subject lasted until the assembly was held for substituting a consul. In the month of December, in consequence of very zealous efforts of the patricians, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, father of Cæso, was elected consul, to enter on his office without delay. The commons were quite dismayed, on finding, that they were to have for consul a person highly incensed against them, and whose power was strengthened by the support of the patricians, by his own merit, and by three sons, no one of whom was inferior to Cæso in greatness of spirit, while they excelled him in prudence and moderation on proper occasions. When he came into office, in the frequent harangues which he made from the tribunal, he showed not more vehemence in his censures of the commons, than in his reproofs to the senate, "through the indolence of which body," he said, "the tribunes, now become perpetual, by means of their harangues and prosecutions, exercised sovereign authority, as if they were not in a republic of Roman citizens, but in an ill-regulated family. That together with his son Cæso, fortitude, constancy, and every qualification that gives ornament to youth, either in war or peace, had been driven out and banished from the city of Rome; while talkative, seditious men, sowers of dissension, twice and even thrice re-elected tribunes, spent their lives in the most pernicious practices, and in the exercise of regal tyranny. Did Aulus Virginius," said he, "because he was not in the capitol, deserve less severe punishment than Appius Herdonius would have merited? More, undoubtedly, if we judge fairly of the matter. Herdonius, though nothing else could be said in his favour, by announcing himself an enemy, gave out public orders in such a manner, that ye necessarily would take arms. The other, denying that there were enemies to be opposed, took the arms out of your hands, and exposed you defenceless to your slaves and exiles. And did ye, notwithstanding, (I wish to speak without offence to Caius Claudius, or in detriment to the memory of Publius Valerius) lead

your troops to an attack on the capitoline hill, before he had expelled these enemies from the forum? It is scandalous in the sight of gods and men, that when a host of rebels was in the citadel, in the capitol, and when a leader of exiles and slaves, profaning every thing sacred, took up his habitation in the shrine of Jupiter, supremely good and great, it is disgraceful, I say, that arms were taken up at Tusculum sooner than at Rome. It actually appeared doubtful, whether Lucius Mamilius, a Tusculan general, or Publius Valerius and Caius Claudius, consuls, should have the honour of recovering the Roman citadel. Thus we who, heretofore, would not suffer the Latines to take up arms, not even in their own defence, and when they had the enemy within their territories, should have been taken and destroyed, had not these very Latines afforded us assistance of their own accord. Is this, tribunes, your duty towards the commons, to unarm and expose them to slaughter? Surely, if any, even the lowest person among these commons of yours, whom from being a part ye have broken off, as it were, from the body of the people, and made a republic peculiar to yourselves; if any one of these should inform you that his house was surrounded by an armed band of slaves, surely ye would think that ye ought to go to his assistance. And was the supremely good and great Jupiter, when hemmed round by the arms of exiles and slaves, unworthy of any human aid? Yet these men expect to be held sacred and inviolable, who esteem not the gods themselves as either sacred or inviolable. But it seems, contaminated as ye are with the guilt of your offences against gods and men, ye give out that ye will carry through your law before the end of this year. It would then, indeed, be an unfortunate day to the state, on which I was created consul, much more so, than that on which the consul Valerius perished, if ye should carry it. Now, first of all, Romans, my colleague and I intend to march the legions against the Volscians and Æquans. I know not by what fatality we find the gods more propitious, while we are employed in war than during peace. How great the danger from those nations would have been if they had known that the capitol was in the possession of exiles, it is better that we should conjecture from the past than feel from experience."

XX. The consul's discourse had a consider-

able effect on the commons ; and the patricians recovering their spirits, looked on the commonwealth as restored to its proper state. The other consul, showing more eagerness in promoting than in forming a design, readily allowed his colleague to take the lead in the preparatory proceedings on so weighty an affair ; but in the execution of the plan, claimed to himself a share of the consular duties. The tribunes, mocking these declarations, proceeded to ask, "by what means the consuls would be enabled to lead out an army, when no one would suffer them to make a levy?" To this Quintius replied, "We have no occasion for a levy, because when Publius Valerius gave arms to the commons, for the recovery of the capitol, they all took an oath to him, that they would assemble on an order from the consul, and would not depart without his permission. We therefore publish our orders, that every one of you who have taken the oath, attend to-morrow, under arms, at the lake Regillus." The tribunes then began to cavil, and alleged, that "the people were absolved of that obligation, because Quintius was in a private station, at the time when the oath was taken." But that disregard of the gods, which prevails in the present age, had not then taken place ; nor did every one, by his own interpretations, accommodate oaths and the laws to his particular views, but rather adapted his practice to them. The tribunes, therefore, finding no hope of succeeding in their opposition to that ground, endeavoured to delay the marching of the troops ; and in this they were the more earnest, because a report had spread, that orders had been given for the augurs also to attend at the lake Regillus, and that a place should be consecrated by them, in order that the people might transact business with the benefit of auspices, so that any measures enacted at Rome through means of the violence of the tribunes, might be repealed in an assembly held there. It was urged, however, that any one would vote there, just as the consuls chose ; for at any greater distance from the city than that of a mile, there was no appeal : and even should the tribunes come thither, they would, among the crowd of other citizens, be subject to the consular authority. This alarmed them. But what excited their strongest apprehensions was, that Quintius used frequently to say, that "he would not hold an election of consuls : that the distemper of the state was not such as could be stopped by the

usual remedies : that the commonwealth stood in need of a dictator, in order that any person who should stir one step towards raising disturbances, might feel, that the power of that magistrate was above an appeal."

XXI. The senate was sitting in the capitol ; thither came the tribunes, attended by the commons, who were full of perplexity and fear : the populace, with loud clamours, implored the protection, at one time, of the consuls, at another of the senate ; yet they could not prevail on the consul to recede from his resolution, until the tribunes promised that they would be directed by the senate. The consul then laid before the senate the demand of the tribunes and commons, and it was decreed, that "the tribunes should not introduce the law during that year ; and that, on the other hand, the consuls should not lead out the troops from the city. For the time to come, it was the judgment of the senate, that re-electing the same magistrates, and re-appointing the same tribunes, was injurious to the interest of the commonwealth." The consuls conformed to the decisions of the senate ; but the tribunes, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consuls, were re-appointed. The senate likewise, not to yield to the commons in any particular, on their side wished to re-elect Lucius Quintius consul. On no occasion during the whole year, did the consul exert himself with more warmth. "Can I wonder," said he, "conscrip fathers, if your authority is lightly regarded among the commons ? ye yourselves deprive it of its weight. For instance, because the commons have broken through a decree of the senate with respect to the re-election of their magistrates, ye wish to break through it also, lest ye should fall short of the populace in rashness ; as if superiority of power in the state, consisted in superior degrees of inconstancy and irregularity ; for it is, certainly, an instance of greater inconstancy and irregularity, for us to counteract our own decrees and resolutions, than those of others. Go on, conscrip fathers, to imitate the inconsiderate multitude ; and ye, who ought to show an example to the rest, rather follow the steps of others in a wrong course, than guide them into the right one. But let me not imitate the tribunes, nor suffer myself to be declared consul, in contradiction to the decree of the senate. And you, Caius Claudius, I exhort, that you, on your part, restrain the Roman people from



this licentiousness ; and be persuaded, that, on my part, I shall regard your conduct therein in such a light, that I shall not consider you as obstructing my attainment of honour, but as augmenting the glory of my refusal, and protecting me against the ignominy which I should incur by being re-elected." They then issued their joint orders, that " no person should vote for Lucius Quintus being consul ; and that, if any one did they would not allow such vote."

XXII. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Vibulanus a third time, and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. [Y. R. 295. B. C. 457.] The general survey was performed that year. The lustrum could not be closed, consistently with the rules of religion, on account of the capitol having been taken and the consul slain. In the beginning of the year, in which Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cornelius were consuls, various disturbances arose. The tribunes excited commotions among the commons. The Latines and Hernicians gave information of a formidable war being commenced against them by the Volscians and Æquans ; that the legions of the Volscians were at Antium ; and that there were strong apprehensions of that colony itself revolting. With difficulty the tribunes were prevailed on to allow the business of war to be first attended to. The consuls then divided the provinces between them : Fabius was appointed to march the legions to Antium, Cornelius to remain at Rome, for the protection of the city, in case any part of the enemy, as was the practice of the Æquans, should come to make depredations. The Hernicians and Latines were ordered to supply a number of men in conformity to the treaties ; and of the army, two parts were composed of the allies, the third consisted of natives. The allies arriving on the day appointed, the consul encamped outside the Capuan gate ; and, after purifying the army, marched from thence to Antium, and sat down at a small distance from the city, and the post occupied by the enemy ; where the Volscians, not daring to risk an engagement, because the troops from the Æquans had not yet arrived, endeavoured to screen themselves within their trenches. Fabius, next day, forming his troops, not in one body, composed of his countrymen and the allies intermixed, but in three separate bodies, consisting of the three several nations, surrounded the rampart of the enemy. Placing himself in the centre with the Roman legions, he commanded

all to look for the signals from thence, in order that the allies and his own forces might begin the action at the same time, and also retire together, if he should sound a retreat : in the rear of each division, he also placed their own cavalry. Having thus surrounded the camp, he assaulted it in three different places, and pressing them vigorously on every side, beat down the Volscians from the rampart, who were unable to stand with his force : then advancing within the fortifications, he drove them before him in confusion and dismay towards one side, and at length compelled them to abandon their works. After which, the cavalry, who could not easily have passed over the rampart, and had hitherto stood as spectators of the fight, coming up with them, as they fled in disorder in the open plain, and making great havoc of their affrighted troops, enjoyed a share in the honour of the victory. The number of slain, both within the camp and on the outside of the fortifications, was great, but the spoil was much greater ; for the enemy were scarcely able to carry off their arms, and their army would have been entirely destroyed, had not the woods covered them in their flight.

XXIII. During these transactions at Antium, the Æquans, sending forward the main strength of their youth, surprised the city of Tusculum by night ; and, with the rest of their army, sat down, at a little distance from the walls of that town, for the purpose of dividing the force of their enemies. Intelligence of this being carried to Rome, and from Rome to the camp at Antium, the Romans were not less deeply affected, than if they had been told that the capitol was taken. Their obligations to the Tusculans were recent, and the similarity of the danger seemed to demand a requital, in kind, of the aid which they had received. Fabius, therefore, neglecting every other business, having hastily conveyed the spoils from the camp to Antium, and left a small garrison there, hastened to Tusculum by forced marches. The soldiers were allowed to carry nothing but their arms, and what food they had ready dressed ; the consul Cornelius sent supplies of provision from Rome. The troops found employment at Tusculum for several months. With one half of the army, the consul besieged the camp of the Æquans ; the other he gave to the Tusculans to effect the recovery of the citadel ; but they never could have made their way into it by force. Famine, however, com-

pelled the enemy to give it up : and when they were reduced to that extremity, the Tusculans sent them all away unarmed and naked under the yoke. But as they were attempting their ignominious flight, the Roman consul overtook them at Algidum, and put every man to the sword. After this success, he led back his army to a place called Columen, where he pitched his camp. The other consul, also, the city being no longer in danger, after the defeat of the Æquans, marched out from Rome. Thus the two consuls entering the enemy's territories on different sides, vied eagerly with each other in making depredations, the one on the Volsciana, the other on the Æquans. I find, in many writers, that the people of Antium revolted this year, that Lucius Cornelius, consul, conducted the war against them, and took their city. I cannot venture to affirm this as certain, because in the earlier writers there is no mention of such a transaction.

XXIV. No sooner was this war brought to a conclusion, than a tribunitian commotion at home alarmed the senate. The tribunes exclaimed, that "the detaining of the troops abroad was a mere artifice, calculated to frustrate their endeavours respecting the law. But that they were determined, nevertheless, to go through with the business which they had undertaken." However, Publius Lucretius, præfect of the city, so managed matters, that the proceedings of the tribunes were postponed until the arrival of the consuls. There arose also a new cause of disturbance : Aulus Cornelius and Quintus Servilius, quæstors, commenced a prosecution against Marcus Volscius for having manifestly given false evidence against Cæso : a discovery having been made, supported by many proofs, that the brother of Volscius, from the time when he was first taken ill, had not only never appeared in public, but that he never rose from his sick bed, where he died of a disorder, which lasted many months ; and also that, at the time when the witness had charged the fact to have been committed, Cæso had not been seen at Rome. Those who had served in the army with him also affirmed that he, at that time, regularly attended in his post along with them, without having once obtained leave of absence. Many in private stations challenged Volscius, in their own names, to abide the decision of the judge,<sup>1</sup> content to

submit to the penalty, if they should fail in proof. As he did not dare to stand the trial, all these circumstances concurring together, no more doubt was entertained of the condemnation of Volscius, than there had been of Cæso's, after Volscius had given his testimony. The business, however, was put a stop to by the tribunes, who declared, that they would not suffer the quæstors to hold an assembly on the business of the prosecution, until one was first held on that of the law ; and thus both affairs were deferred till the arrival of the consuls. When these entered the city in triumph, with their victorious army, silence being observed with respect to the law, people from thence imagined that the tribunes were struck with fear. But they, directing their views to the tribuneship for the fourth time, it being now the latter end of the year, had changed the direction of their efforts, from the promoting of the law, to canvassing for the election ; and although the consuls struggled against the continuing of that office in the same hands with no less earnestness than if the act had been proposed for the purpose of lessening their own dignity, the tribunes got the better in the contest. The same year, peace was, on petition, granted to the Æquans ; and a survey which had been begun in the former one, was now finished, the lustrum being closed, which was the tenth from the founding of the city. The number of citizens rated, was one hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and nine. The consuls acquired great glory this year, as well in the conduct of the war, as in the establishing of peace while at home : though the state enjoyed not perfect concord, yet the dissensions were less violent than at other times.<sup>1</sup>

casion required, they delegated judges to act in their stead. These select judges were chosen in an assembly of the tribes, five out of each tribe ; and the prætors, according to the importance or the difficulty of the cause in dispute, appointed one or more of them to try it. This office was, at first, confined to the senators ; but was, afterwards, transferred to the knights ; and was, at different times, held sometimes by one of these bodies, sometimes by the other, and sometimes in common between them both. The usual method of proceeding was this : the plaintiff either named the judge, before whom he summoned the defendant to appear, which was termed *ferre judicem* ; or he left the denomination to the defendant, *ut judicem diceret*, and when they had agreed on the judge, *quum judicem convenisset*, they presented a joint petition to the prætor, praying that he would appoint *ut daret*, that person to try the cause ; and at the same time, they bound themselves to pay a certain sum of money, the plaintiff *si ita esset*, if he should not establish his charge ; the defendant, if he should not acquit himself.

<sup>1</sup> As the prætors could not attend the trial of every cause, they always had a list of persons properly qualified, called *judices selecti*, out of whose number, as oc-



XXV. Lucius Minucius and Caius Nautius, who were next elected consuls, [Y. R. 296. B. C. 456.] found on their hands the two causes in dispute, which lay over from the last year. The consuls obstructed the passing of the law, and the tribunes the trial of Volscius, with equal degrees of activity. But the new quaestors were possessed of greater power and influence. Together with Marcus Valerius, son of Manius Valerius, grandson of Volesus, Titus Quintius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, was quaestor. Although Cæso could not be thereby restored to the Quintian family, and, in him, one of the most valuable of the young Romans, to the state, yet with a rigour dictated by justice and duty, he prosecuted the false witness, by whose means an innocent person had been deprived of the liberty of making his defence. The tribunes, and particularly Virginius, endeavouring to procure the passing of their law, the consuls were allowed the space of two months to examine it, on condition that when they should have informed the people of the dangerous designs which were concealed under the propositions which it contained, they would then allow them to give their votes on it. This respite of proceedings being acceded to, rendered matters quiet in the city. But the Æquans did not allow them long to enjoy rest; for, violating the league which had been made the preceding year with the Romans, they conferred the chief command on Gracchus Clœlius, a man at that time of by far the greatest consequence among them; and headed by him, carried hostile depredations into the district of Lavici; from thence into that of Tusculum; and then, loaded with booty, pitched their camp at Algidum. To that camp came Quintus Fabius, Publius Volumnius, and Aulus Postumius, ambassadors from Rome, to complain of injuries, and demand redress, in conformity to the treaty. The general of the Æquans bade them deliver to that oak whatever message they had from the Roman senate, while he should attend to other business: a very large oak-tree hung over the prætorium, and under its shade afforded a pleasant seat: to this one of the ambassadors, as he was going away, replied, "Let that consecrated oak, and all the deities, bear witness, that the treaty has been broken by you, and so favour both our complaints at present, and our arms hereafter, as that we avenge the violated rights of gods and men." On the return of the ambassadors

to Rome, the senate ordered one of the consuls to lead an army to Algidum against Gracchus; and gave to the other, as his province, the ravaging the territories of the Æquans. The tribunes, according to their usual custom, obstructed the levy, and might, perhaps, have effectually prevented it, but that a new and sudden alarm excited stronger apprehensions of danger.

XXVI. A very large body of Sabines, spreading devastations around, advanced almost to the walls of Rome. The fields were deserted, and the city struck with terror. The commons then cheerfully took arms, while the tribunes in vain attempted to dissuade them from it. Two large armies were raised. Nautius led one against the Sabines, and, pitching his camp at Eretum, by detaching small parties, especially on incursions by night, he caused such desolation in the country of the Sabines, that compared to it, the injuries sustained in the Roman territories seemed trifling. Minucius neither met the same success, nor showed the same ability in the conduct of his business; for, having encamped at a little distance, without experiencing any considerable loss, he kept his men confined within the trenches. When the enemy perceived this, they assumed new boldness from the others' fears, and made an assault on the camp by night; but finding that they were not likely to succeed by open force, they began, next day, to inclose it by lines of circumvallation. Before this work could be completed, and the passes thereby entirely shut up, five horsemen were despatched, who, making their way between the enemy's posts, brought intelligence to Rome, that the consul and his army were besieged. Nothing could have happened so unexpected, or so contrary to people's hopes; and the fright and consternation, in consequence of it, were not less than if the city were surrounded and threatened, instead of the camp. They sent for the consul Nautius, yet not supposing him capable of affording them sufficient protection, resolved that a dictator should be chosen to extricate them from this distress, and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was accordingly appointed with unanimous approbation. Here they may receive instruction who despise every quality which man can boast, in comparison with riches; and who think, that those who possess them can alone have merit, and to such alone honours and distinctions belong. Lucius Quin-

tius, the now sole hope of the people, and of the empire of Rome, cultivated a farm of four acres on the other side of the Tiber, at this time called the Quintian meadows, opposite to the very spot where the dock-yard stands. There he was found by the deputies, either leaning on a stake, in a ditch which he was making, or ploughing; in some work of husbandry he was certainly employed. After mutual salutations, and wishes on the part of the commissioners, "that it might be happy both to him and the commonwealth," he was requested to "put on his gown, and hear a message from the senate." Surprised, and asking if "all was well?" he bade his wife Racilia bring out his gown quickly from the cottage. When he had put it on, after wiping the sweat and dust from his brow, he came forward, when the deputies congratulated him, and saluted him dictator; requested his presence in the city, and informed him of the alarming situation of the army. A vessel had been prepared for Quintus by order of government, and on his landing on the other side, he was received by his three sons, who came out to meet him; then by his other relations and friends, and afterwards by the greater part of the patricians. Surrounded by this numerous attendance, and the lictors marching before him, he was conducted to his residence. The plebeians likewise ran together from all quarters; but they were far from beholding Quintus with equal pleasure, for they thought the powers annexed to his office too unlimited, and the man still more arbitrary. During that night, no farther steps were taken than to post watches in the city.

XXVII. Next day, the dictator coming into the forum before it was light, named Lucius Tarquinius master of the horse; he was of a patrician family, but though, by reason of the narrowness of his circumstances, he had served among the foot, yet he was accounted by many degrees the first in military merit among all the young men of Rome. Attended, then, by his master of the horse, Quintus came to the assembly of the people, proclaimed a cessation of civil business, ordered the shops to be shut in all parts of the city, and that no one should attend to any private affairs. He then issued orders that all who were of the military age should attend, under arms, in the field of Mars, before sun-set, with victuals for five days, and twelve palisades each; and that those whose

age rendered them unfit for service, should dress that victuals for the soldiers who lived near them, while they were preparing their arms, and procuring the military pales. Immediately the young men ran different ways to look for palisades, which every one without molestation took, wherever he could find them; and they all attended punctually according to the dictator's order. The troops being then formed in such a manner as was not only proper for a march, but for an engagement also, if occasion should require it, the dictator set out at the head of the legions, and the master of the horse at the head of his cavalry. In both bodies such exhortations were used, as the juncture required; that "they should quicken their pace; that there was a necessity for expedition, in order to reach the enemy in the night; that the Roman consul and his army were besieged; that this was the third day of their being invested; that no one could tell what any one night or day might produce; that the issue of the greatest affairs often depended on a moment of time." The men too, to gratify their leaders, called to each other, "standard-bearer, advance quicker; soldiers, follow." At midnight they arrived at Algidum, and when they found themselves near the enemy, halted.

XXVIII. The dictator then having rode about, and examined as well as he could in the night, the situation and form of the enemy's camp, commanded the tribunes of the soldiers to give orders that the baggage should be thrown together in one place; and then that the soldiers, with their arms and palisades, should return into the ranks. These orders were executed; and then with the same regularity in which they had marched, he drew the whole army in a long column, and directed that, on a signal being given, they should all raise a shout, and that on the shout being raised, every man should throw up a trench in front of his post, and fix his palisades. As soon as these orders were communicated, and the signal given, the soldiers performed what they were commanded: the shout resounded on every side of the enemy, and reaching beyond their camp, was heard in that of the consul, exciting terror in the one, and the greatest joy in the other. The Romans observing to each other, with exultation, that this was the shout of their countrymen, and that assistance was at hand, took courage, and from their watch-guards and out-posts issued threats. The consul likewise declared,



that "they ought not to lose time, for that the shout then heard was a signal, not only that their friends were arrived, but that they had entered upon action; and they might take it for granted, that the camp was attacked on the outside." He therefore ordered his men to take arms, and follow him; these falling on the enemy before it was light, gave notice by a shout to the dictator's legions, that on their side also the action was begun. The *Æquans* were now preparing measures to hinder themselves from being surrounded with works; when being attacked within, they were obliged, lest a passage might be forced through the midst of their camp, to turn their attention from those employed on the fortifications, to the others who assailed them on the inside; and thus left the former at leisure, through the remainder of the night, to finish the works, and the fight with the consul continued until morn appeared. At the break of day, they were entirely encompassed by the dictator's works, and while they were hardly able to support the fight against one army, their trenches were assaulted by Quintius's troops, who instantly, on completing those works, had returned to their arms. Thus they found themselves obliged to encounter a new enemy, and the former never slackened their attack. Being thus closely pressed on every side, instead of fighting, they had recourse to entreaties, beseeching the dictator on one side, and the consul on the other, to be content with the victory without their entire destruction, and to permit them to retire without arms. By the consul they were referred to the dictator, and he, highly incensed against them, added ignominy to their defeat. He ordered their general, Gracchus Clælius, and the other leaders, to be brought to him in chains, and the town of Corbie to be evacuated; then told them, that "he wanted not the blood of the *Æquans*; that they were at liberty to depart; but he would send them under the yoke, as an acknowledgment, at length extorted, that their nation was conquered and subdued." The yoke is formed of three spears, two being fixed upright in the ground, and the other tied across between the upper ends of them. Under this yoke the dictator sent the *Æquans*.

XXIX. Having possessed himself of the enemy's camp, which was filled with plenty, for he had sent them away naked, he distributed the entire booty among his own troops. Re-

primanding the consular army and the consul himself, he said to them, "Soldiers, ye shall share no part of the spoil of that enemy, to whom ye were near becoming a prey; and as to you, Lucius Minucius, until you begin to show a spirit becoming a consul, you shall command those legions, with the rank of lieutenant-general only." Accordingly Minucius resigned the consulship, and, in obedience to orders, remained with the army. But so well were people then disposed to obey, without repining, the commands of superiors, that this army regarding more the benefit which he had conferred, than the disgrace which he had inflicted on them, not only voted a golden crown of a pound weight to the dictator, but at his departure saluted him as their patron. At Rome, the senate, being convened by Quintus Fabius, præfect of the city, ordered that Quintus on his arrival should enter the city in triumph, without changing his order of march. The generals of the enemy were led before his chariot, the military ensigns carried before him, and his army followed, laden with spoil. It is said that tables were laid out with provisions before every house, and that the troops, partaking of the entertainment, singing the triumphal hymn, and throwing out their customary jests, followed the chariot like revellers at a feast. The same day, the freedom of the state was, with universal approbation, conferred on Lucius Mamilius of Tusculum. The dictator would have immediately resigned his office, but was induced to hold it some time longer on account of the assembly for the trial of Volscius, the false witness. Their dread of the dictator prevented the tribunes from obstructing it, and Volscius being sentenced to exile, departed into Lanuvium. Quintus on the sixteenth day resigned the dictatorship, which he had received for the term of six months. About the same time, the consul Nautius engaged the Sabines at Eretum with great success; a heavy blow to the Sabines after the devastation of their country. Fabius Quintus was sent to Algidum in the room of Minucius. Toward the end of the year, the tribunes began to agitate the affair of the law: but as two armies were then abroad, the patricians carried the point, that no business should be proposed to the people. The commons prevailed so far as to appoint the same tribunes the fifth time. It was reported that wolves had been seen in the capitol, and were driven away by dogs; and, on account of that prodigy,

the capitol was purified: such were the transactions of that year.

XXX. Quintus Minucius and Caius Horatius Pulvillus succeeded to the consulship. [Y. R. 297. B. C. 455.] In the beginning of this year, while the public were undisturbed by any foreign enemy, the same tribunes and the same law occasioned seditions at home; and these would have proceeded to still greater lengths, so highly were people's passions inflamed, but that, as if it had been concerted for the purpose, news was brought, that by an attack of the Æquans, in the night, the garrison at Corbio was cut off. The consuls called the senate together, by whom they were ordered to make a hasty levy of troops, and to lead them to Algidum. The contest about the law was now laid aside, and a new struggle began about the levy; in which the consular authority was in danger of being overpowered by the force of tribunitian privileges, when their fears were more effectually roused by an account of the Sabine army having come down into the Roman territories to plunder, and nearly advanced to the city. This struck such terror, that the tribunes suffered the troops to be enlisted; yet not without a stipulation, that since they had been baffled for five years, and as their office, as it stood, was but a small protection to the commons, there should for the future be ten tribunes of the people appointed. Necessity extorted a concession from the senate: they only made one exception; that the people should not, hereafter, re-elect the same tribunes. An assembly was instantly held for the election of those officers, lest, if the war was once ended, they might be disappointed in that, as in other matters. In the thirty-sixth year from the first creation of the tribunes of the people, the number ten were elected, two out of each of the classes; and it was established as a rule, that they should thenceforth be elected in the same manner. The levy being then made, Minucius marched against the Sabines, but did not come up with them. Horatius, after the Æquans had put the garrison of Corbio to the sword, and had also taken Ortona, brought them to an engagement in the district of Algidum, killed a great number, and drove them not only out of that district, but from Corbio and Ortona. Corbio he razed to the ground, in revenge for the treachery practised there against the garrison.

XXXI. Marcus Valerius and Spurius Vir-

ginius were next elected consuls. [Y. R. 298. B. C. 454.] Quiet prevailed both at home and abroad. The price of provisions was high, in consequence of an extraordinary fall of rain. A law passed for disposing of the Aventine as public property. The same tribunes of the people were continued in office. These, during the following year, [Y. R. 299. B. C. 453.] which had for consuls Titus Romilius and Caius Veturius, warmly recommended the law in all their harangues. "They must be ashamed of the useless addition made to their number, if that affair were to lie, during the course of their two years, in the same hopeless state in which it had lain for the last five." While they were most earnestly engaged in this pursuit, messengers arrived, in a fright, from Tusculum, with information that the Æquans were in the Tusculum territory. The recent services of that people made the tribunes ashamed of throwing any delay in the way of assistance being given them. Both the consuls were sent with an army, and found the enemy in their usual post, in the district of Algidum. There they fought; above seven thousand of the Æquans were slain, the rest dispersed, and vast booty was acquired. This the consuls sold on account of the low state of the treasury; which proceeding excited a general dissatisfaction among the soldiery, and also afforded grounds to the tribunes for bringing an accusation against the consuls before the commons. Accordingly, as soon as they went out of office, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Alterius having succeeded them, [Y. R. 300. B. C. 452.] a charge was instituted against Romilius by Caius Claudius Cicero, tribune of the people, and against Veturius, by Lucius Allienus, plebeian ædile. To the great mortification of the patricians they were both sentenced to fine, Romilius to pay ten thousand *asses*,<sup>1</sup> Veturius fifteen thousand.<sup>2</sup> The sufferings of these consuls, however, did not lessen the activity of their successors; they said, they were able to support a similar sentence, while both tribunes and commons combined, were in sufficient to carry the point. The tribunes now desisting from farther prosecution of the law, with regard to which, in the length of time since its publication, people's ardour had cooled, applied to the senate in amicable terms, requesting that they would at length "put an end to all con-



tentions : and, since it was disagreeable to them, that laws should be proposed by plebeians, would permit lawgivers to be chosen in common, out of the plebeians, and out of the patricians, in order to the framing of such as would be advantageous to both parties, and tend to establish liberty on an equal footing." This proposal the senate did not disapprove of, but declared that no one, except a patrician, should have the propounding of laws. As they agreed with regard to the necessary statutes, and only differed about the persons to propose them, ambassadors were sent to Athens, namely, Spurius Postumius Albus, Aulus Manlius, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, who were ordered to procure a copy of the famous laws of Solon, and to make themselves acquainted with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other states of Greece.

XXXII. This year passed undisturbed by any foreign wars. [Y. R. 301. B. C. 451.] The following also, in which Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quintilius were consuls, was still more quiet: the tribunes observing uninterrupted silence, which was owing, at first, to their waiting for the arrival of the ambassadors who had gone to Athens for copies of the laws of that state; and, afterwards, to two heavy calamities which fell on them at once, famine and pestilence making dreadful havoc among both men and cattle. The country was desolated, the city exhausted, by a continual succession of deaths. Many illustrious houses were in mourning: Servilius Cornelius, Flamen Quirinalis died, and Caius Horatius Pulvillus, augur, in whose room the augurs elected Caius Veturius, with the greater satisfaction, because he had been condemned by the commons. The consul Quintilius also died, and four tribunes of the people. Such a multiplicity of losses made it a melancholy year, but there was no disturbance from any enemy. The next consuls were Caius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus. [Y. R. 302. B. C. 450.] Neither during this consulate was there any foreign war: at home, however, some commotions arose. The ambassadors had now returned with the Athenian laws, and the tribunes therefore pressed more earnestly, that the business of compiling and settling their own laws might be begun. It was at last resolved, that ten magistrates, to be called decemvirs, should be created, from whom no appeal should lie, and that there should be no other appointed

during that year. It was disputed for some time whether plebeians should be admitted among them. At length, that point was given up to the patricians, provided that the Italian law concerning the Aventine, and others, called the devoting laws, should not be repealed.

XXXIII. Thus, in the three hundred and first year from the building of Rome, the form of the government underwent a second change; the supreme power being transferred from consuls to decemvirs, as it had formerly been from kings to consuls. This new form, however, was not of long duration; for the happy beginnings of that government terminated in extravagant licentiousness, which hastened its dissolution; and recourse was had to the former practice of intrusting the power and consular title to two persons. The decemvirs created were, Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Caius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius, Titus Romilius, and Spurius Postumius. [Y. R. 303. B. C. 449.] Claudius and Genucius being consuls elect, this honour of being of the decemvirate was conferred on them as a compensation for the loss of the other; and on Sestius, one of the consuls of the former year, because he had proposed this business to the senate, against the will of his colleague. Next to these, were considered the three who had gone ambassadors to Athens, that the honour might serve as a recompense for such a distant embassy; and, at the same time, it was supposed, that they, having acquired a knowledge of the laws of foreign countries, would be useful in digesting the new proposed regulations. It is said, that in choosing the remainder, they pitched upon persons far advanced in years, with intent that there should be the less warmth in any opposition which might be made to the opinions of the others. The direction of the whole business of government, however, was lodged in the hands of Appius Claudius, through the favour of the people; for he had assumed a demeanor so entirely new, that from a harsh and severe prosecutor of the commons, he became, on a sudden, a zealous promoter of their interests, and an eager candidate for popular applause. Each of them administered justice one day in ten. On that day, the twelve fasces attended him who presided in the court of justice; his nine colleagues being attended each

by a beadle; and, while perfect harmony subsisted among themselves, although such union between governors is sometimes found prejudicial to the governed, they observed the strictest equity towards all. It will be sufficient to produce a single proof of their moderation and fairness. Though, by the terms of their appointment, there could be no appeal from their decisions; yet upon occasion of a dead body being found buried in the house of Publius Sestius, a man of patrician family, and of the decemvirate, (and which dead body was produced in a public assembly, in a case as clear as it was atrocious,) Caius Julius, a decemvir, also commenced a criminal process against Sestius, and appeared before the people as prosecutor when he might legally have sat as judge; departing from his own right, that, while he took away from the power of the magistracy, he might add, in proportion, to the liberty of the people.

XXXIV. Whilst the highest and the lowest alike experienced this prompt execution of justice, impartial, as if dictated by an oracle, the decemvirs at the same time employed themselves assiduously in framing the laws; and at length, after people's expectations had been raised to the utmost height, they produced for public inspection ten tables; and then, summoning an assembly of the people, after praying that "it might prove fortunate and advantageous, and happy to the commonwealth, to themselves, and to their posterity;" ordered them "to go and read the laws which were exhibited; declared, that they had placed the rights of all on an equal footing, and in as precise a manner as could be devised by the abilities of ten men; but that the understandings and judgments of a larger number might, perhaps, strike out improvements: desired them to examine rigorously each particular in their own minds, canvass it in conversation, and bring it to public discussion, should any deficiency or excess appear in any article. They were resolved," they said, "that the Roman people should be bound only by such laws as the whole community, with general consent, might appear, not so much to have ratified, when proposed, as to have proposed from themselves." When, according to the reports of the people, respecting each head of the laws, they appeared sufficiently correct, then, in an assembly voting by centuries, were ratified the laws of the ten tables, which even at this present time after all which

have been added, continue to be the source of all our jurisprudence, respecting either public or private affairs. It was afterwards said, that there were two tables wanting, and that by the addition of these, a body, as it were, of the whole Roman law might be completed. The expectation of this, when the day of election of officers approached, raised a wish that decemvirs should be chosen a second time; and the commons, besides that they hated the name of consuls, as much as they did that of kings, felt at the present, no loss even of the support of the tribunes, because the decemvirs in turn allowed an appeal to their colleagues.

XXXV. But when the assembly for electing decemvirs was proclaimed to be held on the third market-day, the minds of many were so fired with ambition of obtaining the office, that even persons of the first dignity in the state, dreading, I suppose, lest, if it should be left unoccupied by them, an opening might be given for improper persons to obtrude themselves in a post of such high authority, solicited votes, humbly suing for a power, the establishment of which they had with their utmost efforts before opposed, and from those same plebeians, against the gratification of whose wishes they had hitherto so strenuously contended. Persons of advanced age, and who had passed through dignified stations, thus lowering their pride to hazard a contest of this sort, made Appius Claudius redouble his exertions. It were difficult to determine whether he should be reckoned among the decemvirs, or among the candidates: he appeared sometimes more like a person petitioning for, than one who was invested with, the office: he aspersed the characters of the candidates of high rank, and extolled the most insignificant and the lowest. Surrounded by the Icili and Duilii, who had been tribunes, he bustled about the forum, and through their means recommended himself to the commons; until even his colleagues, who till that time had been entirely attached to his interests, looked on him with amazement, wondering what his intentions could be. They were convinced, that there was no sincerity in his professions; that such affability, in one who had always evinced a haughty mind, could not be without some interested views; that lowering himself to the common level in this extraordinary manner, and mixing on an equal footing with the private citizens, did not look like haste to quit the office, but rather like seeking



for means to be continued in it. Not daring, however, openly to oppose his wishes, they endeavoured to baffle his efforts by a seeming desire to gratify him; and agreed among themselves to appoint him, as the youngest of their body, to the office of presiding at the election. This was an artifice to prevent his returning himself, which no one had ever done, except in the case of tribunes of the people; and, even there, it was deemed a most pernicious precedent. However, he declared, that, with the favour of fortune, he would preside at the election; and he laid hold of the intended obstruction to his design, as the lucky means of effecting its accomplishment. Having, by means of a coalition which he formed, foiled the pretensions of the two Quintii, Capitolinus, and Cincinnatus; of his own uncle, Caius Claudius, a most steady supporter of the cause of the nobility; and of other citizens of the same high rank; he promoted to the decemvirate persons of very inferior condition in life. And, among the first raised, was himself: an act highly disapproved of by all men of honourable minds, and which no one had believed that he would dare to be guilty of. Together with him were elected Marcus Corneliuſ Maluginenſis, Marcus Sergiuſ, Luciuſ Minueiuſ, Quintuſ Fabiuſ Vibulanuſ, Quintuſ Pætiliuſ, Tituſ Antoniuſ Merenda, Cæſo Duiliuſ, Spuriuſ Oppiuſ Cornicen, and Maniuſ Rabuleiuſ.

XXXVI. Now the mask, which Appiuſ had assumed, fell off. He began to live according to his natural diſpoſition; and to form his new colleagues early to his own plan of proceeding, before they ſhould enter on the adminiſtration of their office. They held daily cabals, remote from wiſſeſſes; wherein, being furniſhed with ſchemes of tyranny, digeſted among themſelves, and without the knowledge of any, they no longer diſſembled their arrogance; became difficult of acceſſ, moroſe to ſuch as addreſſed them, and continued this behaviour until the ideſ of May, [Y. R. 304. B. C. 448.] the then uſual time for entering on office. At the beginning, then, of their magiſtracy, they diſtinguiſhed the very firſt day of it by an exhibition which excited the greateſt alarm: for whereas the former decemviriſ had obſerved a rule, that only one ſhould have the faſceſ, and that thiſ emblem of royalty ſhould paſſ in rotation with them all, that iſ, to each in hiſ turn, but theſe unexpectedly

made their appearance, attended ſeverally by twelve faſceſ. One hundred and twenty licitoriſ filled the forum, and carried axeſ bound up with thoſe enſignſ, the decemviri� alleging that, aſ, by the termſ of their appointment, there lay not any appeal, there could be no reaſon why the axe ſhould be taken away. Thuſ theſe ten magiſtrateſ appeared aſ ſo many kingſ, and thuſ they multiplied terrorſ, not only among the lower claſſeſ, but among the principal patricianiſ; every one being perſuaded, that they wanted only a pretext to begin the work of death, ſo that ſhould any one, either in the ſenate, or in a meeting of the people, utter an expreſſion favourable to liberty, the rodſ and axeſ would inſtantly be got ready, to ſtrike terror into the reſt. For, beſideſ that there waſ no hope of protection from the people, an appeal to them having been prohibited, they had, by agreement, alſo prohibited themſelveſ from interfering with each otherſ decreeſ; whereas the former decemviriſ had allowed their decreeſ to be amended by an appeal to a colleague, and had referred to the public deciſion ſeveral matterſ which might ſeem to belong to their own juriſdiction. For ſome time the danger ſeemed to threaten equally all rankſ of men, but began, by degreeſ, to be directed entirely againſt the commonſ. They avoided giving offence to the patricianiſ, while they treated the lower rankſ with arbitrary cruelty. Intereſt having uſurped in their breaſtſ the place of juſtice, they on every occaſion regarded the perſon, not the cauſe. Their deciſionſ they adjusted privately at home, and afterwards pronounced them in the forum. If an appeal waſ made from any one of them to hiſ colleagueſ, the treatment he met from thoſe to whom he appealed waſ always ſuch aſ made him repent of not having abided by the former ſentence. An opinion had alſo gone abroad, though without known authority, that they had conſpired in the ſcheme of iniquity, not merely for the preſent year, but that a clandeſtine league had been ſtruck among them, and ratified by an oath, that they would not call an aſſembly for electionſ, but, perpetuating the decemvirate, keep a laſting hold of the power which they had now in their handſ.

XXXVII. The plebeianiſ now began to watch the countenanceſ of the patricianiſ; and though they had been accuſtomed to dread being enſlaved by them, and, influenced by that dread, had brought the commonwealth into itſ

present situation; yet they now anxiously looked to those patricians for some ray of hope which might guide them to liberty. The principal of these, while they hated the decemvirs, bore no less hatred toward the commons: and, though they did not approve the proceedings of the former, thought the latter suffered no more than they had deserved; and had no inclination to give assistance to men who, through their intemperate eagerness in pursuit of liberty, had fallen into slavery. On the contrary, they heaped injuries on them, in hopes that being thoroughly disgusted with the present state of affairs, they might wish for the restoration of the former government by consuls. The greater part of the year was now past, and two tables of laws had been added to ten of the former year; so that there was not any circumstance, if these laws were once ratified in assembly of the centuries, which could make the now form of government necessary to the commonwealth. People were in continual expectation of an assembly being called for the election of consuls, and the thoughts of the commons were solely employed in devising a revival of that bulwark of liberty, the tribunitian office, which had been laid aside so long. In the mean time, not the least mention was made of an election; and the decemvirs, who, at first, had exhibited themselves to the commons, for the purpose of gaining their favour, surrounded by men who had been tribunes, now collected about them crowds of young patricians. These encompassed every tribunal; they seized, and drove about at will, the commons and their effects; the most powerful being sure of success, in possessing himself of any man's property, in which he saw any thing desirable, while even their persons were not secure from injury. Some were beaten with rods; others felt the stroke of the axe: in a word, cruelty and profit went hand in hand, for a grant of his effects to some of their partizans ever followed the execution of the owner. The young nobility, corrupted by such bribes, not only declined making opposition to the injustice, but openly demonstrated that they preferred the indulgence of their own licentiousness to the establishment of the general liberty.

XXXVIII. The ides of May came. The offices of the state not having been filled up by election, men, invested with no public character, made their appearance as decemvirs, retaining still the same spirit to enforce their author-

ity, and the same emblems to support the splendour of their station. This was held the height of arbitrary government, and the loss of liberty was deplored as irrecoverable. No one champion stood forth in its cause, nor was there a prospect of any such appearing: so that the people not only sunk into despondence, but began to be despised by the neighbouring nations, who thought it would reflect shame on themselves, if a state which had forfeited its own liberty, should be allowed to retain its dominion over others. The Sabines with a numerous army, made an irruption into the Roman territories; and, having spread devastation through a great part of the country, and collected, without loss, a great booty of men and cattle, they recalled their forces from the various parts in which they were dispersed, and pitched their camp at Eretum, grounding their hopes on the dissensions at Rome, which they trusted would prevent the raising of troops. Besides the couriers that arrived, the country-people, flying into the city, caused a general alarm. The decemvirs held a consultation on the measures necessary to be taken; and, while they were left destitute of support on every side, being equally detested by the patricians and the commons, another circumstance occurred which aggravated their fears by presenting an additional danger to their view: the Æquans on the opposite side had encamped in the district of Algidum, and ambassadors, who came from Tusculum to request assistance, brought accounts, that their lands were ravaged by detachments from thence. The decemvirs were so thoroughly frightened, on finding the city surrounded by two enemies at once, that they determined to have recourse to the advice of the senate: accordingly they ordered the senators to be summoned to a meeting, though they well knew what a storm of public resentment threatened to break upon themselves; that all men would heap, on their heads, the blame of the devastations of the country, and of all the dangers by which they were encompassed; and that, on these grounds, attempts would be made to deprive them of their office, if they did not firmly unite in the support of their cause; and, by enforcing their authority with severity, on a few of the most intractable tempers, repress the forwardness of others. When the voice of the crier was heard in the forum, summoning the senators to attend the decemvirs in the senate-house, it excited no



less wonder than if it were a matter entirely new ; “ What could have happened now,” the people said, “ that those who had, for a long time past, laid aside the custom of consulting the senate, should now revive it ? But they might, no doubt, thank the war, and their enemies, for any thing being done that was formerly usual with them as a free state.’

They looked about the forum for senators, yet could hardly discover one. They then turned their eyes to the senate-house, remarking the solitude which appeared round the decemvirs, who, on their part, attributed the non-attendance of the summoned to the general detestation of their government ; while the commons found a reason for it, in the want of authority in private persons to convene them, observing, at the same time, that a head was now formed for those who wished for the recovery of liberty, if the people generally would let their endeavours accompany those of the senate ; and if, as the fathers refused to attend in senate, they should in like manner refuse to enlist. Such were the general topics of discourse among the commons ; while of the senators, there was scarcely one in the forum, and very few in the city. Disgusted with the times, they had retired to their country-seats ; and, being deprived of their share in the administration of the public business, attended solely to their private affairs ; thinking, that, by removing to a distance from the meeting and converse of their tyrannic masters, they were out of the reach of ill-treatment. Not meeting according to summons, apparitors were despatched to all their houses, to levy the penalties, and at the same time to discover whether their non-attendance was owing to design : and these brought back an account that the members of the senate were in the country. This gave less pain to the decemvirs, than if they had heard that they were in town, and refused to obey their commands. They then gave orders, that every one of them should be summoned, and proclaimed a meeting of the senate on the day following, when the members assembled in much greater numbers than the decemvirs themselves had hoped. This raised a suspicion in the minds of the commons, that the senators had deserted the cause of liberty, since they had paid obedience, as to a legal summons, to the order of men whose office had expired, and who, except so far as force prevailed, were nothing more than private citizens.

XXXIX. But, by all accounts, they showed more obedience in coming to the house, than servility in delivering their sentiments. It is related, that after Appius Claudius had proposed the business to be considered, and before the opinions were demanded in order, Lucius Valerius Potitus occasioned a great ferment, by insisting on being allowed to speak on the state of the commonwealth ; and, when the decemvirs endeavoured to prevent him, by declaring, that he would go out and apply to the commons. It is likewise said that Marcus Horatius Barbatus entered the lists with no less boldness, calling them “ ten Tarquini, and putting them in mind, that the Valerii and Horatii were among the foremost in effecting the expulsion of the kings. Nor was it the title merely, which had then given people so much offence ; for it was one which was properly applied to Jupiter, one which had been applied to Romulus, the founder of the city, and to the princes his successors ; and which was still retained in the religious institutions, and even considered as material to the performance of the sacred rites. It was the haughtiness, the violence of Tarquin, which then filled them with abhorrence ; and if these were not to be borne, in a person who was, at the time, a king, and the son of a king, who would bear them in so many private citizens ? Let them take care, lest, by forbidding men to speak with freedom in the senate-house, they might oblige them to utter their sentiments in another place. Nor did he see how he, in his private capacity, had less right to call the people to an assembly, than they, to convene the senate. Let them try, whenever they chose, how much more forcibly a sense of injuries would operate in vindication of liberty, than ambition in retaining usurped authority. They had proposed the Sabine war as the business to be considered : as if the Roman people had any more important war on their hands, than against those, who, having been created for the purpose of framing laws, had left no law remaining in the state ; who had abolished elections ; abolished annual magistrates ; abolished the regular changing of the chief magistrate, the only means of preserving the balance of liberty : who, standing in the rank of private citizens, kept possession of the fasces and of regal sovereignty. After the expulsion of the kings, there were patrician magistrates ; afterwards, on the secession of the

commons, plebeian magistrates were created. Of which party were the decemvirs?" he asked, "Were they of the popular party? In what business did they ever look for the concurrence of the people? Were they of that of the nobility? who, during almost a whole year, never held a meeting of the senate; and now, hold it in such a manner, that people are not allowed to speak of the state of the commonwealth. Let them not rely too much on the timidity of their fellows; for men feel more sensibly the weight of present sufferings, than of such as exist only in apprehension."

XL. While Horatius was exclaiming in this manner, and the decemvirs knew not how either to gratify their anger, or to pass over the provocation, nor could judge how the business would end, Caius Claudius, uncle to Appius, addressed him in a speech, fraught with entreaties rather than reproaches; besought him by the shade of his own brother, the decemvir's father, "to pay more regard to the rights of that civil society in which he was born, than to a confederacy, formed on the most flagitious principles. This he requested, more earnestly on Appius's account, than even on that of the commonwealth: for the commonwealth would, doubtless, be abundantly able to assert its own rights, in spite of any resistance which the then magistrates could make; but that, as great contests generally excite great animosities, he could not, without horror, think of what might be the consequence." Although the decemvirs had refused liberty to speak on any subject, but the business which they had proposed, yet such was their respect for Claudius, that they did not interrupt him; he proceeded therefore in his discourse, which he concluded, with moving a resolution, that no decree of the senate should be passed. This was considered by every one as importing that, in the judgment of Claudius, they were but private citizens, and many of the consulars expressed their approbation. Another measure was proposed, more harsh in appearance, but much less efficacious; it was to order the patricians to assemble and appoint an interrex: for that the passing of any resolution would be an acknowledgment that the persons, who convened the senate, were invested with some office; whereas, the member who recommended that no resolution should pass, meant thereby to declare them private citizens.

When the cause of the decemvirs was thus sinking into ruin, Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother to Marcus Cornelius the decemvir, having been purposely reserved from among the consulars to close the debate, under the pretence of anxiety about the war, supported his brother and his colleagues thus: "He wondered," he said, "by what fatality it happened, that those, who had been themselves candidates for the decemvirate, were the persons who, either as secondaries or principals, waged this attack on the decemvirs; and why they should now, at this particular time, when the enemy were just at the gates, take such pains to sow dissension among the citizens; while during so many months, wherein the attention of the state had been disengaged, no one ever made it a matter of dispute, whether those who held the administration of the government, were legal magistrates or not; unless it were because they supposed, that in a state of confusion, their conduct would not be so easily seen through. However, it was highly improper in any one to attempt to prejudice a cause of that magnitude, while men's minds were occupied by more urgent concerns. It was his opinion, then, that the plea urged by Valerius and Horatius, that the office of decemvirs had expired on the ides of May, should be taken into consideration, and discussed by the senate, when the wars with which they were then threatened should be brought to a conclusion, and tranquillity restored to the state: that Appius Claudius should consider himself as having now received sufficient notice, that he must be ready to give an account of the proceedings of the assembly in which he, in quality of decemvir, had presided, and in which the decemvirs were elected, whether they were appointed for one year, or, until the laws, then wanting, should be ratified. It was also his opinion, that, for the present, every other business, except the war, should be laid aside; and that, if they imagined that the reports concerning it were propagated without foundation, and that not only the couriers, but the Tusculan ambassadors, had conveyed false intelligence, then that scouts should be despatched to procure more certain information; but that, if they gave credit to the couriers and the ambassadors in that case, troops should be levied without delay, and the decemvirs should lead armies to whatever places each should think proper. He repeated, that no



other business ought to take place, until this was disposed of."

XLII. This resolution was carried, on a division, by means of the young patricians. Valerius and Horatius then, with greater vehemence, renewed their efforts, and loudly demanded permission to speak more particularly on the state of the commonwealth, declaring, that "if by a faction they were prevented from delivering their sentiments in the senate, they would appeal to the people; for that private men had no right to hinder them from speaking, either in the senate-house, or in a general assembly, nor would they give way to those men's imaginary fasces." Appius then thinking the juncture so critical, that the authority of the decemvirate must be overpowered, unless the violence of their opposers were resisted with an equal degree of boldness, called out, that "whoever uttered a sentence, except on the business proposed, should have cause to repent;" and, on Valerius insisting that he would not be silenced by a private citizen, ordered a lictor to advance: Valerius, from the door of the senate-house, implored the protection of the citizens; when Lucius Cornelius, embracing Appius, through concern for an effect so different from what he intended, put a stop to the contest, and procured Valerius permission to say what he chose. This producing nothing beyond words in favour of liberty, the decemvirs carried their point; and even the consulars and elder patricians, from inveterate hatred to the tribunitian office, which they supposed the people wished for with much more eagerness than for the consular government, would have been rather better pleased that the decemvirs themselves should, at some future time, voluntarily resign their office, than that, through means of the indignation of the public against them, the commons should rise again to consequence. They hoped, too, that if, by gentle management, the consular government should be restored, without the turbulent interposition of the populace, they might, either by the intervention of wars or by the moderation of the consuls in the exercise of their authority, induce the commons to forget their tribunes. No objection being made by the patricians, a levy was proclaimed, and the young men, there being no appeal from the present government, answered to their names. When the legions were filled up, the decemvirs settled among themselves who should

go out with the troops, and who command the several armies. The leading men among the decemvirs were Quintus Fabius and Appius Claudius. It was evident that there would be a greater war at home than abroad. The violence of Appius was thought the better calculated for suppressing commotions in the city, as the disposition of Fabius had long been considered as rather wanting in good pursuits, than strenuous in bad; yet this man, hitherto highly distinguished both in civil and military conduct, was so entirely changed by his office of decemvir and the example of his colleagues, that he now chose rather to be like Appius, than like himself. To him was given in charge the war against the Sabines; and, along with him, were sent his colleagues, Manius Rabuleius and Quintus Pætilius. Marcus Cornelius was sent to the territory of Algidum, with Lucius Minutius, Titus Antonius, Cæso Duius, and Marcus Sergius; and it was determined that Spurius Appius should assist Appius Claudius in the management of affairs in the city, where they should have full authority, as if all the decemvirs were present.

XLIII. Public affairs were conducted with no better success in war than at home. In this, the leaders were no farther to blame, than for having rendered themselves odious to their countrymen; in other respects, the fault lay entirely in the soldiery, who, rather than that any enterprise should succeed under the conduct and auspices of the decemvirs, suffered themselves to be overcome, to the disgrace of both. The armies were routed, both by the Sabines at Eretum, and by the Æquans in the country of Algidum. From Eretum the troops made a retreat in the dead of the night, and fortified a camp nearer to the city, on a high ground, between Fidenæ and Crustumæria; and, being pursued by the enemy, would not risk a battle on equal ground, but provided farther safety by the nature of the place and a rampart, not by valour and arms. In the country of Algidum greater disgrace and greater loss were sustained: even the camp was taken: and the soldiers, deprived of all their utensils, betook themselves to Tusculum, depending, for the necessaries of life, on the good faith and compassion of their hosts, who, on this occasion, did not disappoint their expectations. Such terrifying accounts were brought to Rome, that the senate, dropping the prosecution of their hatred to the decemvirs,

passed an order, that watches should be held in the city; commanded all, who were of an age to bear arms, to mount guard on the walls, and to form outposts before the gates; they also decreed a supply of arms to be carried to Tusculum; that the decemvirs should come down from the citadel of Tusculum, and keep their troops encamped; and that the other camp should be removed from Fidenæ into the country of the Sabines, to the end that the enemy, feeling themselves attacked at home, might be deterred from operations against the city.

XLIII. To the calamities inflicted by the enemy, the decemvirs added two most flagitious deeds, one at home, and the other in the army. In the army which acted against the Sabines, a person, called Lucius Siccus, taking advantage of the general aversion from the decemvirs, and having frequently, in private conversation with the common soldiers, made mention of a secession, and of electing tribunes, they sent him on a party of observation, to choose ground for a camp, and gave instructions to the men whom they sent to attend on the expedition, that they should fall upon him in some convenient place, and put him to death. He did not fall unrevenged; for, though surrounded on all sides, he stood on his defence; and being possessed of extraordinary personal strength, and of spirit equal to his strength, he slew several of the assassins. The rest, on their return, gave out in the camp, that they had fallen into an ambush, and that Siccus was lost, after fighting with great bravery and some of the soldiers with him. At first this story was believed: but afterwards, a cohort, which went, with permission of the decemvirs, to bury those who had fallen, observing that none of them were stripped; that Siccus, with his arms, lay in the middle with the faces of all the others turned towards him, while not a trace could be found of the enemy having retreated from thence; they brought back the body, with an account that he was evidently slain by his own men. The camp was now filled with indignation; and it was resolved, that Siccus should be carried directly to Rome, which would have been put in execution, had not the decemvirs, as speedily as possible, buried him with military honours, at the public expense. His funeral was attended with great grief of the soldiery, and a general belief of guilt in the decemvirs.

XLIV. There followed, in the city, another atrocious proceeding, which took its rise from lust, and was not less tragical in its consequences than that which, through the injured chastity and violent death of Lucretia, had occasioned the expulsion of the Tarquinii from the throne and the city; so that the government of the decemvirs not only ended in the same manner as that of the kings, but was lost through the same cause. Appius Claudius was inflamed with a criminal passion towards a young woman of plebeian rank. The father of this young woman, Lucius Virginus, held an honourable rank among the centurions, in the camp near Algidum, a man of exemplary good conduct, both as a soldier and a citizen, and by the same principles were the behaviour of his wife, and the education of his family regulated. He had betrothed his daughter to Lucius Icilius, who had been tribune, a man of spirit, and of approved zeal in the cause of the commons. This maiden, in the bloom of youth, and of extraordinary beauty, Appius, burning with desire, had attempted to seduce by bribes and promises; but, finding every avenue to his hopes barred by modesty, he resolved to have recourse to violence. He gave instructions to Marcus Claudius, one of his dependents, that he should claim the young woman as his slave, and not submit to any demand which should be made, of her being left at liberty until the decision of the suit, thinking that the absence of the damsel's father afforded the fittest opportunity for the injury which he meditated. As Virginia came into the forum, (for the schools of learning were held there in sheds,) this minister of the decemvir's lust laid his hand on her, and affirming that "she was a slave, and born of a woman who was his slave," ordered her to follow him; threatening, in case of refusal, to drag her away by force. While the girl stood motionless through fright and astonishment, a crowd was collected by the cries of her nurse, who implored the protection of the citizens. The popular names of her father Virginus, and her spouse Icilius, were heard on every side. Their acquaintances were engaged in favour of the maiden, by their regard for them; and the multitude in general, by the heinousness of the proceeding. She was now secured from violence, when the claimant said, "there was no occasion for raising a mob, he was proceeding by law, not by force," and summoned the maiden to a court of justice. She being advised, by those



who appeared in her favour, to follow him, they arrived at the tribunal of Appius. The claimant rehearsed the concerted farce before the judge, alleged that "the girl was born in his house, and had been clandestinely removed from thence to that of Virginius, her supposed father; that of this he had sufficient evidence, and would prove it even to the satisfaction of Virginius himself, the principal sufferer in the case; and it was reasonable," he added, "that in the meantime, the servant should remain in the custody of her master." The advocates for Virginia, pleading that Virginius was absent on business of the state, and would, were notice sent him, attend in two days' time, and that it was unreasonable that a suit concerning his child should be carried on in his absence, demanded of Appius to adjourn all proceedings in the cause, until the father's arrival; that, in conformity to the law which he himself had framed, he should leave her in the mean time in the enjoyment of her liberty; and not suffer a young woman of ripe age to encounter the hazard of her reputation, before the case of her freedom was determined.

XLV. Appius prefaced his decree with observing that "the very law, which Virginius's friends held out as the foundation of their demand, was a proof how much he was inclined to favour liberty: however, that law could afford no firm security to liberty, if it were not invariable in the tenor of its operation, without regard either to causes or persons. In the case of those who, from servitude, claimed a right to freedom, the privilege mentioned was allowed, because any citizen can act in their behalf: but in the case of her, who was in the hands of her father, there was no other person to whom the owner should yield the custody of her. It was therefore his determination, that the father should be sent for; that, in the meantime, the claimant should suffer no loss of his right, but should take the maiden into his custody, and give security for her appearance, on the arrival of him who was alleged to be her father."

Whilst all murmured against the injustice of this decree, though not one had courage to oppose it, Publius Numitorius, the maiden's uncle, and Icilius, her betrothed spouse, arrived at the spot. The crowd having readily made way for them, because they were of opinion, that, if any thing could stop the proceedings of Appius, it would be the interference of Icilius, the licitor called out, that "sentence was passed;" and, on Ici-

lius making loud remonstrances, ordered him to retire. Even a cool temper would have been inflamed by such gross ill-treatment: Icilius said, "Appius, you must drive me hence with the sword, before you shall accomplish, in silence, what you wish to be concealed. This young woman I intend to wed, and expect to find in her a lawful and a chaste wife. Call together then even all the lictors of your colleagues, order the rods and axes to be got ready: the spouse of Icilius shall not remain in any other place than her father's house. Though you have taken from us the protection of tribunes, and an appeal to the Roman people, the two bulwarks which secured our liberty, yet there has been no grant made, to your lust of absolute dominion over our wives and daughters.

Vent your fury on our persons and our lives; let chastity, at least, find safety. If any violence is offered to her, I shall appeal for succour to the citizens now present, in behalf of my spouse; Virginius will appeal to the soldiers in behalf of his only daughter: and all of us to the gods, and to all mankind: nor shall you ever carry that sentence into effect, while we have life to prevent it. I charge you, Appius, consider again and again to what lengths you are proceeding: let Virginius, when he comes, determine what measures he will pursue in regard to his daughter; only of this I would have him assured, that if he submits to this man's claim of obtaining the custody of her, he must seek another match for his daughter: as for me, in vindication of the liberty of my spouse, I will forfeit my life sooner than my honour."

XLVI. The passions of the multitude were now raised, and there was every sign of a violent contest ensuing. The lictors had gathered round Icilius, but proceeded, however, no farther than threats, when Appius said, "that the defence of Virginia was not the motive which actuated Icilius; but, turbulent by nature, and breathing, at that instant, the spirit of the tribuneship, he was seeking an occasion of sedition. He would not, however, at that time, give him matter to work on: but, in order to convince him at once that this indulgence was granted, not to his petulance, but to the absent Virginius, to the name of the father, and to liberty, he would not then decide the cause, nor interpose any decree; he would even request of Marcus Claudius to depart somewhat from his right, and suffer the maiden to be

bailed until the next day. But if, on the next day, the father did not attend, he now gave notice to Icilius, and to persons like Icilius, that, as its founder, he would not fail to support his own law; nor, as a decemvir, to show a proper degree of resolution; nor should he call together the lictors of his colleagues, to check the efforts of the fomenters of sedition, but be content with his own lictors." The execution of his iniquitous design being thus deferred, the advocates of the girl having retired, resolved, first of all, that the brother of Icilius and the son of Numitorius, active young men, should set off directly, and with all possible haste call home Virginius from the camp, acquainting him that "the safety of the maiden depended on his being present in time next day to protect her from injury." They set out the instant they received their directions, and, with all the speed their horses could make, carried the account to her father. In the meantime, the claimant of the maiden urged Icilius to profess himself a defendant in the cause, and to produce sureties. This, however, Icilius delayed, in order that the messengers despatched to the camp might gain the longer time for their journey, telling him that he was preparing to do so. The whole multitude on this held up their hands, and every one showed himself ready to be surety to Icilius. To them he replied, tears at the same time filling his eyes, "I am thankful for your goodness; to-morrow I will claim your assistance; at present, I have sufficient sureties." Virginia was then admitted to bail on the security of her relations. Appius, after remaining on the tribunal for a short time lest he should seem to have sat merely for the sake of the present business, and finding that no one applied to him, the general anxiety about Virginia calling their attention from every other subject, retired to his house, and wrote to his colleagues in camp not to allow Virginius to leave it, and even to keep him in confinement. This wicked scheme, as it deserved, was too late to succeed; for Virginius, having already got leave of absence, had set out at the first watch; so that the letter for detaining him, which was delivered in the morning, necessarily produced no effect.

XLVII. In the city, a vast multitude of citizens were assembled in the forum at day-break, full of anxious expectation. Virginius, clad in mourning, and accompanied by a great number of advocates, led his daughter into the

forum, habited in weeds, denoting her distress, and attended by a number of matrons. There he began to solicit each man's favour; and not only requested their aid, as a boon granted to his prayers, but demanded it as his due, reminding them, that "he stood daily in the field of battle, in defence of their wives and children; nor was there any man who had given greater proof of valour and intrepidity in action than he had done. Yet what did this avail, if, while the city was secure from danger, their children were exposed to calamities as grievous as could be dreaded, if it were taken by an enemy?" With such discourses, uttered in a manner as if he were addressing a public assembly, he applied to the people individually. Icilius addressed them with like arguments; and the female attendants, by their silent tears, affected them more deeply than any words could do. Appius whose mind was hardened against all such occurrences, violent madness, rather than love, having perverted his understanding, ascended the tribunal; and when the claimant had just begun to urge, that "through partiality, he had refused yesterday to pronounce judgment in the cause;" Appius, without allowing him to proceed in stating his claim, or giving Virginius an opportunity of answering, delivered his sentence. The discourse with which he introduced his decree some ancient writers have set down, perhaps with truth; but as I no where find any one that seems likely to have been used on occasion of such an iniquitous business, I think it best to represent the plain fact, of which there is no doubt: he decreed, that she should be held in bondage until the final decision. At first, all were struck motionless with astonishment at such an atrocious proceeding. Silence then prevailed for some time: afterwards, when Marcus Claudius went to seize the maiden, where she stood in the midst of the matrons, and was opposed by the women with lamentable cries of grief, Virginius, stretching forth his hands in a menacing attitude towards Appius, said, "Appius, I betrothed my daughter to Icilius, not to thee; and I have educated her for a wife, not for a harlot. Do you intend that men shall indulge their lust promiscuously like cattle and wild beasts? Whether these present will endure such things I know not: but those who carry arms, I hope, never will." The claimant of the maiden being forced back, by the crowd of women and advocates



who stood round her, silence was commanded by the crier.

XLVIII. The decemvir, whose mind was warped by his ungovernable lust, said, that "the abusive language of Icilius yesterday, and the violence of Virginius, now the whole Roman people were witnesses of, but that he had learned, on good authority, that, during the whole night, cabals had been held for the purpose of stirring up sedition. Wherefore, being aware of the disputes likely to ensue, he had come down with a band of men in arms, not with a design of injuring any person who should demean himself, but of punishing in a manner suited to the majesty of government, such as should presume to disturb the tranquillity of the state. It will, therefore, said he, be your better way to remain quiet. Go, licitor, remove the crowd, and make way for the owner to seize his slave." When, bursting with passion, he had thundered out these words, the multitude of themselves voluntarily separated, and the maiden stood forsaken, a prey to injustice. Virginius then, seeing no prospect of assistance from any quarter, said, "Appius, I entreat you, first, to make allowance for a father's grief, if I have made use of too harsh expressions towards you; and next, to allow me here, in the presence of the maiden, to inquire of her nurse the truth of this affair: that if I have been falsely called her father, I may depart hence with the more resignation." Permission being granted, he drew the maiden and her nurse aside, to the sheds near the temple of Cloacina, now called the new sheds, and there, snatching a knife from a butcher, plunged it into his daughter's breast, with these words: "In this manner, my child, the only one in my power, do I secure your liberty." Then looking back on Appius, "With this blood, Appius," said he, "I devote thee and thine head to perdition." Appius, alarmed by the cry raised at such a horrid deed, ordered Virginius to be seized. But he, clearing a passage with the weapon wherever he went, and protected also by a great number of young men who escorted him, made his way to the gate. Icilius and Numitorius raised up the lifeless body, and exposed it to the view of the people, deploring the villany of Appius, the fatal beauty of the maiden, and the necessity which had urged the father to the act. The matrons who followed joined their exclamations: "Were these the consequences of rearing children? Were these

the rewards of chastity?" with other mournful reflections, such as are suggested by grief to women, and which, from the greater sensibility of their tender minds, are always the most affecting. The discourse of the men, and particularly of Icilius, turned entirely on their being deprived of the protection of tribunes, and consequently of appeals to the people, and on the indignities thrown upon all.

XLIX. The passions of the multitude were strongly excited, partly by the villany of the decemvir, partly by their hopes that the occasion might be improved to the recovery of liberty. Appius now ordered Icilius to be called before him; then on his refusing to attend, to be seized: at last, when the beadles were not suffered to come near him, he himself, with a band of young patricians, pushing through the crowd, ordered him to be taken into confinement. By this time, there had collected round Icilius, not only the multitude, but persons fit to head that multitude, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who, driving back his licitor, told Appius, that "If he meant to proceed in a legal way, they would be security for Icilius, against any charge which he, as a private citizen, should bring. If he should attempt to make use of force, in that point too they would not be his inferiors." A furious scuffle ensued. The decemvir's licitor attacked Valerius and Horatius. The fasces were broken by the people. Appius then mounted the tribunal, whither he was followed by Horatius and Valerius; to these the assembly paid attention, but drowned the decemvir's voice with noise. Valerius now assumed authority to order the lictors to depart from one who was but a private citizen; and then Appius, bereft of courage, and dreading for his life, covered his head, and, unobserved by his adversaries, made his escape into a house near the forum. Spurius Oppius, rushing into the forum from the other side, in order to assist his colleague, saw their authority overpowered by force. After revolving several expedients, confused by listening to a multitude of advisers on every side, he at last commanded the senate to be summoned. This step calmed the minds of the populace, by giving them hopes, that as the conduct of the decemvirs seemed displeasing to the greater part of the patricians, their government would be abolished through the means of the senate. The senate gave their opinion, that the commons should

not be farther exasperated ; and that, above all things, care should be taken to hinder disturbances being excited in the camp on the arrival of Virginus.

L. Accordingly some of the younger patricians were sent to the camp, which, at that time, was on mount Vecilius, to caution the decemvirs to use their utmost efforts for preventing a mutiny among the soldiers. Here, Virginus caused greater commotions than he had left in the city : for, besides the notice which he attracted, by coming attended by a band of near four hundred men ; who, incensed at the scandalous injustice done him, had accompanied him from the city ; the unsheathed weapon, and himself being besmeared with blood, engaged the general attention, while gowns<sup>1</sup> being observed in many different parts of the camp, made the number of people from the city appear much larger than it was. Being asked the reason of all this, grief for a long time prevented Virginus from uttering a word. At length, when the crowd grew still, and silence took place, he related every circumstance in order as it passed. Then raising his hands towards heaven, besought his fellow-soldiers "Not to impute to him the guilt which belonged to Appius Claudius, nor to abhor him as the murderer of his child. Declaring, that the life of his daughter was dearer to him than his own, could she have lived with honour and liberty. When he saw her dragged as a slave to violation, he thought it better that his child should be lost by death than by dishonour. Actuated by compassion, he had fallen under the appearance of cruelty : nor would he have survived his daughter, had he not looked to the aid of his fellow-soldiers, with hopes of revenging her death : for they also had daughters, sisters, wives ; and the lust of Appius Claudius was not extinguished by the death of Virginia, but would be encouraged, by impunity, to rage with less restraint. They had now warning given them, in the calamity of another, to guard themselves against the like injury. As to what concerned himself, his wife had been torn from him by fate ; his daughter, because she could not longer preserve her chastity, had fallen by an unfortunate but honourable death. There was now in his house no object for Appius's lust ; and from any other kind of violence which he could offer he would defend his own per-

son with the same spirit with which he had rescued that of Virginia. Let others take care of themselves and of their children." To these representations, uttered by Virginus in a loud voice, the multitude replied, with shouts, that they would not be backward in vindicating either his wrongs or their own liberty. At the same time, the gown-men intermixed with the crowd of soldiers, relating with sorrow the same circumstances, and observing how much more shocking they appeared to the sight than hearing, acquainting them also that the affairs of the decemvirs at Rome were desperate ; while some, who came later, averred that Appius, having with difficulty escaped with life, was gone into exile. All this had such an effect on the soldiery, that they cried out, To arms ! snatched up the standards, and marched towards Rome. The decemvirs, exceedingly alarmed, as well by the transactions which they saw, as by those which they heard had passed at Rome, ran to different parts of the camp, in order to quell the commotion. While they acted with mildness, they received no answer. If any of them offered to exert authority, he was answered, that "they were men ; and besides, had arms." The soldiers proceeded in a body to the city, and posted themselves on the Aventine, exhorting the commons, whenever they met any of them, to reassume their liberty, and create plebeian tribunes. No other violent expression was heard. Spurius Oppius held the meeting of the senate, when it was resolved, that no harsh measures should be used because themselves had given occasion to the insurrection. Three consulars were sent as deputies to the mount, Spurius Tarpeius, Caius Julius, and Servius Sulpicius, to ask, in the name of the senate, by whose orders they had quitted the camp ; or what was their intention in posting themselves in arms, on the Aventine ; in changing the direction of their hostile operations from the enemy, and by seizing a strong post in their native country. The revoltors were at no loss what to answer ; but they were at a loss for a person to give the answer, having not yet appointed any particular leader, and individuals not being very forward to take on themselves the invidious, and perhaps dangerous, office. The multitude only called out with one voice, that Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius might be sent, and to them they would give their answer.

L.I. When the deputies were dismissed, Vir-

<sup>1</sup> The citizens' dress, different from that of the military.



ginius reminded the soldiers, "how much they had been embarrassed in a case of no extraordinary difficulty, in consequence of their being a multitude without a head; and that the answer given, though not inexpedient, was the result rather of an accidental concurrence, than of a concerted plan: he recommended to them, therefore, to elect ten persons, who should preside in the direction of their affairs, and, in the style of military dignity, be called tribunes of the soldiers." This honour, being offered, in the first place, to himself, he said, "Reserve, to a juncture more happy, both to you and me, such expressions of your good opinion of me. It is neither possible for me, while my daughter is unrevenge, to reap satisfaction from any honour, nor is it expedient for you, in the present disordered state of the commonwealth, to have those at your head who are most obnoxious to party malice. If I can be of any service, my remaining in a private capacity will in no degree prevent it." They accordingly elected ten military tribunes. Nor was the army in the country of the Sabines inactive. There also, at the instance of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from the decemvirs was made; men being no less strongly agitated by having the murder of Siccius recalled to their memory, than by the recent account of the barbarous attempt against the chastity of Virginia. When Icilius heard that tribunes of the soldiers had been elected on the Aventine, he feared lest the assembly of election in the city might follow the lead of the military assembly, and choose the same persons tribunes of the commons. Being well versed in popular intrigues, and aiming himself at that office, he took care that, before they proceeded to the city, the same number of soldiers, with equal powers, should be elected by the party then with him. They entered the city, in military array, through the Colline gate, and continued their march in a body through the middle of the city to the Aventine. There, in conjunction with the other army, they gave directions to the twenty tribunes of the soldiers to choose two out of their number who were to hold the command in chief: they chose Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius. The senate were alarmed for the general safety, but though they sat every day, they spent more time in wrangling than in deliberation: the decemvirs were upbraided with the murder of Siccius, the lust of Appius, and the disgraces which they had incurred in war. It was resolved, at length, that Valerius

and Horatius should proceed to the Aventine: but they refused to go thither, on any other terms than those of the decemvirs resigning the badges of office, their title to which had expired a year before. The decemvirs, remonstrating against the severity of degrading them to the common level, declared that they would not resign their authority, until the purpose of their election should be fulfilled by the ratification of the laws.

LII. The commons, on being informed by Marcus Duilius, who had been plebeian tribune, that the time was passed by the patricians in continual disputes, and no business done, removed from the Aventine to the sacred mount: for Duilius had assured them, that "the senate would never attend seriously to the business, until they saw the city deserted; that the sacred mount would remind them of the firmness of the commons, and that they would then discover, that the re-establishment of concord was impracticable, without the restoration of the tribunitian office." Marching along the Nomentan road, then called the Ficulnean, they encamped on the sacred mount, imitating the moderation of their fathers, in refraining from every act of violence. The army was followed by the commons, not one, whose age would permit him, refusing to go. Their wives and children attended their steps, asking, in melancholy accents, to whose care they were to be left, in such a city, where neither chastity nor liberty were safe? So general a desertion, beyond what was ever known, left every part of the city void, not a creature being even seen in the forum, except a few very old men, when the senators were called into their house. Thus the forum appearing entirely forsaken, many others, with Horatius and Valerius began to exclaim, "Conscript fathers! how long will ye delay? If the decemvirs will not desist from their obstinacy, will ye suffer every thing to sink into ruin? And ye, decemvirs, what is this power which ye so positively refuse to part with? Do ye intend to administer justice to bare walls and empty houses? Are ye not ashamed, that the number of your lictors should exceed that of all the other citizens in the forum? What do ye propose to do, should the enemy advance to the city? What, if the commons, finding that we are not moved by their secession, should presently come in arms? Do ye choose that your command should be terminated by the fall of the city? The case

stands thus ; either we must lose the commons, or they must have their tribunes. We would sooner part with our patrician magistrates, than they with the plebeian. The office of tribunes, when it was a thing unknown and untried, they extorted from our fathers ; and it is much more improbable that, after having tasted the sweets of it, they will put up with its loss, especially as we do not exercise authority with such moderation, as to prevent their standing in need of protection." Assailed by such arguments from every quarter, and overpowered by the united opinions of all, the decemvirs declared, that since it was judged necessary, they would submit to the orders of the senate. This only they requested, that they would afford them protection from the rage of the opposite party : warning them, at the same time, not to suffer the commons, by the spilling of their blood, to come into the practice of inflicting punishment on patricians.

LIII. Valerius and Horatius were then deputed to invite the commons to return, on such conditions as they should judge proper, and to adjust all matters in dispute. They were ordered also to take measures, for securing the decemvirs from the rage and violence of the populace. On their arrival at the camp, they were received with excessive joy, as having evidently proved themselves the patrons of liberty, both at the commencement of the disturbances, and on the determination of the business. For this, they received thanks on their coming, Icilius addressing them in the name of the whole ; and when they began to treat about conditions, the same person, on the deputies inquiring what were the demands of the commons, proposed, in pursuance of a plan which had been adjusted before their arrival, such terms as plainly evinced, that they grounded their expectations on the equity of their cause, rather than on their strength : for they only required the restitution of the tribunitian office, and the privilege of appeal, by which the rights of the commons had been guarded, before the creation of decemvirs ; and, that no one should suffer for having instigated the soldiery, or the commons, to procure the restoration of liberty, by a secession. They were intemperate only in respect to the punishment of the decemvirs : for they expected that they should be delivered into their hands, and they threatened to burn them alive. In reply, the deputies said, " Such of your

demands, as have been the result of deliberation, are so equitable, that they ought to be voluntarily offered to you : for the object of them is the attainment of a security for liberty, not for unbounded licence to violate the rights of others. But the dictates of your resentment, we must rather pardon than indulge : for, through your detestation of cruelty, ye are precipitating yourselves into the very vice which ye abhor ; and before ye can well be said to be free yourselves, ye wish to act the tyrant over your adversaries. Is our state never to enjoy rest from punishments, either inflicted by the patricians on the Roman commons, or by the commons on the patricians ? Ye stand in need of a shield, rather than of a sword. It is abundantly sufficient to humble a man so far as that he shall live on an equal footing with the rest of his countrymen, neither offering nor enduring injury. Besides, should ye ever choose to render yourselves objects of terror ; when ye shall have recovered your magistrates, and your laws, and shall have the power in your hands of deciding on our lives and fortunes, then ye will determine according to the merit of each case ; at present it is sufficient to require the restoration of liberty."

LIV. Having, with universal consent, received permission to act as they thought proper, the deputies assured them that they would speedily bring back a final settlement of the business ; and, returning, reported to the senate the message from the commons. On which the other decemvirs, finding, that, beyond their hopes, no mention was made of any punishment being reserved for them, raised no objection. Appius, stern in his nature, conscious that he was the object of particular detestation, and measuring the rancour of others towards him by his own towards them, said, " I am not blind to the fate which hangs over me. I see that violent proceedings against us are deferred until our arms are surrendered into the hands of our adversaries. Blood must be offered to the rage of the populace. I myself no longer demur to resign the office of decemvir." A decree of the senate was then made that " The decemvirs should, without delay, resign their office. That Quintus Furius, chief pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes, and that no one should suffer, on account of the secession of the soldiers and commons." As soon as these decrees were finished, the senate was dismissed, and the decemvirs, coming forth to



the comitium, made a resignation of their office, to the extreme joy of all. News of this was carried to the commons. Whatever people there were remaining in the city, escorted the deputies. This was met by another procession from the camp, exulting with joy; and they mutually congratulated each other, on the re-establishment of liberty and concord in the state. The deputies addressed the assembly thus: "Be it advantageous, fortunate, and happy to you, and to the commonwealth. Return into your native city, to your household gods, your wives and children; the same moderation, with which ye have behaved here, where, notwithstanding the great consumption of necessaries in so large a multitude, no man's field has been injured, that moderation carry with you into the city. Go to the Aventine, whence ye removed. In that auspicious place, where ye took the first step towards liberty, ye shall elect tribunes of the commons: the chief pontiff will attend and preside in the assembly." Great were the applauses given, and the cheerfullest approbation was shown of every thing which was done. They then hastily raised the standards; and, as they marched towards Rome, vied with such as they met in expressions of joy. They proceeded under arms, in silence, through the city to the Aventine. There, the chief pontiff holding an assembly, they instantly elected tribunes of the commons; first, Lucius Virginus; then Lucius Icilius, and Publius Numitorius, uncle of Virginia, the first advisers of the secession; then Caius Sicinius, a descendant of that man who is recorded as the first tribune of the commons, elected on the sacred mount; with Marcus Duilius, who had distinguished himself by his conduct in the tribuneship, before the creation of the decemvirs, and who, during the contest with them, had not failed to exert himself in the support of the common cause. At the same time were elected, rather on account of hopes entertained of their future conduct, than of their previous deserts, Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, and Caius Oppius. Lucius Icilius, as soon as he entered on the office of tribune, proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered, that no person should suffer on account of the secession from the decemvirs. Immediately after, Duilius carried a proposition for electing consuls, with privilege of appeal. All this was transacted in an assembly of the com-

mons in the Flaminian meadows, now called the Flaminian circus.

LV. After this, under the direction of an interrex, consuls were elected. [Y. R. 306. B. C. 446.] These were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who entered immediately upon the exercise of their office. Their consulate was popular. But though unattended by any actual ill-treatment of the patricians, it yet incurred their displeasure; for they imagined that whatever added to the liberty of the commons, was necessarily a diminution of their own power. First of all, as if it were a point in controversy, whether the patricians were bound by regulations enacted in an assembly of the commons, a law was passed in an assembly of the centuries, "that whatever was ordered by the commons collectively, should bind the whole people." A law which gave the keenest edge to such propositions as might be introduced by the tribunes. Another law, introduced by a consul, concerning the right of appeal, (a singular security to liberty, and which had been subverted by the power granted to the decemvirs,) they not only revived, but guarded for the time to come, by further enacting, "that no magistrate should ever be chosen, from whom there should not be a right of appeal; and that if any person should cause the election of such, then it should be lawful and right to put that person to death, and the killing of him should not be accounted a capital offence." When they had provided sufficient barriers for the commons, by the right of appeal on one side, and the aid of the tribunes on the other, they renewed to the tribunes themselves the privilege of being deemed sacred and inviolable, a matter which now had been almost forgotten, reviving, also, for the purpose, certain ceremonies which had been long disused; and they not only rendered them inviolable by this religious institution, but by a law, enacting, that "whoever should offer injury to the tribunes of the commons, the ædiles, the judges, his person should be devoted to Jupiter, and his property confiscated at the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera." Lawyers deny, that any one is thus rendered sacred and inviolable; but admit, that the person who does injury to any of the above-named is deemed to be devoted. Accordingly an ædile is sometimes seized, and put in confinement by superior magistrates, which, though it is not a legal proceeding, as offending against a person exempted by this law, is yet a

sufficient proof that such person is not deemed sacred and inviolable. It is alleged, however, by some, that the tribunes became sacred and inviolable, in consequence of the old oath taken by the commons when they first created that office; while other expositors have supposed, that, by this Horatian law, the same exemptions were extended to the consuls also, the consuls being termed judges; and to the prætors, as being elected under the same auspices with the consuls. But that exposition is refuted by this argument, that in those times, it was not the custom, as it has been since, to call a consul judge, but prætor. These were the laws proposed by the consuls. A regulation was also made by the same consuls, that the decrees of the senate should be deposited with the plebeian ædiles, in the temple of Ceres; they had hitherto been frequently suppressed and altered at the pleasure of the consuls. Marcus Duilius, plebeian tribune, afterwards proposed to the commons, and the commons enacted, that "whoever should cause the commons to be left without tribunes, or any magistrate to be elected from whom there was no appeal, should be punished with stripes and beheaded." All these transactions, though highly disagreeable to the patricians, passed without opposition from them, because no severity was yet aimed at any particular person.

LVI. The tribunitian office and the liberty of the commons being thus fixed on a solid foundation, the tribunes, judging it now seasonable and safe to attack individuals, singled out Virginius as the first prosecutor, and Appius defendant. Virginius, having preferred a charge against Appius, and the latter coming to the forum, attended by a crowd of young patricians, the sight of him and his attendants instantly recalled to every mind his shocking abuses of authority. Virginius then said, "Long speeches are only of use in cases of a doubtful nature. I shall therefore neither waste time in descanting before you on the guilt of this man, from whose cruelty ye have rescued yourselves by force of arms; nor will I suffer him to add impudence to his crimes, in endeavours to exculpate himself. Wherefore, Appius Claudius, I remit to you all the impious and flagitious deeds, which during two years past you have dared to commit in constant succession. With respect to one charge, unless you name a judge, and engage to acquit yourself of having, contrary to the laws, sentenced a free per-

son to slavery, I order that you be taken into custody." Neither in the protection of the tribunes, nor in a sentence of the people, could Appius place any hope: yet he called on the tribunes for aid, and when that was disregarded, and he was seized by the bailiff, cried out, "I appeal." This expression, the peculiar safeguard of liberty, uttered from that mouth which had so lately threatened the subversion of liberty, caused a general silence, whilst all with earnestness observed one to another, that "at length it appeared that there were gods, and that they did not disregard the affairs of mankind. That the punishments which attended pride and cruelty, though they might come late, were not light. That he now pleaded for the right of appeal, who had abolished that right: he implored the protection of the people, who had trodden under foot all the people's rights: and he, who had so lately doomed a free person to slavery, was himself refused the privilege of liberty, and dragged to prison." Amidst these murmurs of the assembly, Appius's voice was also heard imploring the protection of the people. He enumerated "the services of his ancestors to the state, both in peace and war; his own unfortunate zeal for the interest of the Roman commons, when, for the sake of obtaining equitable laws, he resigned the consulship, to the high displeasure of the patricians: mentioning his own laws; and that while they yet remained in force, the framer of them was to be dragged to prison. But the peculiar advantages or disadvantages attending his case, he would endeavour to set in a proper light, when he should be allowed to make his defence. At present, by the common right of every member of the state, he, a Roman citizen, accused of an offence, demanded liberty of speaking in his own behalf, and the benefit of a trial before the Roman people. That his apprehensions from the popular rage were not so great, as to deprive him of all hope from the equity and compassion of his countrymen. But if he was led to prison without being heard, he again called on the tribunes of the commons, and warned them, not to follow the example of those who were the objects of their hatred. But should the tribunes acknowledge themselves to have combined in the same kind of confederacy, for abolishing the right of calling for their protection, which they charged the decemvirs with having formed, then he appealed to the people, and implored the benefit



of the laws concerning appeals, passed that very year at the instance of the consuls and of the tribunes. For who was to appeal, if that privilege was refused to a person on whom no sentence was passed, and who had not been heard in his defence? What plebeian or person in a low station could expect to find protection in the laws, if Appius Claudius found none? His case would afford a proof, whether, by the new regulations, tyranny or liberty was established; and whether appeals to the tribunes and people, against the injustice of magistrates, were effectually granted, or only held out in show, to amuse the people with empty words."

LVII. Virginius, on the other hand, affirmed, that Appius Claudius was the only person who was not entitled to any of the privileges of the laws, nor of civil nor even of human society: desired people to "look at the tribunal, that fortress, where every kind of wickedness had been exercised with impunity; where that perpetual decemvir, venting his fury on the goods, the persons, and lives of the citizens, threatening all with his rods and axes, showing an utter contempt both of gods and men, encompassed with executioners, not lictors, changing at length his pursuits from rapines and murders to the gratifications of lust, had, before the eyes of the Roman people, torn a free-born maid from the embraces of her father, as if she had been a captive taken in war, and given her as a present to one of his clients, the pander of his secret pleasures; where, by a cruel decree, and a decision, dictated by the blackest villany, he armed the hand of a father against his child; where, more strongly affected by the disappointment of his unruly passion than by her untimely death, he had ordered the uncle and spouse of the maid, while employed in raising her lifeless body, to be dragged to prison. The prison was built for him as well as for others, though he used to call it the mansion of the Roman commons. Wherefore, however frequently he might appeal, he would as frequently insist on his abiding the decision of a judge, on the charge of his having sentenced a free person to slavery. And if he declined appearing before a judge, would now order him, as convicted, to be carried into confinement." Accordingly he was thrown into prison; a step which, though disapproved by none in point of justice, yet gave occasion to much serious reflection: the commons them-

selves considering their power as carried rather too far, in the punishment inflicted on a person of such consequence. The tribune deferred the trial to a distant day. Meanwhile ambassadors came to Rome from the Latines and Hernicians, with congratulations on the re-establishment of concord between the patricians and commons, and, as an offering on that account to Jupiter supremely good and great, carried to the capitol a golden crown, of small weight, as riches at that time did not abound, and the worship of the gods was performed with greater piety than magnificence. The same persons also brought information that the Æquans and Volscians were preparing for war with the utmost vigour.

The consuls were therefore ordered to divide the provinces between them. The Sabines fell to Horatius, the Æquans and Volscians to Valerius; and so highly were they regarded, by the commons, that, on proclaiming a levy of troops for those wars, not only the younger men, but even a great number of those who had served out the legal time, attended, mostly as volunteers, to give in their names. Thus the strength of the army was increased beyond what was usual, not only in respect of number, but also of the kind of soldiers that composed it: a considerable proportion of them being veterans. Before they marched out of the city, they engraved on brass, and fixed up, in public view, the laws of the decemvirs, which are called the "Twelve Tables:" some writers, however, say, that this business was performed by the ædiles, in pursuance of orders from the tribunes.

LVIII. Caius Claudius, uncle to Appius, detesting the iniquitous proceedings of the decemvirs, and, above all, disgusted at the arrogant conduct of his nephew, had retired to Regillum, the country of his ancestors. Alarmed, however, at the danger which now threatened the man whose vices he had fled to avoid the sight of, old as he was, he returned, in hopes of deprecating the impending mischief. He appeared in the forum, clad in a mourning habit, and surrounded by his relations and dependents, implored the favour and protection of every individual citizen he met with, and besought them "not to throw such a stain upon the Claudian family, as to show that they thought them deserving of imprisonment and chains; represented to them, that a person, whose image would be revered among posterity, as distinguished by the highest honours, the framer of their laws, the founder of the Roman

jurisprudence, lay in fetters among common thieves and robbers. He begged that they would for a while suspend resentment, and employ their thoughts in candid examination and cool reflection; and grant to the intercession of such a number of Claudii, the pardon of one individual, rather than through hatred towards that one, reject the prayers of a multitude: declaring, that he himself, in his present conduct, was actuated merely by a regard to the race and to the name: for he had not renewed any friendly intercourse with him for whose wretched situation he wished to find a remedy: that, by fortitude, liberty had been recovered; and by clemency, harmony might be established among the several orders of the state." He brought several to incline to his side, rather in consideration of such laudable attachment to his family, than of the merits of him whose cause he espoused. On the other hand, Virginius besought them, "rather to bestow their compassion on himself and daughter. He prayed them not to listen to the supplications of the Claudian family, but to those of the near relations of Virginia, the three tribunes; who, having been elected for the protection of the commons, now, in their own cause, implored from those commons favour and protection." The tears of the latter seemed the more entitled to pity. Wherefore Appius, precluded from all hope, voluntarily put an end to his life, before the day arrived to which the trial had been adjourned. Immediately after, Publius Numitorius arraigned Spurius Oppius, who stood next in the way of the public indignation, as having been present in the city when the unjust sentence was pronounced by his colleague. However, an act of injustice, committed by himself, drew on Oppius greater weight of resentment than his conduct in regard to Appius. A soldier stood forward, who reckoned up twenty-seven campaigns, in which he had served; during which service, he proved that he had been eight times particularly distinguished by honourable rewards. These rewards he produced to the view of the people; and then, throwing open his garment, he showed his back mangled with stripes; begging no other terms of favour, than that "unless the accused (Spurius Oppius) could name any one offence of which he (the soldier) had ever been guilty, he then should have liberty, though a private citizen, to repeat the same cruel treatment towards him." Oppius was thrown into prison, and before the day

of trial put an end to his life. The tribunes confiscated the property of Appius and Oppius. Their colleagues went into exile, and their property was confiscated. Then Marcus Claudius, who laid claim to Virginia, was brought to trial and condemned; but Virginius himself agreeing to a mitigation of the sentence, so far as it affected his life, he was discharged, and also went into exile to Tibur. And now the shade of Virginia, whose cause was best supported after her death, having roamed through so many families in quest of vengeance, rested in peace, none of the guilty being left unpunished.

LIX. The patricians were now filled with dreadful apprehensions,—for the tribunes seemed to wear the same countenance which had formerly marked the decemvirs,—when Marcus Duilius, tribune of the commons, imposed a salutary restraint on their power, tending as it was, to excess, by telling them, "We have proceeded to a sufficient length, both in asserting our liberty, and in punishing our enemies. Wherefore, during the remainder of this year, I will not suffer any person, either to be brought to trial, or to be put into confinement. For I think it highly improper, that old crimes, now buried in oblivion, should be again dragged forth to notice, and after recent ones have been expiated by the punishment of the decemvirs. Add to this, that we have sufficient security, in the unremitting attention ever shown by both our consuls to the interests of liberty, that no instance of misconduct will henceforth occur, which can require the interposition of the tribunitian power." This moderation of the tribune first dissipated the fears of the patricians; and, at the same time, increased their ill-will towards the consuls; for they had been so entirely devoted to the interest of the commons, that even a plebeian magistrate had shown more readiness to consult the liberty and safety of the patricians, than they who were themselves of that order. Indeed their enemies were weary of inflicting punishments on them, before the consuls showed any intention of opposing the violence of those measures; and many said, that the senate had betrayed a want of firmness in giving their approbation to the laws proposed; in fact, there was not a doubt, but that in this troubled state of the public affairs, they had yielded to the times.

LX. After all business in the city was adjusted, and the rights of the commons firmly



established, the consuls departed to their respective provinces. Valerius prudently delayed engaging with the armies of the Æquans and Volscians, who had by this time formed a junction in the district of Algidum. Had he attempted to bring the matter to an immediate decision, such was the state of mind, both of the Romans and of their enemies, in consequence of the misfortunes which had attended the auspices of the decemvirs, that I know not whether the contest could have been decided without a heavy loss. Pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from that of the united army, he kept his men quiet. The enemy filled the middle space, between the two camps, with their troops, in order of battle, and gave several challenges to fight, to which no Roman returned an answer. Fatigued at length with standing, and waiting in vain for an engagement, the Æquans and Volscians, considering this as almost equivalent to an acknowledgment of the victory in their favour, detached several parties to make depredations, some against the Hernicians, others against the Latines; leaving rather a guard to the camp, than such a force as could contend with the Romans. As soon as the consul understood this, he retorted the menaces which they had before used to him, and drawing up his troops, advanced to provoke them to battle: and when, in consequence of so great a part of their force being absent, they declined to fight, the Romans instantly assumed fresh courage, and looked upon those troops as already vanquished, who, through fear, kept within their rampart. After remaining the whole day in readiness for action, they retired at the close of it. The Romans, on their part, full of confidence, employed the night in refreshing themselves; while the enemy, very differently affected, despatched messengers in the utmost hurry to every quarter, to call in the plundering parties. Such as were in the nearest places returned with speed; those who had gone to a greater distance could not be found. At the first dawn, the Romans marched out of their camp, resolved to assault the enemy's rampart, if they should refuse to fight; and, when a great part of the day had passed, and no movement was made by the enemy, the consul ordered the troops to advance. On the army beginning to march, the Æquans and Volscians, indignant that victorious troops were to be defended by a rampart, rather than by valour and arms, de-

manded the signal for battle, in which they were gratified by their leaders. And now, half of them had got out of the gates, and the rest followed in regular order, marching down each to his own post, when the Roman consul, before the enemy's line could be completed, and strengthened with their whole force, advancing to the engagement, fell on them, and thus encountering an unsteady multitude, who were hurrying from one place to another, and throwing their eyes about on themselves and their friends, he added to their confusion by a shout, and a violent onset. They at first gave ground, but afterwards collected their spirits, their leaders, on every side, asking them in reproach, if they intended to yield to vanquished enemies; and the fight was renewed.

LXI. On the other side, the Roman consul desired his troops to reflect, that "on that day, for the first time, they, as free men, fought for Rome, as a free city; that they were to conquer for themselves, and not in order to become a prize to the decemvirs; that they were not acting under the orders of Appius, but of their consul Valerius, descended from the deliverers of the Roman people, and, himself, one of their deliverers. He bade them show, that in the former battles, the failure of victory had been owing to the leaders, not to the soldiers. He told them, it would be scandalous to evince a greater courage against their countrymen than against their enemies, and to be more afraid of slavery at home than abroad; that Virginia had not perhaps been the only person whose chastity was in danger in time of peace; but that Appius, their countryman, was the only one from whose lust danger was to be dreaded; and that, should the fortune of war turn against them, the children of every one of them would be in like hazard, from so many thousands of enemies. That he was unwilling, an account of the omen, to mention such things, as neither Jupiter, nor Father Mars, would suffer to happen to a city built under such auspices." He put them in mind of the Aventine and sacred mounts, and that "they ought to bring back dominion unimpaired to that spot, where a few months ago they had obtained liberty; to show that the Roman soldiers retained the same abilities after the expulsion of the decemvirs, which they had possessed before their appointment, and that the valour of the Roman people was not diminished by the establishment of laws

which equalized their rights." After speaking to this purpose among the battalions of the infantry, he flew from thence to the cavalry. "Come on, young men," said he, "show that ye excel the infantry in valour, as ye excel them in honour and in rank. The infantry at the first onset have made the enemy give way; before they recover the shock, give the reins to your horses, and drive them out of the field; they will not stand against your charge, and even now they rather hesitate than resist." They spurred on their horses, and drove furiously against the enemy, already disordered by the attack of the foot; and after they had broken through the ranks, and pushed on to the rear of their line, a part, wheeling round in the open space, cut off their retreat to the camp, towards which the greater number now began to fly on all sides; and, by riding on before, compelled them, through fear, to take another course. The line of infantry, with the consul himself, and the main body of the army, rushed into the camp, and made themselves masters of it, killing a vast number, and getting possession of considerable booty. The news of this victory was carried both to the city, and to the camp in the country of the Sabines: in the city it excited only general joy; in the camp it fired the minds of the soldiers with emulation of the glory their fellow-soldiers had acquired. Horatius had already inured them to the field by excursions and skirmishes, so that they began rather to place confidence in themselves, than to think of the ignominy which had been incurred under the command of the decemvirs; while these slight engagements had strengthened their hopes with regard to a general one. The Sabines, at the same time, who were rendered presumptuous by their successes in the last year, ceased not to provoke and urge them to fight; asking, "why they wasted time in excursions and retreats like marauders; and, instead of making one main effort to decide a single war, multiply their operations into a number of insignificant skirmishes? Why not come to a general engagement in the field, and let fortune determine the victory at once?"

LXII. The Romans, besides that they had now acquired a high degree of courage, were exasperated at the dishonour which it would reflect on them, if the other army were to return victorious to Rome, while they lay exposed to the abuse and insults of the enemy: "And when," said they, "shall we ever be a match

for that enemy, if we are not at present?" When the consul understood that such were the sentiments generally expressed by the soldiers in the camp, he called them to an assembly, and said, "Soldiers, I suppose ye have heard the issue of the campaign in Algidum; the army have behaved as became the army of a free people. Through the judicious conduct of my colleague, and the bravery of the soldiers, victory has been obtained. For my part, what plan I am to adopt, or what degree of resolution I am to maintain, depends upon you. The war may either be prolonged with advantage, or it may be brought to a speedy conclusion. If it is to be prolonged, I shall take care, that, through means of the same discipline with which I began, your hopes and your valour shall every day increase. If ye have already sufficient courage, and wish for a speedy decision, come on, raise here a shout, such as ye would raise on the field. That will demonstrate at once your inclinations and your spirit." The shout being given with uncommon alacrity, he assured them, that, "with the good favour of fortune, he would comply with their desire, and next morning lead them to the field." The remainder of that day was spent in putting their arms in order. On the following, as soon as the Sabines perceived that the Romans were forming their line of battle, they also marched out, having for a long time ardently wished for an opportunity of fighting. The battle was such as might be expected, between armies both of whom were assured of their own courage; the one animated by a long and uninterrupted career of glory, the other lately elevated by unusual success. The Sabines added to their strength the advantage of a stratagem; for, after forming a line equal to that of the enemy, they kept two thousand men in reserve, who were to make a push during the heat of the engagement on the left wing of the Romans. These, by attacking their flank, were likely to overpower that wing, which was thus, in a manner, surrounded, when the cavalry of two legions, amounting to about six hundred, leaped from their horses, and rushing forward to the front of their party, who were giving way, stopped the progress of the enemy, and at the same time roused the courage of the infantry, both by taking an equal share of the danger, and by exciting their emulation; for they reflected, that it would be shameful that the horse should incur double danger, by discharging both their



own duty and that of others ; and that the foot should not be equal to the horse, even when they were dismounted.

LXIII. They pressed forward therefore to the fight, which on their part had been suspended, and endeavoured to recover the ground which they had lost. In a moment they were on an equality, while one wing of the Sabines was compelled to give way. The horsemen then, covered between the ranks of the foot, returned to their horses, and galloped across to the other division ; they carried with them on account of this success ; and, at the same time, made a charge on the enemy, disheartened by the defeat of their stronger wing. None displayed in that battle more conspicuous bravery than themselves. The consul's attention was everywhere employed. He commended the active, and reproved the remiss. These immediately, on being rebuked, exerted themselves with spirit ; shame stimulating them as powerfully, as commendation had done the others. The shout being raised anew, and all uniting their efforts, they drove the enemy from their ground, and then the force of the Romans could no longer be resisted ; the Sabines abandoned their camp, and were dispersed all over the country. The Romans here recovered not the property of their allies, as was the case in Algidum, but their own, which they had lost in the devastation of the country. For this victory, obtained in two battles, and in different places, the senate, so unwilling were they to gratify the consuls, decreed a supplication, in their name, of one day only. The people, however, went in great numbers on the second day also, to offer thanksgivings, and which they did with rather greater zeal than before. The consuls by concert came to the city within a day of each other, and called out the senate to the field of Mars ; where, while they were relating the services which they had performed, the principal members began to complain, that the senate was purposely held in the midst of the soldiers, to keep them in terror. The consuls, therefore, to take away all ground for such a charge, removed the assembly into the Flaminian meadows, to a place where the temple of Apollo now stands, called, even at that time, the Circus of Apollo. Here, a vast majority of the senators concurring in refusing a triumph to the consul, Lucius Icilius, tribune of the commons, proposed to the people, that they should

take on them the ordering of it. Many stood forth to argue against this proceeding ; particularly Caius Claudius exclaimed, that "it was over the patricians, not over the enemy, that the consuls sought to triumph ; and that more as a return for their private kindness to a tribune, not as an honour due to valour. That a triumph was a matter which had never, hitherto, been directed by the people ; but that the judgment on the merit, and the disposal of it, had always been in the senate. That even the kings had not in this respect derogated from that order, the principal one in the state. He charged the tribunes not to occupy every department so entirely with their own authority, as to leave no room for the deliberation of the public ; and asserted, that by no other means could the state be free, or the laws equalized, than by each class maintaining its own rights, and its own dignity." Though many arguments were used to the same purpose by the other and elder senators, yet every one of the tribes approved of the proposition. This was the first instance of a triumph celebrated by order of the people, without the approbation of the senate.

LXIV. This victory of the tribunes and commons was very near terminating in a wanton irregularity of pernicious tendency, a conspiracy being formed among the tribunes to procure the re-election of the same persons to that office ; and, in order that their own ambition might be the less conspicuous or objectionable, to re-elect also the same consuls. They alleged, as a pretext, a combination of the patricians to sap the foundation of the rights of the commons, by the affronts which they threw upon the consuls. "What would be the consequence," they said, "if, before the laws were firmly established, consuls should, with the power of their factions, make an attack on the new tribunes ? For they could not always have Valerii and Horatii for consuls, who would postpone their own interest, when the liberty of the commons was in question." By a concurrence of circumstances, fortunate at this juncture, the charge of presiding at the election fell to the lot of Marcus Duilius, a man of prudence, and who clearly perceived what a heavy load of public displeasure they would probably have to sustain, if they should be continued in office. He declared, that he would admit no vote for any of the former tribunes ; while his colleagues strenuously in-

sisted, that he should leave the tribes at liberty to vote as they thought proper ; or else, should give up his turn of presiding to his colleagues, who would hold the election, according to the laws, rather than according to the pleasure of the patricians. Duilius, on finding a contest thus forced upon him, called the consuls to his seat, and asked them what was their intention with respect to the consular election. To which they answered, that they were resolved to appoint new consuls. Having thus gained popular supporters of his unpopular measure, he advanced together with them into the assembly. The consuls being there brought forward, and asked in what manner they would act, should the Roman people, out of gratitude for having, by their means, recovered their liberty, and for their meritorious and successful services in war, appoint them a second time to the consulship, declared the same resolution as before. On which, Duilius, after many eulogiums paid to them for persevering in a line of conduct quite different from that of the decemvirs, proceeded to the election ; and when five tribunes of the commons were elected, the other candidates, not being able to make up the requisite number of tribes, on account of the eagerness with which the nine tribunes openly pushed for the office, he dismissed the assembly, and did not afterwards call one. He said that he had fulfilled the law ; which, without any where specifying the number of tribunes, only enacted, that tribunes should be left ; and he recited the terms of the law, in which it is said, " If I propose ten tribunes of the commons, and if there should at that time be found a less number than ten tribunes, then the persons whom these shall assume as colleagues shall be legal tribunes of the commons, with the same privileges as those whom ye on that day made tribunes of the commons." Duilius, persevering to the last, and declaring the commonwealth could not have fifteen tribunes, after baffling the ambition of his colleagues, resigned his office, with high approbation both from the patricians and the plebeians.

LXV. [Y. R. 307. B. C. 445.] The new tribunes of the commons showed, in their election of colleagues, an inclination to gratify the patricians. They chose two, who were patricians and even consulars, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aterius. The consuls then elected were Largius Herminius and Titus Virginius Caelimontanus, men not warmly attached to either party, patricians or ple-

beians. They had a peaceful year both at home and abroad. Lucius Trebonius, tribune of the commons, a bitter enemy to the patricians, because, as he said, he had been imposed on by them, and betrayed in the affair of choosing colleagues, carried a proposal that whoever took the votes of the commons on the election of plebeian tribunes, should continue the proceedings until he should return ten of that order. The whole time of being in office was passed in creating uneasiness to the patricians, from whence the surname of Asper (harsh) was given him. Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Caius Julius, the next consuls chosen, [Y. R. 308. B. C. 444.] prevented the ill effects of some combinations, formed by the tribunes against the young nobles, without taking any violent steps against those magistrates, and at the same time preserving unhurt the dignity of the patricians.

Wishing to give time for the matter to cool, they restrained the commons from rising in sedition by a proclamation for a levy of troops, to act against the Æquans and Volscians ; giving as a sufficient reason, that while harmony prevailed in the city, every thing abroad was also quiet, but whenever civil discord broke out, their foreign enemies assumed new courage. This care to preserve peace abroad proved the cause of domestic concord. But each of the orders always took an improper advantage of moderation in the other. As soon as the commons grew tranquil, the younger patricians began to insult them. When the tribunes attempted to protect the weaker party, even at first they were of little use ; afterwards, they themselves incurred ill-treatment, particularly in the latter months, because the combinations, then formed among the more powerful, encouraged them to it, while the vigour of every magistracy generally relaxes somewhat at that time. And now the commons began to think that they had nothing to hope from their tribunes, unless they procured such as Icilius, for those whom they had for two years past were but nominal tribunes. On the other side, the elder patricians, although they were convinced that the younger part of their body carried their presumption too far, yet were better pleased, if the bounds of moderation were to be exceeded, that those of their own order should possess a redundancy of spirit, than should their adversaries. So difficult it is to preserve moderation in the asserting of liberty, while, under the pretence of a desire to balance rights, each ele-



vates himself in such a manner, as to depress another ; for men are apt, by the very measures which they adopt to free themselves from fear, to become the objects of fear to others ; and to fasten upon them the burthen of injustice, which they have thrown off from their own shoulders : as if there existed in nature a perpetual necessity, either of doing or of suffering injury.

LXVI. The next consuls elected were Titus Quintius Capitolinus a fourth time, and Agrippa Furius, who found, at the commencement of their year, neither sedition at home nor war abroad, but reason sufficient to apprehend both. [Y. R. 309. B. C. 443.] The citizens could no longer be kept within bounds, both tribunes and commons being highly exasperated against the patricians, and every charge brought against any of the nobility constantly embroiling the assemblies and creating new contests. As soon as these were noised abroad, the Æquans and Volscians, as if they had waited for this signal, immediately took up arms ; being, at the same time, persuaded by their leaders, who were eager for plunder, that the levy which had been proclaimed the last year had been found impracticable, the commons refusing obedience ; and that, for that reason, no army had been sent against them ; that their military discipline was subverted by licentiousness, and that Rome was no longer considered as their common country ; that all the resentment and animosity which they had entertained against foreigners, was now turned against each other, and that there was a favourable opportunity of destroying those wolves, while they were blinded by intestine rage. Having therefore united their forces, they laid waste the country of Latium ; where, none attempting to obstruct them, and the promoters of the war highly exulting, they advanced to the very walls of Rome, carrying on their ravages opposite to the Esquiline gate, and insulting the city. From thence, they marched back without molestation, in regular order, driving the prey before them to Corbio. Quintius the consul then summoned the people to an assembly.

LXVII. There, as we are told, he spoke to this purpose : " Although unconscious of any misconduct on my part, yet it is with the utmost shame, Romans, that I am come here, to meet you in assembly. That ye should be witnesses of such an event, that it should be

handed down, on record, to posterity ; that, in the fourth consulate of Titus Quintius, the Æquans and Volscians, who, a short time ago, were barely a match for the Hernicians, should have marched in arms, without molestation, to the walls of the city of Rome ! Could I have foreseen that this ignominy was reserved for this particular year, though such is the general state of manners for a long time past, such the condition of affairs, that my mind could pre-  
sage no good, I would yet have avoided this honourable post, by exile or by death, if there had been no other way of escaping it. Could Rome then have been taken in my consulship, if those arms, that were at our gates, had been in the hands of men of courage ? I had enjoyed enough of honours, more than enough of life : I ought not to have outlived my third consulship. But, of whom have those once dastardly enemies dared to show such contempt ; of us consuls ? or of you Romans ? If the fault lies in us, we should be deprived of the command, as unworthy of it, and if that be not enough, inflict some farther punishment : if in you, may no divine, or human, being chastise your transgressions, only may ye yourselves gain a proper sense of them. They have not been actuated to this conduct, as supposing you void of spirit, nor from confidence in their own valour. After being so often routed and put to flight, beaten out of their camps, stripped of their territories, and sent under the yoke, they well know both themselves and you. Party dissensions are the bane of this city ; the struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, while neither we fix due limits to our authority, nor ye to your liberty ; while ye wish to get rid of patrician, we of plebeian magistrates, they have assumed unusual courage. In the name of the gods, what would ye have ? Ye wished for tribunes of the commons ; for the sake of concord, we granted them to you. Ye longed for decemvirs ; we allowed them to be created. Ye grew weary of decemvirs ; we compelled them to resign the office. Your resentment against them continuing, even after they were divested of their public character, we suffered men of the most distinguished families and stations, some to perish, and others to go into exile. Ye wished again to create tribunes of the commons ; ye created them. Although we saw manifest injustice to the nobles in electing men of your order to the consulship, yet have we beheld patrician ma-

gistracy, along with the rest, conceded to the commons. The tribunes' power of protecting the privilege of appeal to the people; the acts of the commons rendered binding on the patricians; our own rights subverted, under the pretext of equalizing the laws; all this we have endured, and still endure. Where, then, will be the end of our dissensions? Shall we never be allowed to have an united city and one common country? We, the party vanquished, sit down in quiet, with greater composure, than ye who have gained the victory. Do ye think it enough, that to us ye are objects of terror? The Aventine is taken from us; the sacred mount is seized. But when the Esquiline is almost in the hands of the enemy, no one appears in its defence. The Volscian foe scales your rampart, and not a man drives him back. Against us ye exert your courage, against us ye readily take arms.

LXVII. "Now then that ye have blockaded the senate-house, rendered the forum the seat of hostilities, and filled the prison with the principal citizens, show an equal degree of valour, and march out through the Esquiline gate; or, if ye have not courage for that, view from the walls your lands desolated with fire and sword, your own property carried off, and the burning houses smoking all around. But ye will say, it is the public interest that suffers by these means, by the country being wasted with fire, the city besieged, and the enemy enjoying the honour of the war. Be it so; but I will ask in what situation are your private affairs? Soon will you hear from the country accounts of your losses: and what means have ye, at home, of procuring a compensation for them? Will the tribunes bring back, will they restore what ye have lost? Words they will load you with, until ye are tired, and accusations against the principal citizens, and laws upon laws, and public meetings; but, from these, never did one of you return home with an increase of substance or fortune. Let me see any, who ever carried thence aught to his wife and children, except hatred, quarrels, animosities, public and private; from the ill effects of which, indeed, ye have always been screened, not however by your own merit and innocence, but by the protection of others. But I will affirm, that, when ye used to make your campaigns, under the command of consuls, not of tribunes, in the

camp, not in the forum; when your shout used to strike terror into the enemy in the field, not into the Roman nobles in an assembly; after enriching yourselves with plunder, taking possession of your adversaries' lands, and acquiring a plentiful stock of wealth and glory, both to the public and to yourselves; then, I say, ye returned home in triumph to your families; now, ye suffer these invaders to depart laden with your property. Continue immoveably tied to your assemblies, and live in the forum; still the necessity of fighting, which ye so studiously avoid, attends you. Was it too great a hardship to march out against the Æquans and Volscians? The war is at your gates. If not repelled from thence, it will shortly be within the walls. It will scale the citadel and the capitol, and will pursue you, even into your houses. A year ago, the senate ordered a levy to be made, and an army to be led into Algidum. Yet we sit at home in listless inactivity, delighted with the present interval of peace, scolding each other like women, and never perceiving, that, after that short suspension, wars double in number must return upon us. I know that I might find more agreeable topics to dwell upon; but even though my own disposition did not prompt to it, necessity compels me to speak what is true, instead of what is agreeable. I sincerely wish, Romans, to give you pleasure: but I feel wishes, much more ardent, to promote your safety, let your sentiments respecting me afterwards be what they may. It results from the nature of the human mind, that he who addresses the public with a view to his own particular benefit, is studious of rendering himself more generally agreeable than he who has no other object but the advantage of the public. But perhaps ye imagine that it is out of regard to your individual interests, that those public sycophants, those artful flatterers of the commons, who neither suffer you to carry arms, nor to live in peace, excite and stimulate your passions. When they have once raised you in a ferment, the consequence to them is, either honour or profit. And because they see that, while concord prevails between the orders of the state, they are of no consequence on any side, they wish to be leaders of a bad cause, rather than of none, of tumults even, and seditions. Which kind of proceedings, if ye can at length be prevailed on to renounce; and, if ye are willing, instead of these new



modes of acting, to resume those practised by your fathers, and formerly by yourselves, I am content to undergo any punishment, if I do not within a few days rout and disperse those ravagers of our country, drive them out of their camp, and transfer from our gates and walls, to their own cities, the whole terror of the war, which at present fills you with consternation."

LXIX. Scarcely ever was the speech of a popular tribune more acceptable to the commons, than was this of a consul remarkable for strictness. Even the young men who were accustomed to consider a refusal to enlist in such times of danger, as their most effectual weapon against the patricians, began to turn their thoughts towards war and arms. At the same time the inhabitants flying from the country, and several, who had been robbed there and wounded, relating facts still more shocking than what appeared to view, filled the entire city with a desire of vengeance. When the senate assembled, all men turned their eyes on Quintius, regarding him as the only champion for the majesty of Rome: and the principal senators declared, that "his discourse had been worthy of the consular command, worthy of his former administration in so many consulships, worthy of his whole life, which had been filled up with honours, often enjoyed and oftener merited. That other consuls either flattered the commons, so far as to betray the dignity of the senate, or through the harshness of their measures, in support of the rights of their order, exasperated the populace by their attempts to reduce them: but that Titus Quintius, beyond all others, had delivered sentiments suitable, at once, to the dignity of the senate, to the harmony which ought to subsist between the several orders, and to the juncture of the times: and they entreated him and his colleague to exert themselves in behalf of the commonwealth. The tribunes they entreated to unite cordially with the consuls in repelling the enemy from their walls, and to bring the commons to submit, at this perilous juncture, to the direction of the senate. Their common country, they told them, at that crisis, when the lands were laid waste, and the city besieged, called on them as tribunes, and implored their protection." With universal approbation, a levy of troops was decreed. The consuls gave public notice in assembly that "they could not now admit excuses, but that

all the young men must attend next day at the first light, in the field of Mars: that, when the war should be brought to a conclusion, they would appoint a time for considering such matters, and that he whose excuse was not satisfactory should be treated as a deserter." All the young men attended accordingly. The cohorts chose each its own centurions, and two senators were appointed to command each cohort. We are told, that all these measures were executed with such expedition, that the standards brought out from the treasury on that same day by the quæstors, and carried down to the field of Mars, began to move from thence at the fourth hour; and that this new-raised army, with a few cohorts of veterans who followed as volunteers, halted at the tenth stone. The following morning brought them within view of the enemy, and they pitched their camp close to theirs, near Corbio. On the third day they came to an engagement; the Romans being hurried on by desire of revenge, and the others by consciousness of guilt, and despair of pardon, after so many rebellions.

LXX. In the Roman army, although the two consuls were invested with equal powers, yet they adopted a measure exceedingly advantageous in all important exigencies. The supreme command was, with the consent of Agrippa, lodged in the hands of his colleague, who being thus raised to a superiority, made the politest return for the other's cheerful condescension to act in a subordinate capacity; making him a sharer in all his counsels and honours. In the line of battle Quintius commanded the right wing, Agrippa the left; the care of the centre they intrusted to Spurious Postumius Albus, lieutenant-general; and that of the cavalry to another lieutenant-general, Servius Sulpicius. The infantry, in the right wing, fought with extraordinary valour, and met with a stout resistance from the Volscians. Servius Sulpicius, with the cavalry, broke the centre of the enemy's line, and when he might have returned to his own station, he thought it more advisable to make an attack on the rear of the enemy, before they could recover from the disorder into which their ranks had been thrown. By his charge on their rear, the enemy, being assailed on both sides, must have been instantly dispersed, had not the cavalry of the Volscians and Æquans, throwing themselves in his way, given him employment for a considerable time, opposing him

with forces the same as his own. On this Sulpicius told his men, that there was no time to hesitate; and called out that they were surrounded and cut off from their friends, if they did not unite their most vigorous efforts, and rout the enemy's cavalry: nor was it enough to drive them off the ground, without disabling them; they must kill both horses and riders, lest any should return and renew the fight. The enemy, he said, were not able to withstand them, to whom a compact body of infantry had been obliged to give way. His orders were obeyed with alacrity. By one charge they routed the whole body of cavalry, dismounted vast numbers, and killed, with their javelins, both the men and horses. They met no farther obstruction from the cavalry. And now falling on the line of infantry, they despatched an account of their success to the consuls, before whom the enemy's line was beginning to give ground. The news gave fresh spirit to the Romans, to pursue their advantage; while it dismayed the Æquans, who were already wavering. Victory began to declare against them, first in the centre, where the charge of the cavalry had disordered their ranks: their left wing next began to retreat before the consul Quintius: the greatest struggle was made by their right: there Agrippa, full of the ardour inspired by youth and vigour, when he saw every part of the Roman line more successful than his own, snatched some of the ensigns from the standard-bearers, and carried them forward himself: some he even threw into the thick of the enemy; and the dread of the disgrace to which this might expose them, so animated the soldiers, that they instantly rushed on. This rendered the victory equally decisive in every quarter. At this juncture, a message was brought to him from Quintius, that he had defeated the enemy, and was ready to attack their camp; but did not choose to break into it, until he should understand that the battle was determined on the left wing also; and desiring that if he had completed the discomfiture there, he would march up his troops to join him, that the whole army might take possession of the prize. Agrippa, now victorious, met his victorious colleague with mutual congratulations; and, in conjunction with him, advanced to the enemy's camp; where, meeting very few to oppose them, and these being instantly routed, they forced their way through the fortifications without difficulty; and the

troops having here acquired an immense booty, besides recovering their own effects which had been lost in the plundering of the country, were then led home. I do not find, either that the consuls sued for a triumph, or that it was bestowed on them by the senate: neither is there any reason assigned why they either did not wish, or might not hope to obtain that honour. It might probably be, as far as I can conjecture at this distance of time, that as this mark of approbation had been refused by the senate to the consuls Valerius and Horatius, who, besides having vanquished the Volscians and Æquans, had acquired the glory of subduing the Sabines also, the consuls were ashamed to demand a triumph for services which amounted only to the half of theirs; lest, even if they should obtain it, there might be room to imagine that the compliment was paid to the versions rather than to their deserts.

LXXI. This honourable victory obtained over their enemies, the people disgraced at home, by a scandalous decision of a dispute concerning the boundaries of their allies. The people of Aricia, and those of Ardea, had often contended in arms the right of property to a certain district of land, and, wearied by many losses on both sides, referred the affair to the arbitration of the Roman people. Both parties attended to support their claims, and an assembly was held by the magistrates at their request. Here the matter was debated with great vehemence; and after the witnesses had been produced, when the tribes ought to have been called, and the assembled proceed to give their suffrages, there arose one Publius Scaptius, a plebeian, a very old man, who said, "Consuls, if I may be permitted to speak on a matter which concerns the interest of the commonwealth, I will not suffer the people to proceed in a mistake, with respect to this affair." The consuls saying, that he was not worthy of attention, and should not be heard, he exclaimed, that the cause of the public was betrayed; and on their ordering him to be removed, called on the tribunes for protection. The tribunes, who in almost every case are rather ruled by, than rule the multitude, to gratify the populace, gave liberty to Scaptius to say what he pleased. He then began with informing them, that "he was in his eighty-third year, that he had served as a soldier in the very district in dispute, and was not young even then, that being his twentieth campaign,



when the operations against Corioli were carried on. He could, therefore, speak with knowledge of an affair, which, though after such a length of time it was generally forgotten, was deeply fixed in his memory. The lands in dispute, he said, had belonged to the territory of Corioli, and when Corioli was taken, became, by the right of war, the property of the Roman people. He wondered by what precedent the Ardeans and Aricians could justify their expectations, of surreptitiously wresting from the Roman state, by making it an arbiter, instead of proprietor, its right to a tract, to which, while the state of Corioli subsisted, they had never advanced any kind of claim. For his part, he had but a short time to live; yet he could not prevail on himself, old as he was, to decline asserting by his voice, the only means then in his power, a title to those lands, which, by his vigorous exertions as a soldier, he had contributed to acquire: and he warmly recommended it to the people, not to be led by improper notions of delicacy, to pass a sentence subversive of their own rights."

LXXII. The consuls, when they perceived that Scaptius was heard, not only with silence, but with approbation, appealed to gods and men against the infamy of the proceeding; and, sending for the principal senators, went round with them to the tribes, beseeching them "not to be guilty of a crime of the worst kind, which would afford a precedent still more pernicious, by converting to their own use a matter in dispute, whereon they were to decide as judges. Especially when, as the case stood, although it were allowable for a judge to show regard to his own emolument, yet the utmost advantage that could accrue from the seizure of

the lands, would by no means counterbalance the loss which they must sustain in the alienation of the affections of the allies, by such an act of injustice: for the loss of reputation and the esteem of mankind are of importance beyond what can be estimated. Must the deputies carry home this account? Must this be made known to the world? Must the allies, must the enemy hear this? What grief would it give to the former, what joy to the latter! Did they imagine, that the neighbouring states would impute this proceeding to Scaptius, an old babbler in the assemblies? This indeed would serve, instead of a statue, to dignify the Scaptian name; but the Roman people would incur the imputation of corrupt chicanery and fraudulent usurpation of the claims of others. For what judge, in a cause between private persons, ever acted in this manner, adjudging to himself the property in dispute? Surely, even Scaptius himself, dead as he was to all sense of shame, would not act in such a manner." Thus the consuls, thus the senators exclaimed; but covetousness, and Scaptius, the instigator of that covetousness, had greater influence. The tribes being called, gave their judgment, that the land in question was the property of the Roman people. It is not denied, that it might with justice have been so determined, had the matter been tried before other judges: but, as the affair was circumstanced, the infamy of their determination was in no degree lessened by the equity of their title; nor did it appear to the Aricians and Ardeans themselves in blacker or more hideous colours than it did to the Roman senate. The remainder of the year passed without any commotion either at home or abroad.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK IV.

A law, permitting the intermarriage of plebeians with patricians, carried, after a violent struggle and strong opposition on the part of the patricians. Military tribunes, with consular power created. Censors created. The lands which were taken from the people of Ardea, by an unjust determination of the Roman people, restored. Spurius Maelius, aiming at regal power, slain by Caius Servilius Ahala. Cornelius Cossus, having killed Tolumnius, King of the Veintians, offers the second *opina spolia*. The duration of the censorship limited to a year and a half. Fidenæ reduced, and a colony settled there. The colonists murdered by the Fidenatians, who are reconquered by Mamercus Æmilius, dictator. A conspiracy of slaves suppressed. Postumius, a military tribune, slain by the army, exasperated by his cruelties. Pay first given to the soldiers out of the public treasury. Military operations against the Volscians, Fidenatians, and Faliscians.

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I. THE next who succeeded in the consulship were Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius, whose year was disturbed by commotions, both at home and abroad. [Y. R. 310. B. C. 442.] For, in the beginning of it, Caius Canuleius, a tribune of the people, proposed a law, for allowing the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, which the former considered as tending to contaminate their blood, and to confound all the distinctions and privileges of noble birth. Some hints, too, suggested by the tribunes, that liberty ought to be granted of choosing one of the consuls from among the commons, were afterwards improved, to such a degree, that the other nine tribunes proposed a law, that the people should have power of electing consuls, either from among the commons or the patricians, as they should think fit. The patricians were of opinion, that if this took place, the supreme authority would not only be shared with the very lowest ranks, but perhaps be entirely removed out of the hands of the nobility into those of the plebeians. With great joy, therefore, they received intelligence, that the people of Ardea, in resentment of the injustice of the sentence which had deprived them of their land, had revolted; that the Veintians were laying waste the Roman frontiers, and that the Volscians and Æquans

expressed great discontent on account of the fortifying of Verrugo, preferring even a war, which promised not success, to an ignominious peace. These tidings being brought, with exaggerations, the senate, in order to silence the intrigues of the tribunes during the bustle of so many wars, ordered a levy to be held, and preparations for hostilities to be made with the utmost diligence, even with more despatch, if possible, than had been used in the consulate of Titus Quintius. On which Caius Canuleius declared aloud in the senate, that "the consuls would in vain think of diverting the attention of the commons from the new laws, by holding out objects of terror to their view; and that, while he was alive, they should never hold a levy, until the people had first ratified the laws proposed by him and his colleagues;" and then he instantly called an assembly.

II. Whilst the consuls were employed in rousing the indignation of the senate against the tribune, the tribune was as busy in exciting the people against the consuls. The latter asserted that "the outrageous proceedings of the tribunes could not be any longer endured: that matters were now come to a crisis, there being more dangerous hostilities excited at home than abroad: that for this the commons were not more to be blamed than the senate, nor the tri-



bunes more than the consuls. In any state, whatever practices meet with rewards, these are always pursued to the greatest degree of proficiency, and these are the incitements which call forth merit, both in peace and war. Now, at Rome, there was nothing so highly rewarded as sedition; this was in every instance attended with honours both to individuals and to collective bodies. They ought therefore carefully to consider in what condition they had received the majesty of the senate from their fathers, and in what condition they were likely to hand it down to their children; whether they could make the same boast which the commons might, with respect to their privileges, that it was improved both in degree and in splendour. No end appeared of these proceedings, nor would, so long as the fomenters of sedition were rewarded with honours in proportion to the success of their projects. What were the new and important schemes which Caius Canuleius had set on foot? No less than the prostitution of the privileges of nobility, and the confounding the rights of auspices, both public and private; that nothing might be left pure and unpolluted; and that, every distinction being removed, no person might know what himself was, nor to what order he belonged. For what other tendency had such promiscuous intermarriages, than to produce an irregular intercourse between patricians and plebeians, not very different from that between brutes? So that, of their offspring, not one should be able to tell of what blood he was, or in what mode he was to worship the gods, being in himself a heterogeneous composition, half patrician and half plebeian? And, not content with the confusion which this would create in every affair, divine and human, those incendiaries, the tribunes, were now preparing to invade the consulship itself. At first they had ventured no farther than to sound people's sentiments in conversation on a plan of one of the consuls being elected from among the commons; now, they publicly proposed a law, that the people might appoint consuls, either from among the patricians, or from among the plebeians, as they should think fit; and there could be no doubt that they would appoint from among the commons the most seditious that could be found. The Canuleii and Icilius therefore would be consuls. But might Jupiter supremely good and great forbid, that the imperial majesty of the sovereign power should sink so low as that, and for their part they

would rather die a thousand deaths, than suffer such disgrace to be incurred. They were confident, that could their ancestors have foreseen, that, in consequence of unlimited concessions, the commons, instead of showing a better temper towards them, would become more intractable, and, as fast as they obtained their demands, would advance others more unreasonable and exorbitant, they would have struggled at first with any difficulties whatever, rather than have allowed such terms to be imposed on them. Because a concession was then made to them with respect to tribunes, it was for the same reason made a second time. This would be the case for ever. Tribunes of the commons, and a senate, could not subsist together, in the same state; either the office of the former, or the order of the latter, must be abolished, and it was better late than never, to endeavour to put a stop to presumption and temerity. Must they with impunity, after they have, by sowing discord, encouraged the neighbouring nations to attack us, prevent the state afterwards from arming and defending itself against the attack which they have brought on it? and, when they had done every thing but send an invitation to the enemy, prevent troops from being enlisted to oppose that enemy? But Canuleius has had the audacity to declare openly in the senate, that he would hinder the making of the levy, unless the senate, acknowledging in a manner his superiority, allowed his laws to be enacted. What else was this, than to threaten that he would betray his country; that he would suffer it to be attacked, and to fall into the enemy's hands? What courage must that declaration afford, not to the Roman commons, but to the Volscians, to the Æquans, and Veientians? Might not these hope, that, under the guidance of Canuleius, they would be able to scale the capitol and the citadel; might they not hope this, if the tribunes, while they stripped the patricians of their privileges and their dignity, robbed them also of their courage?" The consuls concluded by saying, that they were ready to act as their leaders, first against the wicked practices of their countrymen; and afterwards, against the arms of their enemies.

III. At the very time while such arguments as these were urged in the senate, Canuleius was employed in declaiming in favour of his laws, and against the consuls, in the following manner: "Roman citizens! In many former instances I have seen enough to convince me in

what degree of contempt the patricians hold you, how unworthy they esteem you to live in the same city, within the same walls with them. But this is now more clearly than ever demonstrated by their outrageous opposition to those propositions of ours. And this, for what? unless for reminding them thereby that we are members of the same community with themselves; and that, though we possess not the same degree of power, we are yet inhabitants of the same country. By the one, we require the liberty of intermarrying with them, a liberty usually granted to people of the neighbouring states, and to foreigners: for we have admitted even vanquished enemies to the right of citizenship, which is of more importance than that of intermarriage. By the other, we offer no innovation, we only reclaim and enforce an inherent right; that the Roman people should commit the high offices of the state to such persons as they think proper. And what is there in this, that can justify the patricians in thus disturbing heaven and earth? Their treatment of me just now, in the senate, very little short of personal violence? Their open declarations that they will have recourse to force, and their threatening to insult an office which has been held sacred and inviolable? Can the city no longer subsist, if the Roman people are allowed to give their suffrages with freedom, and to intrust the consulship to such persons as they may approve; or must the downfall of the empire ensue, if a plebeian, how worthy soever of the highest station, is not precluded from every hope of attaining to it? And does the question, whether a commoner may be elected consul, carry the same import, as if a person spoke of a slave, or the issue of a slave, for the consulship? Do ye not perceive, do ye not feel, in what a despicable view ye are considered? Were it in their power, they would hinder you from sharing even the light of the sun. That ye breathe, that ye enjoy the faculty of speech, that ye wear the human shape, are subjects of mortification to them. But then, they tell you, that truly it is contrary to the rules of religion that a plebeian should be made consul. For heaven's sake, though we are not admitted to inspect the records,<sup>1</sup> or the annals<sup>2</sup> of the pon-

tiffs, are we ignorant of the things which even every foreigner knows? That consuls were substituted in the place of kings; and consequently have no kind of privilege or dignity which was not possessed before by kings? Do ye suppose that we never heard it mentioned, that Numa Pompilius, not only no patrician, but not even a citizen of Rome, was invited hither from the country of the Sabines, and made sovereign at Rome, by the order of the people, and with the approbation of the senate? That Lucius Tarquinius, of a race which, so far from being Roman, was not even Italian, the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, having come hither a stranger from Tarquini, was raised to the like high station, though the sons of Ancus were alive? That after him Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman of Corniculum, his father not known, and his mother in servitude, obtained the crown, through his abilities and merit? Need I speak of Titus Tatius, the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder of the city, admitted into partnership in the throne? The consequence was, that while no objection was made to any family, in which conspicuous merit appeared, the Roman empire continually increased. It well becomes you to show disgust, now, at a plebeian consul; though our ancestors disdained not to call foreigners to the throne, nor even after the expulsion of the kings, ever shut the gates of the city against foreign merit. It is well known, that we since admitted the Claudian family from among the Sabines, not only into the number of citizens, but even into that of the patricians. May a person, then, from a foreigner, become a patrician, and in consequence, consul; and shall a citizen of Rome, if he be a commoner, be cut off from every hope of the consulship? Is it deemed impossible that a plebeian can be a man of fortitude and activity, qualified to excel in peace and war, like Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius? Or, should such appear, shall we still prohibit him from meddling with the helm of government? In a word, shall we choose to have consuls rather resembling the decemvirs, the most profligate of mankind, who in their time were all patricians, than like the best of the kings, who were new men?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The records, in which the names of the magistrates, in succession, and the most memorable events, were recorded.

<sup>2</sup> The annals were a compendious registry of events, as they occurred, made by the pontiffs, who likewise  
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had the care of the records, and kept both carefully shut up from the inspection of the lower order.

<sup>3</sup> The first in a family who attained any of the curule offices, that is, any of the superior magistracies, was called *novus homo*, a new man.



IV. "But it is argued, that since the expulsion of the kings, there has been no instance of a plebeian consul. What then? Is no new institution ever to be known? Must every measure not heretofore practised, (and in a new state there must be many measures not yet introduced into practice,) be therefore rejected, even though it should be evidently advantageous? In the reign of Romulus, there were neither pontiffs nor augurs; Numa Pompilius introduced them. There was no such thing in the state as a general survey, and distribution of the centuries and classes, until instituted by Servius Tullius: There was a time when there never had been consuls; on the expulsion of the kings they were created. Of a dictator neither the office nor name had existed; in the time of our fathers it was introduced. There had never been tribunes of the commons, ædiles or quæstors; and yet it was resolved that those offices should be created. The office of decemvirs for compiling laws, we ourselves have within the last ten years both created and abolished. Who is not convinced that in a city, founded for eternal duration, and growing up to an immense magnitude, many new offices, both civil and religious, many new rights, both of families and individuals, must necessarily be instituted. This very rule, prohibiting the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, was it not enacted by the decemvirs within these few years, with the utmost injustice towards the plebeians, on a principle highly detrimental to the public? Can there be any insult greater or more flagrant, than that one half of the state, as if it were contaminated, should be held unworthy of intermarrying with the other? What else is this than, within the same walls, to suffer all the evils of rustication or of exile? They are anxious to prevent our being united to them by any affinity or consanguinity; to prevent our blood from being mingled with theirs. What! If this would be a stain on that nobility, which the greater number of you, the progeny of Albans and Sabines, possess, not in right of birth or of blood, but of cooptation into the body of the patrician; having been elected, either by the kings, or after their expulsion, by order of the people, could ye not preserve its purity by regulations among yourselves? By neither taking plebeian wives, nor suffering your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patrician line? No plebeian will offer violence to a noble maiden; such outrageous lust is to be found

only among nobles. None of them would compel any man against his will to enter into a marriage-contract. But it is the prohibition of it by a law, the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians being interdicted; this is what the commons must consider as an insult. Why do ye not procure a law to be passed, that the rich shall not marry with the poor? A matter which in all countries has been left to the regulation of people's own prudence; that each woman should marry into whatever family she has been betrothed to; and each man take a wife from whatever family he had contracted with; this ye shackle with the restraints of a most tyrannical law, whereby ye tear asunder the bands of civil society, and split one state into two. Why do ye not enact, that a plebeian shall not dwell in the neighbourhood of a patrician? That he shall not travel on the same road? That he shall not appear at the same entertainment? That he shall not stand in the same forum? For what more material consequence can in reality ensue, should a patrician wed a plebeian woman, or a plebeian a patrician woman? What alteration is thereby made in the rights of any person? Surely the children follow the condition of the father. So that neither have we any advantage in view, from intermarriage with you, except that of being considered on the footing of human beings, and of fellow-citizens; nor is there any reason for contesting the point, unless ye feel pleasure in labouring to subject us to scorn and insult.

V. "In fine, let me ask you, whether is the supreme power vested in the Roman people, or in you? Was the expulsion of the kings intended to procure absolute dominion to yourselves, or equal freedom to all? Is it fitting that the Roman people should have the power of enacting such laws as they choose? or whenever any matter of the kind has been proposed to their consideration, shall ye, by way of punishment, pass a decree for a levy of troops? And as soon as, in capacity of tribune, I shall begin to call the tribes to give their suffrages, will you, in the office of consul, compel the younger citizens to take the military oath, and lead them out to camp? Will you menace the commons? Will you menace their tribune? As if ye had not already experienced, on two several occasions, how little such menaces avail against the united sense of the people. I suppose it was out of regard to our interests, that ye did not proceed

to force ; or was the avoiding of extremities owing to this, that the party which possessed the greater share of strength, possessed also a greater degree of moderation ? Romans, there will now be no occasion for force. Those men will on every occasion make trial of your patriot spirit : your strength at home they will never try. Wherefore, consuls, to those wars, whether real or fictitious, the commons are ready to attend you, provided that by restoring the right of intermarriage, ye at length unite the state into one body ; provided they are allowed to coalesce, to intermix with you by the ties of relationship ; provided the road to honours shall be laid open to men of industry and abilities ; provided, in short, they are allowed to stand on the footing of partners and associates in the commonwealth ; and, what is the natural result of equal freedom, be admitted in the rotation of annual magistracies, to obey and to command in turn. If any shall obstruct these measures, harangue about wars, and multiply them by reports, not a man will give in his name ; not a man will take arms ; not a man will fight for haughty masters, by whom he is excluded as an alien, both from the participation of public honours, and the private connections of marriage."

VI. The consuls then came into the assembly, and, after a long series of harangues on the subject, an altercation arising, and the tribune asking, " for what reason was it improper that a plebeian should be made consul ? " one of them answered, though perhaps with truth, yet unluckily, with regard to the present dispute, " Because no plebeian had the right or power of taking the auspices ; and, for that reason the decemvirs had prohibited intermarriage, lest, from the uncertainty of men's descent, the auspices might be vitiated." This, above all, kindled the indignation of the commons into a flame ; they heard it affirmed that they were not qualified to take auspices, as if they were objects of the aversion of the immortal gods. So that the contest grew high, the commons being headed by a tribune of undaunted resolution, and themselves vying with him in steadiness, until the senate were at length overpowered, and gave their consent to the passing of the law concerning intermarriage ; judging, that the tribunes might most probably be thereby induced, either to lay aside entirely, or to defer until the end of the war, the struggle for plebeian consuls ; and that, in the meantime, the

commons, satisfied with having obtained the right in question, would be ready to enlist. On the other hand, the high degree of credit which Canuleius had attained by his victory over the senate, and the favour of the commons, proved a strong incentive to the other tribunes to exert their utmost efforts in support of the law, which they had proposed in regard to the consulship ; and whilst the accounts of the enemy's proceedings grew every day more alarming, they obstructed the enlisting of troops. The consuls, finding, that, by the continual protests of the tribunes, every proceeding of the senate was rendered abortive, held consultations at their houses with the principal patricians. Here, they saw their dilemma : they must be vanquished, either by their enemies, or by their countrymen. The only consulars who were present at their deliberations were Valerius and Horatius. Caius Claudius gave his opinion, that the consuls should proceed against the tribunes by force of arms. The Quintii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, declared themselves averse from the shedding of blood, and of offering violence to those officers, whom, by the treaty concluded with the commons, they had acknowledged as sacred and inviolable. The result of these consultations was, that they should allow military tribunes, with consular power, to be elected out of the patricians and plebeians without distinction ; and that, with respect to the election of consuls, no change should be made ; and with this the tribunes were satisfied, and the commons also. An assembly was now proclaimed for the election of three tribunes with consular power ; and, as soon as this proclamation was issued, immediately every one, who had, either by word or deed, been a promoter of the sedition, particularly those who had held the office of tribune, began to solicit votes, and to bustle through the forum as candidates ; so that the patricians were deterred, first, in despair of attaining that dignity, while the minds of the commons were in such a ferment ; and afterwards, from making their appearance, from the indignation which they felt at the thoughts of holding the office in conjunction with such colleagues. At last, however, overcome by the pressing instances of the leading patricians, some of them declared themselves candidates, lest they might seem to have voluntarily surrendered the administration of public affairs. The issue of that election afforded a proof, that men's sentiments during the heat of the con-



test for liberty and dignity, are very different from those which they feel after the contest has been ended, and when the judgment is unbiased. For the advocates for the plebeians, satisfied with the admission of their right to stand candidates, elected every one of the tribunes from among the patricians. Never was there found, even in a single individual, such moderation, disinterestedness, and elevation of mind, as was displayed on that occasion by the whole body of the people.

VII. In the year three hundred and ten from the foundation of the city of Rome, for the first time, military tribunes in the room of consuls entered into office. [Y. R. 311. B. C. 441.] These were Aulus Sempronius Arratinus, Lucius Atilius, and Titus Cæcilius; and, during their continuance in office, concord prevailing at home, produced likewise peace abroad. There are some writers, who, without mentioning the proposal of the law concerning the election of plebeian consuls, affirm, that on account of a war breaking out with the Veientians, in addition to those with the Æquans and Volscians, and the revolt of the Ardeans, two consuls being unequal to the task of conducting so many wars at once, three military tribunes were created, and vested both with the authority and the badges of consuls. However, the establishment of this office did not, at that time, remain on a permanent footing; for in the third month from its commencement they resigned their dignity, in pursuance of a decree of the augurs, alleging a defect in the election, Caius Curtius, who had presided on that occasion, not having performed the requisite ceremonies in marking out the ground for his tent. Ambassadors came to Rome from Ardea, complaining of the injustice done to them, and at the same time professing an intention of remaining in amity, and adhering to the treaty, provided that, by the restoration of their lands, that injustice were redressed. The senate answered, that "they could not rescind the sentence of the people, were there no other reason than the preservation of concord between the orders in the state; but, besides, such a measure was not justified either by law or precedent. If the Ardeans would be content to wait until a seasonable conjuncture, and leave it entirely to the senate to find a remedy for the injury offered them, they would have reason afterwards to rejoice for having moderated their resentment, and should be convinced

that the senate had ever been sincerely disposed to prevent any harm being done to them; and also that they were not less so to hear that which they now complained of." On which the ambassadors declaring, that they would take the sense of their countrymen anew, before they formed any resolution, they were dismissed with expressions of friendship. The commonwealth being now without any curule magistrate, the patricians assembled and created an interrex, and the interregnum was prolonged for a great many days, by a contention whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed. The interrex and the senate warmly promoted the election of consuls; the plebeian tribunes and the commons, the election of military tribunes. The patricians at length prevailed; for the commons, who had no intention of conferring either the one office or the other on any but patricians, desisted from their fruitless opposition: and besides, the leaders of the commons were better pleased with an election where they were not to appear as candidates, than with one where they would be passed over as unworthy. The plebeian tribunes wished also that their declining to press the dispute to a decision should be considered as a compliment to the patricians. Titus Quintius Barbatus, the interrex, elected consuls Lucius Papirius Mugilanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. In their consulate, the treaty with the Ardeans was renewed; and this serves as a record to prove, that they were actually consuls in that year, though they are not to be found, either in the old annals, or in the books of the magistrates, by reason, as I imagine, that in the beginning of the year there were military tribunes, and therefore though these consuls were afterwards substituted in their room, yet the names of the consuls were omitted, as if the others had continued in office through the whole of the appointed time. Licinius Macer affirms, that they were found both in the Ardean treaty, and in the linen books in the temple of Moneta. Tranquillity prevailed, not only at home but abroad, notwithstanding so many alarms given by the neighbouring states.

VIII. Whether this year [Y. R. 312. B. C. 440.] had tribunes only, or consuls substituted in their room, is uncertain, but the succeeding one undoubtedly had consuls; Marcus Geganius Macerinus a second time, and Titus Quintius Capitolinus a fifth time, being

invested with that honour. This same year produced the first institution of the censorship; an office which sprung from an inconsiderable origin, but grew up afterwards to such a height of importance, that it became possessed of the entire regulation of the morals and discipline of the Roman people. The senate, the centuries of the knights, and the distribution of honour and ignominy, were all under the supreme jurisdiction of these magistrates. The discrimination of public from private property in lands or houses, and the entire revenue of the Roman people, were finally adjusted by their sovereign decision. What gave rise to the institution was, that as the people had not, for many years past, undergone a survey, the census could neither be longer deferred, nor could the consuls find leisure to perform it, while they were threatened with war by so many different states. An observation was made in the senate, that a business, so laborious and ill-suited to the office of consul, would require officers to be appointed for that particular purpose, to whose management should be committed the business of the public secretaries, the superintendence and custody of the records, and the adjustment of the form of proceeding in the census. This proposal, though deemed of little consequence, yet, as it tended to increase the number of patrician magistrates in the commonwealth, the senate, on their part, received with great pleasure; foreseeing also, I suppose, what really happened, that the influence of those who should be raised to that post, would derive additional authority and dignity on the office itself. And, on the other side, the tribunes, looking on the employment rather as necessary, which was the case at the time, than as attended with any extraordinary lustre, did not choose to oppose it, lest they should seem, through perverseness, to carry on their opposition even in trifles. The leading men in the state showing a dislike of the office, the people by their suffrages conferred the employment of performing the census on Papirius and Sempronius, the persons whose consulate is doubted, in order to recompense them, by that office, for having enjoyed the consulship only for a part of the usual period. From the business of their office they were called censors.

IX. During these transactions at Rome, ambassadors came from Ardea, imploring, in regard of the alliance subsisting between them from the earliest times, and of the treaty lately

renewed, relief for their city, now on the brink of ruin. The peace with Rome, which they had, by the soundest policy, preserved, they were prevented from enjoying by intestine war, the cause and origin of which is said to have arisen from a struggle between factions, which have proved, and will ever continue to prove, a more deadly cause of downfall to most states, than either foreign wars, or famine, or pestilence, or any other of those evils which men are apt to consider as the severest of public calamities, and the effects of the divine vengeance. Two young men courted a maiden of a plebeian family, highly distinguished for beauty: one of them on a level with the maid, in point of birth, and favoured by her guardians, who were themselves of the same rank; the other of noble birth, captivated merely by her beauty. The pretensions of the latter were supported by the interest of the nobles, which proved the means of introducing party disputes into the damsel's family; for the nobleman's wishes were seconded by her mother, who was ambitious of securing the more splendid match for her daughter; while the guardians, actuated even in a matter of that sort by a spirit of party, exerted themselves in favour of the person of their own order. Not being able to come to any conclusion on the point in domestic conferences, they had recourse to a court of justice, where the magistrates having heard the claims of the mother and of the guardians, decreed, that she should marry according to the direction of her parent: but this was prevented by violence; for the guardians, after haranguing openly in the forum, among people of their own faction, on the iniquity of the decree, collected a party in arms, and forcibly carried off the maiden from her mother's house: while the nobles, more highly incensed against them than ever, united in a body, and in military array followed their young friend, who was rendered furious by this outrage. A desperate battle was fought, in which the commons were worsted: and being incapable of imitating, in any particular, those of Rome, they marched out of the city, seized on a neighbouring hill, and from thence made excursions with fire and sword on the lands of the nobles. Even the city itself, which had hitherto escaped the effects of their dispute, they prepared to besiege, having by the hopes of plunder, allured a great number of the artisans to come out and join them: nor is there any shocking form or



calamity of war which was not experienced on the occasion, as if the whole state were infected with the mad rage of two youths, who sought the accomplishment of that fatal match through the means of their country's ruin. Both parties thinking that they had not enough of hostilities among themselves, the nobles called upon the Romans to relieve their city from a siege; while the commons besought the Volscians to join them in the storming of Ardea. The Volscians, under the command of Cluilius an Æquan, arrived first at Ardea, and drew a line of circumvallation round the enemy's walls. An account of this being conveyed to Rome, Marcus Geganius, consul, instantly set out with an army, chose ground for his camp, at the distance of three miles from the enemy; and, as the day was now far spent, ordered his men to refresh themselves: then, at the fourth watch, he put his troops in motion. They were soon set to work, and made such expedition, that at sun-rise the Volscians saw themselves inclosed by the Romans with stronger works than those with which they had surrounded the city. The consul had, also, on one side, drawn a line across, to the wall of Ardea, to open a communication with his friends in the city.

X. The general of the Volscians, who had hitherto maintained his troops, not out of magazines provided for the purpose, but by corn brought in daily from the plunder of the country, finding himself cut off at once from every resource, by being shut up within the enemy's lines, requested a conference with the consul, and told him, that "if the intention of the Romans in coming thither was to raise the siege, he was willing to withdraw the troops of the Volscians from the place." To this the consul answered, that it was the part of the vanquished to receive terms, not to dictate them; and that the Volscians should not have the making of their conditions for departure, as they had come to attack the allies of the Roman people." He insisted, that "they should deliver up their general into his hands, lay down their arms, and acknowledging themselves vanquished, submit to his farther orders;" declaring, that if these terms were not complied with, whether they remained there or retired, he would proceed against them as a determined enemy; and would be better pleased to carry home a victory over the Volscians, than an insidious peace." The Volscians, resolving to make trial of the small remains of hope,

which they could place in their arms, as they were utterly destitute of every other, came to an engagement; in which, besides other disadvantages, the ground rendered it difficult for them to fight, and still more so to retreat. When, finding themselves repulsed on all sides with much slaughter, from fighting they had recourse to entreaties; and, having delivered up their general, and surrendered their arms, they were sent under the yoke, each with a single garment, loaded with ignominy and sufferings; and, having afterwards halted near the city of Tusculum, the inhabitants of that city out of the inveterate hatred which they bore them, attacked them unarmed as they were, and executed severe vengeance on them; leaving scarcely any to carry home the news of their defeat. The Roman general re-established tranquillity in the affairs of Ardea, which had been thrown into great confusion by the sedition, beheading the principal authors of the disturbances, and confiscating their effects to the public treasury. These now considered the injustice of the former sentence against them, as sufficiently repaired by such an important act of kindness: the senate, however, were of opinion that something still remained to be done, to obliterate, if possible, all remembrance of the Roman people's avarice. The consul returned into the city in triumph, Cluilius, the general of the Volscians, being led before his chariot, and the spoils borne before him, of which he had stripped the enemy when he disarmed and sent them under the yoke. The other consul Quintius had the singular felicity of acquiring by his administration in the civil department, a share of glory equal to what his colleague had acquired by his military achievements; for so steadily did he direct his endeavours for the preservation of internal peace and harmony, dispensing justice tempered with moderation, equally to the highest and the lowest, that while the patricians approved of his strictness in the execution of his office, the commons were highly satisfied with his lenity. Even against the schemes of the tribunes, he carried his measures more by means of the respect universally paid to him, than by exertions of authority. Five consulships administered with the same tenor of conduct, and every part of his life being suited to the consular dignity, attracted to his person almost a greater degree of veneration than was paid even to the high office which he

bore. There was therefore no mention of military tribunes in this consulate.

XI. There were chosen, [Y. R. 313. B. C. 439.] to succeed them, Marcus Fabius Vebulanus and Postumius Æbutius Cornicen. These consuls were emulous of the high renown which they observed their predecessors had attained by their services at home and abroad, that year having been rendered very remarkable among all the neighbouring states, both friends and enemies, by the very zealous support afforded to the Ardeans in their extreme distress. They exerted themselves then the more earnestly, with the view of erasing entirely from the minds of men the infamy of the former sentence of the people in respect of the appropriation of the lands: and sought to procure a decree of the senate, that whereas the Ardeans had by intestine war been reduced to an inconsiderable number, therefore a colony should be conducted thither, to serve as a barrier against the Volscians. These were the expressions made use of in the tables exhibited to public view, in order to conceal from the tribunes and commons the design which they formed of rescinding the sentence. But they had agreed among themselves, to enrol for the colony a much greater number of Rutulians than of Romans; and then, that no other land should be distributed, but that which had been fraudulently obtained by the infamous sentence of the people; and that not a sod of it should be assigned to any Roman until every one of the Rutulians should have received his share: by these means the land returned to the Ardeans. The commissioners appointed to conduct the colony to Ardea, were Agrippa Menenius, Titus Clælius Siculus, and Marcus Æbutius Elva; who, in the execution of their very unpopular employment, having given offence to the commons, by assigning to the allies that land which the Roman people had by their sentence pronounced to be their own, and not being much favoured even by the principal patricians, because they had shown no difference to the influence of any of them, were by the tribunes cited before the people, to answer a charge of misconduct; but they evaded all vexatious attacks, by enrolling themselves as settlers, and remaining in that colony, which would ever bear testimony to their justice and integrity.

XII. Tranquillity continued at home and abroad during both this and the following year,

in which Caius Furius Pacilus, and Marcus Papilius Crassus, were consuls. [Y. R. 314. B. C. 438.] The games vowed by the decemvirs in pursuance of a decree of the senate, on occasion of the secession of the commons from the patricians, were this year performed. An occasion of sedition was sought in vain by Petilius; who, though he was elected tribune of the commons a second time, merely out of people's reliance on the strength of his declaration, which was, that the consuls should propose to the senate a distribution of lands to be made to the commons; yet he was neither able to carry this point, nor when, after a great struggle, he had prevailed so far as that the senate should be consulted, whether it was their pleasure that consuls should be elected, or tribunes, could he prevent an order for the election of consuls; and the tribune made himself still more ridiculous by threatening to hinder a levy of troops, at a time when, all their neighbours remaining in quiet, there was no occasion either for war or any preparation for it: This tranquillity was succeeded by a busy year, [Y. R. 315. B. C. 437.] wherein Proculus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Menenius Lanatus were consuls; a year remarkable for a variety of dangers and disasters; for seditions, for famine, and for the people having almost bowed their necks to the yoke of arbitrary government, seduced by allurements of largesses. One calamity they were exempt from, foreign war: had this aggravation been added to their condition, the aid of all the gods could scarcely have preserved them. Their misfortune began with a famine; whether owing to the season being unfavourable to the productions of the earth; or, from more attention being paid to the pleasures of the city and the assemblies than to agriculture: for both causes are mentioned. The patricians laid the blame on the idleness of the commons: the tribunes sometimes on the evil designs, sometimes on the negligence of the consuls. At length the plebeians prevailed, the senate giving no opposition, that Lucius Minucius should be created president of the market, who proved, in the course of that employment, more successful in guarding the public liberty, than in the immediate business of his own department; although in the end, he obtained the honour of having relieved the people in regard to the scarcity, and also their gratitude for that important service. He first proceeded as follows: finding little addition to



the markets from several embassies which he sent, by land and sea, to all the neighbouring nations, except that some corn was brought, though in no great quantity, from Etruria, he had recourse to the expedient of dealing out, in shares, the scanty stock of provisions, at the same time compelling all to discover their stores of corn, and to sell whatever they had beyond a month's allowance. He took from the slaves one-half of their daily portion of food; passed censures on the hoarders of corn, and exposed them to the rage of the people. So strict a scrutiny, however, served rather to make known the greatness of the scarcity, than to remedy it; so that many of the commons abandoning themselves to despair, rather than drag on their lives in torment, covered their heads, and threw themselves into the Tiber.

XIII. While things were in this situation, Spurius Mælius, a man of equestrian rank, and possessed of extraordinary wealth for those times, engaged in a plan, which, though useful for the present, was pernicious in its tendency; and was in fact suggested by designs still more pernicious: for having by means of his connections and dependents bought in a quantity of corn from Etruria (which very proceeding, I suppose, obstructed the endeavours of the magistrates to lower the price of provisions), he began the practice of bestowing largesses of corn; and, having gained the hearts of the commons by this munificence, became the object of general attention. Assuming thence a degree of consequence, beyond what belonged to a private citizen, wherever he went he drew them after him in crowds; and they, by the favour which they expressed towards him, encouraged him to look up to the consulship with a certain prospect of success. As men's desires are never satiated, while fortune gives room to hope for more, he began to aim at higher and less justifiable objects. And since even the consulship must be obtained by violent efforts, in opposition to the inclinations of the patricians, and be, at the same time, a contest attended with such difficulties as would cost infinite labour to surmount, he directed his views to regal power. The election of consuls drew nigh; and the circumstance of its coming on before his schemes were sufficiently digested, and ripe for execution, was the cause of their being entirely disconcerted. To the consulship was elected, Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, a sixth time, a man not at all calculated to encourage

the views of one who aimed at innovations: his colleague was Agrippa Menenius, surnamed Lanatus. [Y. R. 316. B. C. 436.] Minucius, too, was either re-elected president of the market, or was originally appointed for an unlimited term, as long as occasion should require; for there is nothing certain on this head, only that his name, as president, was entered in the linen books among the other magistrates for both years. This Minucius transacting in a public character the same kind of business which Mælius had undertaken in a private capacity, the houses of both were consequently frequented by the same sort of people; which circumstance, having led to a discovery of the designs of the latter, Minucius laid the information before the senate: that "arms were collected in the dwelling of Mælius; that he held assemblies in his house; and that there remained not a doubt of his having formed a design to possess himself of absolute power: that the time for the execution of that design was not yet fixed, but every other particular had been settled: that tribunes had been corrupted, by bribes, to betray the public liberty; and that the leaders of the multitude had their several parts assigned them. That he had deferred laying this matter before the senate, rather longer than was consistent with safety, lest he might offer any information which was ill-grounded or uncertain." On hearing this, the principal patricians highly blamed the consuls of the former year, for suffering such largesses, and such meetings of the commons in a private house; and also, the new ones for their supineness, while the president of the market reported to the senate an affair of such importance, and which it was the duty of a consul both to discover and to punish. To this Quintius replied, that "it was unfair to blame the consuls, who, being tied down by the laws concerning appeals enacted for the purpose of weakening their authority, had not, in their office, the ability, however much they might have the will, to inflict condign punishment on such atrocious proceedings: that the business required not only a man of resolution, but one who should be free and unshackled by the fetters of those laws; that therefore he would name Lucius Quintius dictator: in him would be found a spirit equal to so great a power." Every one expressed his approbation. Quintius at first refused the office, and asked them, what they meant by exposing him in the

extremity of age to such a violent contest. On which they all joined in asserting, that his aged breast was fraught not only with more wisdom, but with more fortitude also, than was to be found in all the rest, loading him with deserved praises, while the consul persisted in his intention: so that at length Cincinnatus, after praying to the immortal gods that his declining years might not, at a juncture so dangerous, be the cause of detriment or dishonour to the commonwealth, was appointed dictator by the consul, and he then named Caius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse.

XIV. Next day, after fixing proper guards, the dictator went down to the forum, the whole attention of the commons being turned towards him by the surprise and novelty of the affair; and whilst the partizans of Mælius, and also himself, perceived that the power of this high authority was aimed against them; others, who were ignorant of their designs, were wholly at a loss to discover what tumult, what sudden war, required either the majesty of a dictator, or the appointment of Quintius, after his eightieth year, to the administration of affairs. The master of the horse, by order of the dictator, then came to Mælius, and said to him, "the dictator calls you." Struck with apprehension, he asked the reason, and was informed by Servilius, that he must stand a trial, and acquit himself of a charge made against him in the senate by Minucius. Mælius then drew back into the band of his associates; and, at first, cautiously looking round, attempted to skulk away; and when, at length, a sergeant, by order of the master of the horse, laid hold on him, he was rescued by the by-standers, and betook himself to flight; imploring the protection of the commons of Rome; affirming that he was persecuted by a conspiracy of the patricians, for having acted with kindness toward the people; and beseeching them to assist him in this extremity of danger, and not to suffer him to be murdered before their eyes. Whilst he exclaimed in this manner, Ahala Servilius overtook and slew him; and besmeared with the blood which flowed from the wounds, and surrounded by a band of young patricians, carried back an account to the dictator, that Mælius, on being summoned to attend him, had driven back the sergeant, and endeavoured to excite the multitude to violence, for which he had received condign punishment. "I applaud," said the dictator "your meritorious

conduct; Caius Servilius, you have preserved the commonwealth."

XV. He then ordered the multitude, who, not knowing what judgment to form of the deed, were in violent agitation, to be called to an assembly; there he publicly declared, that "Mælius had been legally put to death, even supposing him to have been innocent of the crime of aspiring at regal power, for having refused to attend the dictator, when summoned by the master of the horse. That he himself had resolved to examine into the charge; and that when the trial should have been finished, Mælius would have met such treatment as his cause merited: but when he attempted by force to elude a legal decision, force was employed to stop his proceedings. Nor would it have been proper to treat him as a citizen, for though born in a free state, under the dominion of the laws divine and human, in a city from which he knew that kings had been expelled; and that in the same year the offspring of the king's sister, and the sons of the consul, the deliverer of his country, on discovery of their engaging in a plot for re-admitting the kings into the city, were by their father publicly beheaded; from which, Collatinus Tarquinius, consul, was ordered, through the general detestation of the name, after resigning his office, to retire into exile; in which Spurius Cassius was, several years after, capitally punished for having formed a design of assuming the sovereignty; in which, not long ago, the decemvirs, on account of their regal tyranny, had been punished with confiscations, exile, and death; in that very city Spurius Mælius had conceived hopes of possessing himself of regal power. And who was this man? Although no nobility, no honours, no merits, could open to any man the way to tyranny; yet still the Claudii and Cassii, when they raised their views to an unlawful height, were elated by consulships, by decemvirates, by honours conferred on themselves and their ancestors, and by the splendour of their families. But Spurius Mælius, to whom a plebeian tribuneship should have been an object rather of wishes than of hope, a wealthy corn-merchant, had conceived the design of purchasing the liberty of his countrymen, for a few measures of corn; had supposed, that a people victorious over all their neighbours, could be inveigled into slavery by being supplied with a little food. A person, whose elevation to the rank of senator, the state



could have hardly digested, they were patiently to endure as king, possessing the ensigns and the authority of Romulus their founder, who had descended from, and returned to the gods.

This must be deemed not more criminal than it was monstrous: nor was it sufficiently expiated by his blood; it was farther necessary that the roof, the walls within which such a desperate design had been conceived, should be levelled to the ground; and that his effects should be confiscated, being contaminated by the intention of making them the price of the people's liberty; and that therefore he directed the quæstors to sell those effects, and deposit the produce in the public treasury."

XVI. He then ordered his house to be immediately razed, and that the vacant space should remain as a monument of the suppression of that abominable enterprise. This was called *Æquimælium*. Lucius Minucius was honoured with a present of an ox, with its horns gilded, and a statue, on the outside of the gate *Trigemina*; and this with the approbation of the commons, for he distributed among them the corn collected by Mælius, at the rate of an *as* for each peck. In some authors, I find, that this Minucius had changed sides from the patricians to the commons, and that having been chosen by the plebeian tribunes, as an eleventh member of their body, he quieted the commotion which arose on the death of Mælius. But it is hardly credible, that the patricians suffered the number of tribunes to be augmented, or that the precedent should have been introduced particularly in regard of a man of their own order; or that the commons did not afterwards maintain, or even attempt to maintain, a privilege once conceded to them. But what above all evinces the falsehood of that inscription on his statue, is, that, a few years before this, provision had been made by a law, that the tribunes should not have power to assume colleagues in their office. Of the college of tribunes Quintus Cæcilius, Quintus Junius, and Sextus Titinius had neither been concerned in the law for conferring honours on Minucius, nor did they cease to throw out censures in presence of the people, at one time on Minucius, at another on Servilius; and to complain of the unmerited death of Mælius. By such methods they accomplished their purpose so far as to procure an order, that military tribunes should be elected instead of consuls; not doubting, but

in the filling up of six places, for so many were then allowed to be elected, some plebeians, who should profess a resolution to revenge the death of Mælius, would be appointed among the rest. The commons, though kept in continual agitation during that year, from many and various causes, elected three tribunes only, with consular power, and even chose among these Lucius Quintius the son of Cincinnatus, whose conduct in the dictatorship those men wished to render odious, and thence to gain occasion of new disturbances. Prior to Quintius, Mamercus Æmilius was voted in, a man who stood in the first rank of merit; in the third place, they elected Lucius Icilius.

XVII. While these were in office, Fidenæ, a Roman colony, revolted to the Veientians, whose king was Lars Tolumnius. [Y. R. 317. B. C. 435.] To their revolt a more heinous crime was added; for, in pursuance of an order from Tolumnius, they put to death Caius Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Spurius Ancius, and Lucius Roscius, Roman ambassadors, who came to inquire into the reasons of this change of conduct. Some palliate the guilt of the king, alleging, that an ambiguous expression of his, on a successful throw at dice, being misapprehended by the Fidenatians, as an order for their execution, occasioned the death of the ambassadors. But this seems an incredible tale; for it cannot be supposed that the thoughts of Tolumnius would be so intently employed upon his game, that he should be regardless of a circumstance of so much consequence, as the arrival of his new allies, the Fidenatians, and who, if this be admitted, must have come to consult him upon the perpetration of a murder, which would violate all the laws of nations; or that, in such an affair, he should feel no compunction. It is much more probable, that his view was to involve them in such guilt, as to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the Romans. Statues of the ambassadors slain at Fidenæ were erected near the rostrum, at the public expense. A desperate struggle was now to be expected with the Veientians and Fidenatians; as, besides the circumstance of their situation, contiguous to the frontiers, they had stained the commencement of the war with an action so abominable. The commons, therefore, and their tribunes, seeing the necessity of attending to the general welfare, and suffering other matters to pass in quiet, there was no opposition to the election

of consuls, who were Marcus Geganius Marcinus a third time, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas, so called, I suppose, from his services in the succeeding war. For he was the first who engaged in battle with the king of the Veientians on this side of the Anio, in which he had the advantage; but he gained not an unbloody victory, so that people's grief for the loss of their countrymen exceeded their joy for the defeat of the enemy; and the senate, as in a case particularly alarming, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be named dictator. He chose his master of the horse from among his colleagues of the former year, in the office of military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, a young man worthy of the father from whom he sprung. To the troops levied by the consuls, were added many veteran centurions, skilled in the business of war, and the number of men lost in the last battle was replaced. The dictator ordered Quintus Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus to attend him in quality of lieutenant-general. The appointment of a magistrate with extraordinary power, and the character of the person appointed being fully suited to those powers, both together so affected the enemy, that they withdrew from the Roman territory to the other side of the Anio; and continuing to retreat, took possession of the hills between Fidenæ and the Anio. Nor did they descend into the plains, until the legions of the Faliscians came to their aid: then, indeed, the camp of the Etrurians was pitched under the walls of Fidenæ. The Roman dictator took his post at a little distance from thence, at the conflux and on the banks of the two rivers, drawing lines across from one to the other where the length of ground between them was not greater than he was able to fortify. On the day following, he led out his forces, prepared for battle.

XVIII. Among the enemy there were various opinions. The Faliscians, finding it very distressing to carry on war at such a distance from home, and being full of confidence in their own prowess, were urgent for fighting. The Veientians and Fidenatians foresaw greater advantages in protracting the war. Tolumnius, although the advice of his countrymen was more agreeable to his own sentiments, yet fearing lest the Faliscians should grow weary of a distant war, gave notice that he would fight on the following day. This,

however being still deferred, added to the confidence of the dictator and the Romans; so that the soldiers, openly threatening that they would assault the camp and the city, if the enemy did not come to an engagement, both armies marched forth into the middle of a plain which lay between the two camps. The Veientians, being superior in numbers, sent a party round behind the mountains, who were to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the battle. The army of the three states was drawn up in such a manner, that the Veientians formed the right wing, the Faliscians the left, and the Fidenatians the centre. The dictator charged on the right wing against the Faliscians; Quintus Capitolinus on the left against the Veientians; and the master of the horse, with the cavalry, advanced in the centre. For a short time all was silence and quiet; the Etrurians being resolved not to engage unless they were compelled, and the dictator keeping his eyes fixed on a Roman fort in the rear, until a signal which had been concerted should be raised by the augurs, as soon as the birds gave a favourable omen; on perceiving which, he ordered the cavalry first to charge the enemy with a loud shout; the line of infantry following, began the conflict with great fury. The Etrurian legions could not in any quarter withstand the attack of the Romans. The cavalry made the greatest resistance; but the king himself, distinguished in valour far beyond even these, by frequent charges on the Romans, while they were pursuing in disorder in all parts of the field, prolonged the contest.

XIX. There was at that time among the Roman cavalry, a military tribune called Aulus Cornelius Cossus, remarkable for the extraordinary beauty of his person, as well as for his spirit and bodily strength, and for attention to the honour of his family, which, having descended to him with a great degree of lustre, he conveyed to his posterity with a large increase, and with additional splendour. Perceiving that wherever Tolumnius directed his course, the troops of Roman cavalry shrunk from his charge, and knowing him by his royal apparel, as he flew through every part of the army, he cried out, "Is this he who breaks the bands of human society, and violates the law of nations? This victim will I quickly slay, provided it is the will of the gods that any thing should remain sacred on earth, and will offer him to the manes of the ambassadors." With these



words, he clapped spurs to his horse, and, with his spear presented, rushed against him. Having unhorsed him with a stroke, and pressing him down with his spear, he instantly sprung down on the ground, where, as the king attempted to rise, he struck him back with the boss of his shield, and with repeated thrusts pinned him to the earth. He then stripped off the spoils from the lifeless body, and having cut off the head, and carrying it about on the point of his spear as a trophy of the victory, he put the enemy to rout, through the dismay which struck them on the death of their king. Their body of cavalry likewise, which alone had kept the victory in suspense, was defeated with the rest. The dictator pursued close on the flying legions, and drove them to their camp with great slaughter. The greater number of the Fidenatians, through their knowledge of the country, made their escape into the mountains. Cossus, having crossed the Tiber with the cavalry, brought to the city an immense booty from the lands of the Veientians. During this battle, there was another fight at the Roman camp, against the party which Tolumnius, as was mentioned above, had sent against it; Fabius Vibulanus, manning the rampart all round, stood at first on the defensive; then, when the enemy were earnestly engaged against the rampart, sallying out with the veterans from the principal gate on the right, he made a sudden attack on them, which struck such terror, that though the slaughter was less, they being fewer in number, yet the rout was not less disorderly than that of their grand army.

XX. Crowned with success in every quarter, the dictator, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and an order of the people, returned into the city in triumph. By far the most distinguished object in this procession was Cossus, carrying the *spolia opima* (grand spoils) of the king whom he had slain, while the soldiers chanted their uncouth verses, extolling him as equal to Romulus. With the usual form of dedication he presented and hung up the spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near to those dedicated by Romulus, and first denominated *opima*, which were the only ones then existing. He drew off the people's attention from the chariot of the dictator to himself, and enjoyed almost solely the honour of that day's solemnity. The former, by order of the people, deposited in the capitol, as an offering to

Jupiter, a golden crown of a pound weight, at the expense of the public. Following all the Roman authors, I have represented Aulus Cornelius Cossus as a military tribune, when he carried the second *spolia opima* into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius: but, besides that those spoils only are properly deemed *opima*, which one general has taken from another, and we know no general but the person under whose auspices the war is carried on, the inscription itself, written on the spoils, proves against both them and myself, that Cossus was consul when he took them. Having once heard Augustus Cæsar, the founder or restorer of all our temples, on entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which from a ruin he had rebuilt, aver, that he himself had read the said inscription on the linen breast-plate, I thought it would be next to sacrilege, to rob Cossus of such a testimony respecting his spoils, as that of Cæsar, to whom the temple itself owed its renovation. Whether the mistake is chargeable on the very ancient annals and the books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, and continually cited as authority by Licinius Macer, which have Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul, with Titus Quintius Penius, in the ninth year after this, every one may form his own judgment. For that so celebrated a battle could not be transferred to that year, there is this farther proof; that, for three years before and after the consulship of Aulus Cornelius, there was an almost entire cessation from war on account of a pestilence, and a scarcity of the fruits of the earth; so that several annals, as if they had no other transactions but those of mourning to relate, mention nothing more than the names of the consuls. Cossus, indeed, is mentioned as military tribune, with consular power, in the third year before his consulate; and in the same year as master of the horse, in which post he fought another remarkable battle with cavalry. In respect to this there is room for conjecture: but in my opinion, surmises are not to be brought in support of any matter whatsoever; when the person concerned in the fight, on placing the recent spoils in the sacred repository, and having in a manner before his eyes Jupiter, to whom they were consecrated, and Romulus, as witnesses; and, as would be the case in falsifying the inscription, who were not to be treated with contempt, entitled himself Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul.

XXI. During the next year, wherein Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus were consuls, [Y. R. 319. B. C. 433.] armies were led into the territories of the Veientians and of the Faliscians, and numbers of men and cattle were carried off as spoil, but the enemy did not show themselves, nor give any opportunity of fighting. However, no attempt was made on their towns, the people at Rome being attacked by a pestilential disorder. Endeavours were also used at home to excite disturbances, but without effect, by Spurius Mælius, a plebeian tribune, who, imagining that, by the popularity of his name, he should be able to raise some commotion, had commenced a prosecution against Minucius; and also proposed a law for confiscating the effects of Servilius Ahala, alleging that Mælius had been insidiously crushed under false charges by Minucius; and objecting to Servilius his having put to death a citizen who was under no legal sentence. These charges, however, when canvassed before the people, were found entitled to as little credit and attention as the promoter of them. But they found greater cause for anxiety in the increasing violence of the pestilence, attended with other alarming occurrences and prodigies; particularly in the accounts which were received, of many houses in the country being thrown down by frequent earthquakes. A general supplication to the gods was therefore performed by the people, who repeated it in form after the decemvirs.<sup>1</sup> The disorder increasing during the following year, [Y. R. 320. B. C. 432.] in which Caius Julius, a second time, and Lucius Virginius were consuls, occasioned such dreadful apprehensions of total desolation, both in the city and the country, that not only an entire stop was put to predatory excursions from the Roman territories, but every thought of offensive operations laid aside both by patricians and commons. The Fidenatians, who had at first shut themselves up within their towns or forts, or among the mountains, now ventured to come down into the lands of the Romans, and commit depredations. Then the army of the Veientians being called to their aid, (for the Faliscians could not be prevailed on, either by the calamities of the

Romans, or the entreaties of their allies, to renew hostilities,) the two nations crossed the Anio, and displayed their ensigns at a little distance from the Colline gate. This occasioned great consternation as well in the city as in the country. The consul Julius drew up the troops on the rampart and the walls, whilst Virginius held a consultation of the senate in the temple of Quirinus. Here it was resolved to create for dictator Quintus Servilius, to whom some gave the surname of Priscus, others that of Structus. Virginius delayed no longer than till he had conferred with his colleague, and having obtained his consent, named the dictator that night. He appointed Postumius Cebutius Elva his master of the horse.

XXII. The dictator issued an order that all should appear at the first light, outside the Colline gate; and that the ensigns from the treasury should be brought to him. Every one, whose strength enabled him to carry arms, attended accordingly. In the meantime, the enemy withdrew to the higher grounds: thither the dictator followed, and coming to a general engagement near Nomentum, defeated the Etrurian legions, drove them from thence into the city of Fidenæ, and inclosed them with lines of circumvallation. But neither could the city be taken by storm, by reason of its high situation and the strength of its works, nor could a blockade turn to any effect, because they had such abundant stores of corn laid up in their magazines, as to be more than sufficient for necessary consumption. The dictator, therefore, having no hopes, either of taking the place by assault, or of reducing it to a surrender, being thoroughly acquainted with the same, resolved to carry a mine into the citadel, on the opposite side of the city; which, being the best secured by its natural strength, was the least attended to. He carried on his approaches to the walls, in the parts most distant from this; and, having formed his troops into four divisions, who were to relieve each other successively in the action, by continuing the fight night and day, without intermission, he so engaged the attention of the enemy, that they never perceived the work which was carrying on, until, a way being dug from the camp through the mountain, a passage was opened up into the citadel, and the Etrurians, whose thoughts were diverted from their real danger by false alarms, discovered, from the shouts of the enemy over their heads, that their city was

<sup>1</sup> In the performance of such rites, the slightest mistake of a word or syllable was deemed highly inauspicious; to prevent which, the regular form of words was pronounced by a priest, and repeated after him by the persons officiating.



taken. In this year the censors, Caius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, pronounced that the undertakers had fulfilled their contract for finishing the court-house<sup>1</sup> in the field of Mars, and the survey of the people was performed there for the first time.

XXIII. I find, in Licinius Macer, the same consuls re-elected for the following year; [Y. R. 321. B. C. 431.] yet Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero mention Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius as consuls. In support of representations so widely different, both Tubero and Macer cite the linen books as their authority: but neither of them deny the record of ancient writers, who maintain that there were military tribunes in that year. Licinius is of opinion, that the linen books ought to be implicitly followed. Tubero cannot determine positively on either side. But this is a point which, among others, involved in obscurity by length of time, must be left unsettled. The capture of Fidenæ spread great alarm in Etruria; for not the Veientians only were terrified with apprehensions of similar ruin, but the Faliscians also, conscious of having commenced the war in conjunction with them, although they had not joined them in the renewing of hostilities. Those two nations, therefore, having sent ambassadors to all the twelve states, and procured an order for a general meeting at the temple of Voltumna, the senate, apprehensive of a powerful attack from that quarter, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be a second time appointed dictator. He named Aulus Postumius Tubertus master of the horse, making more powerful preparations for this campaign than for the last, in proportion as the danger was greater from the whole body of Etruria, than it had been from two of its states.

XXIV. That business ended more quietly than could have been expected. For accounts were received from some itinerant traders, that the Veientians had met with a refusal of aid, and had been desired to prosecute, with their own strength, a war in which they had engaged on their own separate views, and not endeavour to bring others to partake in their distresses, to whom they had imparted no share of their prospects, when they were favourable. The dictator, thus robbed of the harvest of glory

which he expected to have reaped from military affairs, in order that his appointment might not be altogether without effect, conceived a desire of performing some exploit in the civil line of business, and which should remain as a monument of his dictatorship. He undertook therefore to limit the censorship; either judging its powers excessive, or disapproving of their duration more than of their extent. In pursuance of this design, having summoned an assembly of the people, he told them, that, "with regard to foreign affairs, and the establishing of security on every side, the immortal gods had taken the administration on themselves. That as to what was fitting to be done within the walls, he would zealously maintain the liberty of the Roman people: now there was no method of guarding it so effectual, as the taking care that offices of great power should not be of long continuance; and that those, whose jurisdiction could not be limited, should be limited in point of duration:—that while other magistracies were annual, the censorship was of five years' continuance; and it was grievous to people to have the greater part of their actions subjected to the control of the same persons for such a number of years: he would therefore propose a law, that the censorship should not last longer than a year and a half." Next day, the law was passed, and with the universal approbation of the people. He then said, "To convince you by my conduct, Romans, how much I disapprove of long continuance in office, I here resign the dictatorship." Having thus put an end to one office, and limits to another, he was, upon his resignation, escorted by the people to his house with the warmest expressions of gratitude and affection. The censors, highly offended at his having imposed a restriction on a public office of the Roman state, degraded Mamercus into a lower tribe,<sup>2</sup> and, increasing his taxes

<sup>1</sup> *Villa publica*. It was destined to public uses, such as holding the *census* or survey of the people, the reception of ambassadors, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The division of the people into tribes, made by Romulus, regarded the stock, or origin, of the constituent members; the subsequent one, by Servius, was merely local, and a tribe then signified nothing more than a certain space of ground with its inhabitants; but as the tribes increased in number, which they did at last to thirty-five, this kind of division was set aside, and a tribe became, not a quarter of the city, but a fraternity of citizens, connected by a participation in the common rights of the tribe, without any reference to their places of residence. The rustic tribes were always reckoned more honourable than the city tribes, because the business of agriculture was held in the highest estimation, and because the lowest of the people were enrolled in the lat

eight-fold, disfranchised him.<sup>3</sup> We are told, that he bore this treatment with great magnanimity, regarding the cause of the disgrace rather than the disgrace itself: and that the principal patricians, though they had been averse from a diminution of the privileges of the censorship, were, nevertheless, highly displeased at this instance of harsh severity in the censors; every one perceiving that he must be oftener and for a longer time subject to others in the office of censor, than he could hold the office himself. The people's indignation certainly rose to such a height, that no other influence than that of Mamercus himself could have deterred them from offering violence to the censors.

XXV. [Y. R. 322. B. C. 430.] The plebeian tribunes, by constantly haranguing the people against the election of consuls, prevailed at last, after bringing the affair almost to an interregnum, that military tribunes, with consular power, should be elected. In the prize of victory which they aimed at, the procuring a plebeian to be elected, they were entirely disappointed. The persons chosen were all patricians, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Fostius, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas. During that year, the pestilence kept other matters quiet. For the restoration of health to the people, a temple was vowed to Apollo, and the decemvirs, by direction of the books, performed many rites for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of the gods, and averting the pestilence. The mortality, notwithstanding, was great among men and cattle, both in the city and the country. Dreading a famine, in consequence of the death of the husbandmen, they sent for corn to Etruria, and the Pomptine district, to Cumæ, and at last to Sicily also. No mention was made of electing consuls. Military tribunes with consular power were appointed, all patricians, Lucius Pinarius Mamercinus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Spurius Postumius Albus. [Y. R. 323. B. C. 429.] In this year, the violence of the disorder abated, nor were there any apprehensions of a scarcity of corn, care having been taken to provide against

it. Schemes for exciting wars were agitated in the meetings of the Æquans and Volscians, and in Etruria at the temple of Voltumna. Here the business was adjourned for a year, and a decree passed, forbidding any assembly to be held before that time, while the nation of the Veientians in vain complained, that the same misfortunes hung over Veii, which had destroyed Fidenæ. Meanwhile at Rome the leaders of the commons, who had for a long time in vain pursued the hopes of attaining higher dignity during this interval of tranquillity abroad, called the people together in the houses of the tribunes, and there concerted their plans in secret. They complained that "they were treated with such contempt by the commons, that, notwithstanding military tribunes with consular power had been elected for so many years, no plebeian had ever yet been allowed to attain that honour. Their ancestors, they said, had shown great foresight in providing that the plebeian magistracies should not lie open to any patrician, otherwise they would have had patrician tribunes of the commons; so despicable are we even in the eyes of our own party, and not less contemned by the commons than by the patricians themselves." Others took off the blame from the commons, and threw it on the patricians: "It was through their arts and intrigues," they said, "that the access to honours was barred against the plebeians. If the commons were allowed time to breathe from their entreaties mixed with menaces, they would come to an election with a due regard to the interest of their own party, and as they had already secured protection to themselves, would assume also the administration of the government." It was resolved, that, for the purpose of abolishing the practice of those intrigues, the tribunes should propose a law, that no person should be allowed, on applying for an office, to add any white to his garment.<sup>4</sup> This may appear at present a trivial matter, scarcely fit to be seriously mentioned, yet it then kindled a very hot contention between the patricians and plebeians. The tribunes, however, got the better, and carried the law; and

ter. The difference of rank, among the rustic tribes, depended partly on their antiquity, and partly on the number of illustrious families contained in each. In many cases, the tribes took their names from some of those distinguished families.

<sup>3</sup> *Ævarium facere*, signifies to strip a person of all the privileges of a citizen, on which he became *civis ævari*. us, a citizen so far only as he paid taxes.

<sup>4</sup> To rub it with chalk, in order to increase its whiteness, and render themselves more conspicuous. It was the practice of those who solicited any public office, thus to make their garments more white, *candidam*; hence they were called *candidati*, candidates, a word still in use.



as it was evident that the commons, in their present state of ill-humour, would give their support to persons of their own party in order to put this out of their power, a decree of the senate was passed, that the election should be held for consuls.

XXVI. The reason assigned was, intelligence received from the Latines and Hernicians of the Æquans and Volscians having suddenly commenced hostilities, [Y. R. 324. B. C. 428.] Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, who had also the surname of Pennus, son of Lucius, and Caius Julius Mento, were made consuls. Nor were they kept in suspense, with respect to the danger apprehended from their enemies. The Æquans and Volscians having held a levy of troops under their devoting law, which is their most powerful instrument for forcing men into the service, marched a numerous company from each nation to Algidum, where they met, and formed separate camps; the generals taking extraordinary pains, beyond what had ever been practised before, in fortifying their posts, and exercising their men; which rendered the accounts brought to Rome still more alarming. The senate resolved that a dictator should be appointed, because, though these were nations often vanquished, yet, in the present revival of hostilities, they had used more vigorous efforts than before; and no small number of the Roman youth had been cut off by the sickness. Above all, they were alarmed by the perverseness of the consuls, the disagreement between themselves, and the opposition which they gave each other in every measure. Some writers say, that these consuls were defeated in a battle at Algidum, and that this was the reason for appointing a dictator. This much is certain, that though they differed in every thing else, they perfectly agreed in the one point, that of opposing the will of the senate, and refusing to name a dictator, until Quintus Servilius Priscus, a man who had passed through the highest dignities with singular honour, finding the intelligence which arrived grow more and more alarming, and that the consuls would not be directed by the senate, expressed himself thus: "Tribunes of the commons, matters having come to extremity, the senate appeals to you, that, in the present state of public affairs, ye may, by the authority vested in you, oblige the consuls to name a dictator." This application seemed to the tribunes to afford them a good opportunity of extending their

power; wherefore, after retiring together, they declared, by the authority of their body, that "it was their determination that the consuls should follow the directions of the senate, and that if they persisted in their opposition to the sentiments of that most illustrious body, they would order them to be carried to prison." The consuls were better pleased to be overcome by the tribunes than by the senate, at the same time remonstrating, that "the prerogatives of the chief magistracy were betrayed by the senators, and the consulship subjugated to the tribunitian power. If the consuls were liable to be overruled by a tribune, by virtue of his office, in any particular, they were liable also to be sent to prison. And what greater hardship could any private person apprehend?" It fell by lot, for even on that point, the colleagues could not agree, to Titus Quintius to name the dictator, and he made choice of Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his own father-in-law, a man of remarkable strictness in command. Lucius Julius was by him nominated master of the horse. At the same time, a proclamation was issued for a vacation from civil business, and that nothing should be attended to, in any part of the city, but preparations for hostilities. The examination of the cases of those who claimed immunity from service, was to be made at the conclusion of the war, which induced even those, whose claims were doubtful, to give in their names. The Hernicians and Latines also were ordered to send a supply of forces, and they both exerted themselves with zeal, in obedience to the dictator's will.

XXVII. All these measures were executed with the utmost despatch, the consul Caius Julius being left to guard the city, while Lucius Julius, master of the horse, was to answer the exigencies of the camp; and that there should be no delay with respect to any thing which might there be wanted, the dictator, repeating the form after the chief pontiff Aulus Cornelius, vowed to celebrate the great games on the occasion of this sudden war. Then, dividing his troops with the consul Quintius, he began his march from the city, and quickly came up with the enemy. Having observed that these had formed two camps at a little distance from each other, they in like manner encamped separately at about a mile from them, the dictator towards Tusculum, and the consul towards Lanuvium. Thus there were four armies, and so many fortified posts, having be-

tween them a plain of sufficient extent not only for the skirmishes of small parties, but even for drawing up the armies, on both sides, in battle array. From the time when the camps were pitched in the neighbourhood of each other, there was continual skirmishing, the dictator readily allowing his men to compare strength, and from the success of these combats he gradually formed a confident expectation of future victory in a regular fight. The enemy, therefore, finding no hopes left of succeeding in a general engagement, made an attack by night, on the camp of the consul, on the issue of which the final decision of the dispute would probably depend. Their shout, which they set up on a sudden, roused from sleep, not only the consul's watch guards, and afterwards all his troops, but the dictator also. The conjuncture requiring instant exertion, the consul showed no deficiency either of spirit or of judgment. One part of the troops reinforced the guards at the gates, while another manned the rampart around. In the other camp, where the dictator commanded, as there was less tumult, so it was easier to perceive what was necessary to be done. Despatching, then, a reinforcement to the consul's camp, under the command of Spurius Postumius Albus, lieutenant-general, he himself, with a body of forces, making a small circuit, proceeded to a place quite retired from the hurry of action, whence he proposed to make an unexpected attack on the enemy's rear. To Quintus Sulpicius, lieutenant-general, he gave the charge of the camp; to Marcus Fabius, lieutenant-general, he assigned the cavalry, with orders that those troops, which it would be hardly possible to manage in the confusion of a conflict by night, should not stir until day-light. Every measure, which any other general, however skilful and active, could at such a juncture order and execute, he ordered and executed with perfect regularity. But it was a singular instance of judgment and intrepidity, and entitled to more than ordinary praise, that, not content with defensive plans, he despatched Marcus Geganius, with some chosen cohorts, to attack that camp of the enemy, from which, according to the intelligence of his scouts, they had marched out the greater number of troops. Falling upon men whose whole attention was engrossed by the danger of their friends, while they were free from any apprehension for themselves, and had neglected posting watches or

advanced guards, he made himself master of the camp, sooner almost than they knew that it was attacked. A signal being then given by smoke, as had been concerted, the dictator perceiving it, cried out, that the enemy's camp was taken, and ordered the news to be conveyed to all the troops.

XXVIII. By this time day appeared, and every thing lay open to view. Fabius had already charged with the cavalry, and the consul had sallied from the camp on the enemy, who were now much disconcerted; when the dictator on another side, having attacked their reserve and second line, threw his victorious troops, both horse and foot, in the way of all their efforts, as they turned themselves about to the dissonant shouts, and the various sudden assaults. Being thus hemmed in on every side, they would, to a man, have undergone the punishment due to their infraction of the peace, had not Vectius Messius, a Volscian, a man more renowned for his deeds than his descent, upbraiding his men as they were forming themselves into a circle, called out with a loud voice, "Do ye intend to offer yourselves to the weapons of the enemy here, where ye can neither make defence nor obtain revenge? To what purpose, then, have ye arms in your hands? Or why did ye undertake an offensive war, ever turbulent in peace and dastardly in arms? What hopes do ye propose in standing here? Do ye expect that some god will protect and carry you from hence? With the sword the way must be opened. Come on, ye who wish to see your houses and your parents, your wives and children, follow wherever ye see me lead the way. There is neither wall nor rampart, nothing to obstruct you, but men in arms, with which ye are as well furnished as they. Equal in bravery, ye are superior to them in point of necessity, the ultimate and most forcible of weapons." No sooner had he uttered these words, than he put them in execution, and the rest raising the shout anew, and following him, made a violent push on that part where Postumius Albus had drawn up his forces in their way, and made the conqueror give ground, until the dictator came up, just as his men were on the point of retreating. Thus the whole weight of the battle was turned to that quarter. Messius alone supported the fortune of the enemy, while many wounds were received, and great slaughter was made on both sides. By this time the Roman generals them-



selves were not unhurt in the fight: one of them, Postumius, retired from the field, having his skull fractured by the stroke of a stone; but neither could the dictator be prevailed on, by a wound in his shoulder, nor Fabius, by having his thigh almost pinned to his horse, nor the consul, by his arm being cut off, to withdraw from this perilous conflict.

XXIX. Messius, at the head of a band of the bravest youths, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that he forced his way through heaps of slaughtered foes to the camp of the Volscians, which was still in their possession, and the whole body of the army followed the same route. The consul, pursuing their disordered troops to the very rampart, assaulted the camp itself, and the dictator brought up his forces with the same purpose on the other side. There was no less bravery shown on both sides in this assault than had been seen in the battle. We are told that the consul even threw a standard within the rampart, to make the soldiers push on with more briskness, and that the first impression was made in recovering it. The dictator, having levelled the rampart, had now carried the fight within the works, on which the enemy every where began to throw down their arms and surrender; and on giving up themselves and their camp, they were all, except the members of their senate, exposed to sale. Part of the spoil was restored to the Latines and Hernicians, who claimed it as their property; the rest the dictator sold by auction; and having left the consul to command in the camp, after making his entry into the city in triumph, he resigned the dictatorship. Some historians have thrown a gloom on the memory of this glorious dictatorship; they relate that Aulus Postumius beheaded his son, after a successful exploit, because he had left his post without orders, tempted by a favourable opportunity of fighting to advantage. While we feel a reluctance against giving credit to this story, we are also at liberty to reject it, there being a variety of opinions on the subject; and there is this argument against it, that such orders, by those who believe in the circumstance, have been denominated Manlian, not Postumian; while the person who first set an example of such severity would surely have acquired the disgraceful title of cruel. Besides, the surname of Imperiosus has been imposed on Manlius, and Postumius has not been marked by any

hateful appellation. The consul Caius Julius, in the absence of his colleague, without casting lots for the employment, dedicated the temple of Apollo; at which Quintius being offended on his return to the city, after disbanding the army made a complaint to the senate, but without any effect. To the great events of this year was added a circumstance, which, at that time, did not appear to have any relation to the interests of Rome. The Carthaginians, who were to become such formidable enemies, then, for the first time, on occasion of some intestine broils among the Sicilians transported troops into Sicily in aid of one of the parties.

XXX. In the city, endeavours were used by the tribunes of the commons to procure an election of military tribunes with consular power; but they were not able to effect it. Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Julius were made consuls. [Y. R. 325. B. C. 427.] Ambassadors from the Æquans having requested of the senate that a treaty of peace might be concluded, it was required of them, that instead of a treaty they should make a surrender of themselves. In the end they obtained a truce of eight years. The affairs of the Volscians, besides the loss sustained at Algidum, were involved in seditions, arising from an obstinate contention between the advocates for peace and those for war. The Romans enjoyed tranquillity on all sides. The consuls having obtained information from one of the tribunes, who betrayed the secret, that those officers intended to promote a law concerning the commutation of fines,<sup>1</sup> which would be highly acceptable to the people, they themselves took the lead in proposing it. The next consuls were, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, a second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus, in whose consulate nothing worth mention occurred. [Y. R. 326. B. C. 426.] They were succeeded by Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quintius Pennus, a second time. [Y. R. 327. B. C. 425.] The Veientians made inroads on the Roman territories; and a report prevailing, that some of the youth of Fidenæ were concerned in those depredations, the cognizance of that matter was committed to Lucius Sergius, Quintius Servilius, and Mamercus Æmi-

<sup>1</sup> The fines imposed in early times were certain numbers of sheep or oxen; afterwards it was ordered by law that these fines might be appraised, and the value paid in money. Another law fixed a certain rate at which the cattle should be estimated, 100 *asses* for an ox, 10 for a sheep.

lius. Some of them, who could not give satisfactory reasons for their being absent from Fidenæ, at the time, were sent into banishment to Ostia. A number of new settlers were added to the colony, to whom were assigned the lands of those who had fallen in war. There was very great distress that year, occasioned by drought; for besides a want of rain, the earth, destitute of its natural moisture, scarcely enabled the rivers to continue their course: in some places, the want of water was such, that the cattle died of thirst, in heaps, about the springs and rivulets, which had ceased to flow; in others, they were cut off by the mange, and their disorders began to spread by infection to the human species. At first they fell heavy on the husbandmen and slaves; soon after the city was filled with them: and not only men's bodies were afflicted by the contagion, but superstitions of various kinds, and mostly of foreign growth, took possession also of their minds; while those who converted this weakness to their own emolument, introduced into people's families, through their pretences to the art of divination, new modes of worship, until at length the principal men of the state were touched with shame for the dishonour brought on the public, seeing in every street and chapel extraneous and unaccustomed ceremonies of expiation practised, for obtaining the favour of the gods. A charge was then given to the ædiles, to see that no other deities should be worshipped than those acknowledged by the Romans; nor they, in any other modes than those established by the custom of the country. The prosecution of their resentment against the Veientians was deferred to the ensuing year, wherein Caius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus were consuls: [Y. R. 328. B. C. 424.] even then, an immediate declaration of war and the march of the army were prevented by superstition. It was deemed necessary that heralds should first be sent to demand restitution. There had been open war, and battles fought, with the Veientians, not long before, at Nomentum and Fidenæ; since which, not a peace, but a truce, had been concluded, the term of which had not yet expired; yet they had renewed hostilities. Nevertheless, the heralds were sent; and when, after taking the customary oath, they demanded satisfaction, no attention was paid to them. Then arose a dispute whether the war should be declared by order of the people, or whether a decree of the

senate were sufficient. The tribunes, by threatening openly that they would hinder any levy of soldiers, carried the point that the consuls should take the sense of the people concerning it. All the centuries voted for it. In another particular, too, the commons showed a superiority, for they carried the point, that consuls should not be elected for the next year.

XXXI. Four military tribunes, with consular power, were elected, Titus Quintius Pennus, from the consulship, Caius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. [Y. R. 329. B. C. 423.] Of these, Cossus held the command in the city. The other three, after enlisting forces, marched to Veii, and there exhibited an instance of the pernicious effects on military operations resulting from a divided command: for while each maintained an opinion different from the rest, and endeavoured to enforce his own plans, they gave an opportunity to the enemy to take them at advantage. Accordingly, the Veientians, seizing a critical moment, made an attack on their troops, who knew not how to act, one of their generals ordering the signal for retreat to be given, another the charge to be sounded. They were thrown into confusion consequently, and turned their backs; but found safety in their camp, which was nigh at hand: their disgrace, therefore, was greater than their loss. The citizens, unaccustomed to defeats, were seized with dismal apprehensions, execrated the tribunes, and called aloud for a dictator; in him alone, they said, the state could place any hopes. Here again a religious scruple interfered, lest there should be an impropriety in a dictator being nominated by any other than a consul: but the augurs being consulted, removed that doubt. Aulus Cornelius nominated Mamercus Æmilius dictator, and was himself nominated by him master of the horse, so little was the effect of the disgrace inflicted by the censors; for when the state once came to stand in need of a person of real merit, it would not be prevented from seeking a supreme director of its affairs in a house undeservedly censured. The Veientians, puffed up by their success, sent ambassadors to all the states of Etruria, boasting, that they had in one battle defeated three Roman generals; and though they could not thereby prevail on the general confederacy to embark publicly in their cause, yet they procured from all parts a number of volunteers allured by the



hopes of plunder. The Fidenatians were the only state which resolved to renew hostilities: and, as if there were some kind of impiety in commencing war otherwise than with some atrocious deed, staining their arms now with the blood of the new colonists, as they had formerly done with that of the ambassadors, they joined themselves to the Veientians. The leaders of the two nations then consulted together, whether they should choose Veii or Fidenæ for the seat of the war: Fidenæ appeared the more convenient. The Veientians, therefore, crossing the Tiber, removed it thither. At Rome the alarm was excessive: the troops were recalled from Veii, very much dispirited by their defeat, and encamped before the Colline gate: others were armed and posted on the walls. Business was stopped in the courts of justice, the shops were shut up, and every thing bore the appearance of a camp rather than of a city.

XXXII. The dictator then, sending criers through the streets, called the alarmed people to an assembly, and rebuked them sharply "for suffering their courage to depend so entirely on every trifling incident in the course of fortune, as that on meeting with an inconsiderable loss, and that not owing to the bravery of the enemy, or to want of courage in the Roman army, but to a disagreement between their commanders, they should be seized with dread of their enemies of Veii, whom they had six times vanquished, and of Fidenæ, a town as often taken as attacked. He reminded them, that both the Romans and their enemies were the same that they had been for so many centuries past; their courage the same; their strength of body the same; and the same the arms which they wore. That he himself, Mamercus Æmilius, was also the same dictator who formerly at Fidenæ routed the armies of the Veientians and Fidenatians, when they had the additional support of the Faliscians; and his master of the horse was the same, Aulus Cornelius, who in a former war, when he ranked as military tribune, slew Lars Tolumnius, the king of these Veientians, in the sight of both armies, and carried his spolia opima to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He exhorted them therefore to take arms, reflecting that on their side were triumphs, on their side spoils, on their side victory; on the side of the enemy, the guilt of violating the laws of nations by the murder of ambassadors, the massacre of

the Fidenatian colonists in time of peace, the infraction of truces, and a seventh unsuccessful revolt: assuring them, he was fully confident, that when they should have once encamped within reach of the foe, the joy of those enemies, so deeply plunged in guilt for the late disgrace of the Roman army, would soon be at an end; and also that a demonstration would be given to the Roman people, how much better these persons merited of the commonwealth, who nominated him dictator a third time, than those, who out of malice, on account of his having snatched arbitrary power out of the hands of the censors, threw a blot on his second successful dictatorship." Having offered up vows to the gods, he soon began his march, and pitched his camp fifteen hundred paces on this side of Fidenæ, having his right covered by mountains, and his left by the river Tiber. He ordered Titus Quintius Pennus, lieutenant-general, to take possession of the hills, and to post himself privately on whatever eminence stood in the enemy's rear. Next day, when the Etrurians had marched out to the field, full of confidence in consequence of their success on the former day, though more indebted for it to accident than to their prowess in fight, the dictator, after waiting a short time, until he received information from his scouts that Quintius had reached an eminence which stood near the citadel of Fidenæ, put his troops in motion, and led on his line of infantry in order of battle in their quickest pace against the enemy. The master of the horse he commanded not to enter on action without orders, telling him that he would give a signal when there should be occasion for the aid of the cavalry, and desiring him then to show by his behaviour, that he still bore in mind his fight with their king, the magnificent offering which he had made, and the respect which he owed to Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The legions began the conflict with impetuosity. The Romans, inflamed with keen animosity, gratified their rancour both with deeds and words, upbraiding the Fidenatians with impiety, the Veientians as robbers, calling them truce-breakers, polluted with the horrid murder of ambassadors, stained with the blood of their own brethren of the colony, perfidious allies, and dastardly foes.

XXXIII. Their very first onset had made an impression on the enemy; when, on a sud-

den, the gates of Fidenæ flying open, a strange kind of army sallied forth, unknown and unheard-of before. An immense multitude, armed with burning fire-brands, as if hurried on by frantic rage, rushed on against the Romans. This very extraordinary mode of fighting filled the assailants for some time with terror; on which the dictator, who was actively employed in animating the fight, having called up the master of the horse with the cavalry, and also Quintius from the mountains, hastened himself to the left wing, which being in horror from the conflagration, as it might more properly be called than a battle, had retired from the flames, and with a loud voice called out, "Will ye suffer yourselves to be driven from your ground, and retreat from an unarmed enemy, vanquished with smoke, like a swarm of bees? Will ye not extinguish those fires with the sword? Or will ye not each in his post, if we must fight with fire, and not with arms, seize on those brands, and throw them back on the foe? Advance; recollect the honour of the Roman name, your own bravery, and that of your fathers: turn this conflagration on the city of your enemy, and with its own flames demolish Fidenæ, which ye could never reclaim by your kindness. This is what the blood of your ambassadors and colonists, and the desolation of your frontiers, ought to suggest." At the command of the dictator, the whole line advanced; the firebrands which had been thrown, were caught up; others were wrested away by force, and thus the troops on both sides were armed alike. The master of the horse too, on his part, introduced among the cavalry a new mode of fighting: he ordered his men to take off the bridles from their horses; while he himself clapping spurs to his own, sprung forward and was carried headlong by the unbridled animal into the midst of the flames. In like manner, the other horses being spurred on and freed from all restraint, carried their riders with full speed against the enemy. The clouds of dust intermixed with the smoke, excluded the light from both men and horses; so that the latter were consequently not affrighted as the former had been. The cavalry, therefore, wherever they penetrated, bore down every thing with irresistible force. A shout was now heard from a new quarter, which having surprised and attracted the attention of both armies, the dictator called out aloud, that his lieutenant-general, Quintius and his party, had

attacked the enemy's rear; and then, raising the shout anew, advanced against them with redoubled vigour. The Etrurians, surrounded and attacked both in front and rear, and closely pressed by two armies in two different battles, had no room for retreat, either to the camp, or to the mountains. The way was blocked up by the new enemy; and the horses freed from the bridles, having spread themselves with their riders over every different part, the greatest number of the Veientians fled precipitately to the Tiber. The surviving Fidenatians made toward the city of Fidenæ. The former, flying in consternation, fell into the midst of their foes and met destruction. Many were cut to pieces on the banks of the river; some were forced into the water and swallowed in the eddies; even such as were expert at swimming, were weighed down by fatigue, by their wounds, and the fright: so that, out of a great number, few reached the opposite bank. The other body proceeded, through their camp to the city, whither the Romans briskly pursued them, particularly Quintius, and those who had descended with him from the mountains, these being the freshest for action as having come up towards the end of the engagement.

XXIV. These entering the gate together with the enemy, made their way to the top of the walls, and from thence gave a signal to their friends of the town being taken. The dictator, who had by this time taken possession of the deserted camp, encouraging his men, who were eager to disperse themselves in search of plunder, and with hopes of finding the greater booty in the city, led them on to the gate; and, being admitted within the walls, proceeded to the citadel, whither he saw the crowds of fugitives hurrying. Nor was less slaughter made here than in the field; until, throwing down their arms, and begging only their lives, the enemy surrendered to the dictator: both the city and camp were given up to be plundered. Next day the dictator assigned by lot one captive to each horseman and centurion, and two to such as had distinguished themselves by extraordinary behaviour, and sold the rest by auction: then he led back to Rome his victorious army, enriched with abundance of spoil; and ordering the master of the horse to resign his office, he immediately gave up his own, on the sixteenth day of his holding it; leaving the government in a state of tranquillity, which he had



received in a state of war and of danger. Some annals have reported, that there was also a naval engagement with the Veientians, at Fidenæ, a fact equally impracticable and incredible; the river, even at present, being not broad enough for the purpose, and at that time, as we learn from old writers, considerably narrower. This we can no otherwise account for, than by supposing that they magnified the importance of a scuffle which took place, perhaps, between a few ships, in disputing the passage of the river, and thereon grounded those empty pretensions to a naval victory.

XXXV. The ensuing year had military tribunes, with consular power. Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Lucius Horatius Barbatus. [Y. R. 330. B. C. 422.] A truce, for twenty years, was granted to the Veientians; and one for three years to the Æquans, although these had petitioned for a longer term. At home, there were no disturbances. The year following, though not distinguished by either troubles abroad or at home, was rendered remarkable by the celebration of the games, which had been vowed on occasion of the war, through the splendid manner in which they were exhibited by the military tribunes, and also through the extraordinary concourse of the neighbouring people. The tribunes, with consular power, [Y. R. 331. B. C. 421.] were, Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus, Lucius Sergius Fidenus, and Sextus Julius Iulus. The shows, to which the several people had come with the concurrent approbation of their states, were rendered more agreeable by the courtesy of their hosts. After the conclusion of the games, the tribunes of the commons began their seditious harangues, upbraiding the multitude, "that they were so benumbed with awe of those very persons who were the objects of their hatred, as to sit down listless in a state of endless slavery; they not only wanted spirit to aspire to the recovery of their hopes of sharing in the consulship; but even in the election of military tribunes, which lay open to both patricians and plebeians, they showed no regard to themselves or their party. They ought therefore to cease wondering, that no one busied himself in the service of the commons: labour and danger would always be extended on objects from whence honour and emolument might be looked for; and there was nothing which men would not undertake, if

for great attempts, great rewards were proposed. But surely it could neither be required nor expected, that any tribune should rush blindfold into disputes, the danger of which was great, the profit nothing: in consequence of which he knew, with certainty, that the patricians, against whom his efforts were directed, would persecute him with inexorable rancour; and the commons, on whose side he contended, would never think themselves the more obliged to him. By great honours, the minds of men were elevated to greatness: no plebeian would think meanly of himself, when he ceased to be contemned by others. The experiment ought at length to be made, whether there were any plebeian capable of sustaining a high dignity, or whether it were next to a miracle and a prodigy, that there should exist a man of that extraction endowed with fortitude and industry. By the most vigorous exertions, and after a violent struggle, the point had been gained, that military tribunes with consular power might be chosen from among the commons. Men of approved merit, both in the civil and military line, had stood candidates. During the first years they were hooted at, rejected and ridiculed by the patricians: of late they had desisted from exposing themselves to insult. For his part he could see no reason why the law itself could not be repealed, which granted permission for that which was never to happen: for they would have less cause to blush at the injustice of the law, than at their being passed by on account of their own want of merit."

XXXVI. Discourses of this sort being listened to with approbation, induced several to offer themselves as candidates for the military tribuneship, each professing intentions of introducing, when in office, some measure or regulation advantageous to the commons. Hopes were held forth of a distribution of the public lands, of colonies to be settled, and of money to be raised for paying the troops, by a tax imposed on the proprietors of estates. The military tribunes soon after laid hold of an opportunity, when most people had retired from the city, having previously given private notice to the senators to attend on a certain day, to procure a decree of the senate, in the absence of the plebeian tribunes,—that whereas it was reported, that the Volscians had marched from home with intent to plunder the country of the Hernicians, the military tribunes should therefore proceed to the spot and inspect into the

matter, and that an assembly should be held for the election of consuls. At their departure, they left Appius Claudius, son of the decemvir, præfect of the city, a young man of activity; and who had, even from his cradle, imbibed a hatred towards the commons and their tribunes. The plebeian tribunes had no room for contention, neither with those who had procured the decree of the senate during their absence, nor with Appius, as the business was already concluded.

XXXVII. The consuls elected were, Caius Sempronius Atratinus, and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. [Y. R. 332. B. C. 420.] An event which is related to have happened in this year, though in a foreign country, deserves to be recorded. Vulturum, a city of the Etrurians, now Capua, was seized by the Samnites, and called Capua, from Capys their leader, or, which is more probable, from its champaign grounds. The manner in which they made themselves masters of it was this: they were some time before, when the Etrurians had been greatly harassed in war, admitted to a share of this city and its lands; these new settlers, afterwards taking the opportunity of a festival, attacked and massacred in the night the first inhabitants, heavy with sleep and food. After this transaction, the consuls, whom we have mentioned, entered on office on the ides of December: by this time, not only those employed in inquiries had reported that the Volscians were ready to commence hostilities: but also ambassadors from the Latines and Hernicians had brought information, that "never at any former time had the Volscians exerted more diligence and care either in the choice of commanders, or the enlisting of troops: that it was a common expression among them, that they must either lay aside for ever all thoughts of war and arms, and submit to the yoke, or they must prove themselves not inferior to their competitors for empire, either in courage, perseverance, or military discipline." The intelligence was not without foundation: yet the senate were not affected by it, as might have been expected; and Caius Sempronius, to whom the command fell by lot, acted with carelessness and negligence in every particular, relying on fortune, as if it were incapable of change, because he before had headed a victorious soldiery against those who had been before overcome; so that there was more of the Roman discipline in the Volscian army than in

his own. Success, therefore, as on many other occasions, attended merit. The engagement was entered on by Sempronius, without either prudence or caution, without strengthening the line by a reserve, and without posting the cavalry in a proper situation. The shout gave a presage at the very beginning to which side the victory would incline. That raised by the Volscians was loud and full; whilst the shout of the Romans, dissonant, unequal, lifeless, and often begun anew, betrayed, by its unsteadiness, the fears which possessed them. This made the enemy charge with the greater boldness; they pushed with their shields, and brandished their swords: on the other side, the helmets were seen to droop as the wearers looked round for safety, disconcerted and disordered on every side. The ensigns sometimes kept their ground, deserted by those who ought to support them: at other times they retreated between their respective companies. As yet there was no absolute flight, nor was the victory complete. The Romans covered themselves rather than fought; the Volscians advanced, and pushed fiercely against the line, but still were seen greater numbers of the former falling than running away.

XXXVIII. The Romans now began to give way in every quarter, while the consul Sempronius in vain reproached them, and exhorted them to stand; neither his authority, nor his dignity, had any effect; and they would shortly have turned their backs to the enemy, had not Sextus Tempanius, a commander of a body of horse, with great presence of mind, brought them support, and when their situation was almost desperate. He called aloud, that the horsemen who wished the safety of the commonwealth, should leap from their horses, and, his order being obeyed by every troop, as if it had been delivered by the consul, he said, "unless this cohort, by the power of its arms, can stop the progress of the enemy, there is an end of the empire. Follow my spear, as your standard: show, both to Romans and Volscians, that as no horse are equal to you when mounted, so no foot are equal to you when ye dismount." This exhortation being received with a shout of applause, he advanced, holding his spear aloft: wherever they directed their march, they forced their way in spite of opposition; and, advancing their targets, pushed on to the place where they saw the distress of their friends the greatest. The fight was re-



stored in every part as far as their onset reached; and there was no doubt, that if it had been possible for so small a number to have managed the whole business of the field, the enemy would have turned their backs.

XXXIX. Finding that nothing could withstand them, the Volscian commander gave directions, that an opening should be made for these targeteers, until the violence of their charge should carry them so far, that they might be shut out from their friends: which being executed, the horsemen on their part were intercepted, in such a manner, that it was impossible for them to force a passage back; the enemy having collected their thickest numbers in the place through which they had made their way. The consul and Roman legions, not seeing, any where, that body which just before had afforded protection to the whole army, lest so many men, of such consummate valour, should be surrounded and overpowered by the enemy, resolved at all hazards to push forward. The Volscians forming two fronts, withstood, on one side, the consul: and the legions, on the other, pressed on Tempanius and the horsemen, who, after many fruitless attempts to break through to their friends, took possession of an eminence, and there forming a circle defended themselves, not without taking vengeance on the assailants. Nor was the fight ended when night came on. The consul kept the enemy employed, never relaxing his efforts as long as any light remained. The darkness at length separated them, leaving the victory undecided: and such a panic seized both camps, from the uncertainty in which they were with respect to the issue, that both armies, as if they had been vanquished, retreated into the nearest mountains, leaving behind their wounded, and a great part of their baggage. The eminence however was kept besieged until after midnight; when intelligence being brought to the besiegers that their camp was deserted, they, supposing that their friends had been defeated, fled also, each wherever his fears transported him. Tempanius apprehending an ambush, kept his men quiet until day-light; and then going out himself with a small party, to make observations, and discovering on inquiry from the wounded men of the enemy, that the camp of the Volscians was abandoned, he called down his men from the eminence with great joy, and made his way into the Roman camp. Here finding every place waste and de-

serted, and in the same disgraceful state in which he had seen the post of the enemy, before the discovery of their mistake should bring back the Volscians, he took with him as many of the wounded as he could; and not knowing what route the consul had taken, proceeded by the shortest roads to the city.

XL. News had already arrived there of the loss of the battle, and of the camp being abandoned: and great lamentations had been made; for the horsemen above all, the public grief being not inferior to that of their private connections. The consul Fabius, the city being alarmed for its own safety, had troops posted before the gates, when the horsemen being seen at a distance, occasioned at first some degree of fright, while it was not known who they were; but this being presently discovered, people's fears were converted into such transports of joy, that every part of the city was filled with shouting; each one congratulating the other on the return of the horsemen, safe and victorious. Then were seen pouring out in crowds into the streets from the houses, which a little before had been filled with lamentation and mourning, for friends supposed lost, their mothers and wives; each rushing wildly to her own, and scarcely retaining, in the extravagance of their rejoicings, the powers either of mind or body. The tribunes of the commons, who had commenced a prosecution against Marcus Postimius and Titus Quintius, for having occasioned the loss of the battle at Veii, thought that the recent displeasure of the people towards the consul Sempronius, afforded a fit opportunity for reviving the anger of the public against them. Having therefore convened the people, they exclaimed loudly, that the commonwealth had been betrayed by its commanders at Veii; and afterwards, in consequence of their escaping with impunity, the army was also betrayed by the consul in the country of the Volscians, the cavalry, men of distinguished bravery, given up to slaughter, and the camp shamefully deserted. Then Caius Junius, one of the tribunes, ordered Tempanius the horseman to be called, and in their presence addressed him thus: "Sextus Tempanius, I demand of you, whether it is your opinion that the consul Caius Sempronius either engaged the enemy at a proper season, or strengthened his line with a reserve, or discharged any duty of a good consul: and whether you yourself, when the Roman legions were defeated, did not, of

your own judgment, dismount the cavalry and restore the fight? Did he afterwards, when you and the horsemen were shut out from our army, either come himself to your relief, or send you assistance? Then again, on the day following, did you find support any where? Did you and your cohort, by your own bravery, make your way into the camp? Did ye in the camp find any consul or any army? Or, did ye find the camp forsaken, and the wounded soldiers left behind? These things, it becomes your bravery and honour, which have proved in this war the security of the commonwealth, to declare this day. In fine, where is Caius Sempronius? where are our legions? Have you been deserted, or have you deserted the consul and the army? In short, have we been defeated, or have we gained the victory?"

XLl. In answer to these interrogatories, Tempanius is said to have spoken, not with studied eloquence, but with the manly firmness of a soldier, neither vainly displaying his own merit, nor showing pleasure at the censure thrown on others: "As to the degree of military skill possessed by Caius Sempronius the general, it was not his duty, as a soldier, to judge; that was the business of the Roman people, when, at the election, they chose him consul. He desired, therefore, that they would not require from him a detail of the designs and duties becoming the office of a general, or of a consul; matters which, even from persons of the most exalted capacity and genius, required much consideration: but what he saw, that he could relate. He had seen, before his communication with the army was cut off, the consul fighting in the front of the line, encouraging the men, and actively employed between the Roman ensigns and the weapons of the enemy. He was afterwards carried out of sight of his countrymen: however, from the noise and shouting, he perceived that the battle was prolonged until night; nor did he believe, that it was in their power, on account of the great numbers of the enemy, to force their way to the eminence where he had taken post. Where the army was, he knew not. He supposed that as he, in a dangerous crisis, had taken advantage of the ground to secure himself and his men, in like manner the consul, consulting the safety of his army, had chosen a stronger situation for his camp. Nor did he believe, that the affairs of the Volscians were in a better posture than those of the Roman

people: for fortune and the night had caused abundance of mistakes, both on one side and the other." He then begged that they would not detain him, as he was much distressed with fatigue and wounds; and he was dismissed with the highest expressions of applause, no less for his modesty than his bravery. Meanwhile the consul had come as far as the Temple of Rest, on the road leading to Lavici; whither waggons and other carriages were sent from the city, and which took up the men who were spent with the fatigue of the action, and the march by night. The consul soon after entered the city, and was not more anxiously desirous to clear himself from blame, than he was to bestow on Tempanius the praise which he deserved. While the minds of the citizens were full of grief for the ill success of their affairs, and of resentment against their commanders, the first object thrown in the way of their ill humour was Marcus Postumius, formerly military tribune, with consular power, at Veii, who was brought to trial, and condemned in a fine of ten thousand *asses* in weight, of brass.' Titus Quintius endeavoured to transfer all the blame of that event from himself on his colleague, who was already condemned; and as he had conducted business with success, both in the country of the Volscians when consul, under the auspices of the dictator Postumius Tubertus, and also at Fidenæ, when lieutenant-general to another dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, all the tribes acquitted him. It is said that his cause was much indebted to the high veneration in which his father Cincinnatus was held; and likewise to Quintius Capitolinus, who being now extremely old, begged with humble supplications that they would not suffer him who had so short a time to live, to carry any dismal tidings to Cincinnatus.

XLII. The commons created Sextus Tempanius, Aulus Sellius, Lucius Antistius, and Sextus Pompilius, in their absence, plebeian tribunes; [Y. R. 333. B. C. 419.] these being the persons whom, by the advice of Tempanius, the horsemen had appointed to command them as centurions. The senate finding that through the general aversion from Sempronius, the name of consul was become displeasing, ordered military tribunes with consular power to be chosen. Accordingly there were elected Lucius Manlius Capitolinus,



Quintus Antonius Merenda, and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. No sooner had the year begun, than Lucius Hortensius, a plebeian tribune, commenced a prosecution<sup>1</sup> against Caius Sempronius, consul of the preceding year. His four colleagues, in the presence of the Roman people, besought him not to involve in vexation an unoffending general, in whose case fortune alone could be blamed: Hortensius took offence at this, thinking it meant a trial of his perseverance; and that the accused depended not on the entreaties of the tribunes, which were thrown out only for the sake of appearance, but on their protection. Turning first therefore to him, he asked, "Where were the haughty airs of the patrician? Where was the spirit upheld in confidence by conscious innocence, that a man of consular dignity took shelter under the shade of tribunes?" Then to his colleagues; "As to you, what is your intention in case I persist in the prosecution? Do ye mean to rob the people of their jurisdiction, and to overturn the power of the tribunes?" To this they replied; "That with respect both to Sempronius, and to all others, the Roman people possessed supreme authority; that it was neither in their power nor in their wishes to obstruct the exercise of it; but

if their prayers in behalf of their general, who was to them a parent, should have no effect, they were determined to change their apparel along with him." Hortensius then declared, "the commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes in the garb of culprits: I have nothing farther to say to Sempronius, since, by his conduct in command, he has rendered himself so dear to his soldiers." Nor was the dutiful attachment of the four tribunes more pleasing to the patricians and to the commons, than was the temper of Hortensius, complying so readily with entreaties founded on justice. Fortune no longer indulged the Æquans, who had embraced the doubtful success of the Volscians as their own.

XLIII. In the year following [Y. R. 334. B. C. 418.] which had for consuls, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quintius Capitolinus, son of Capitolinus, nothing memorable was performed under the conduct of Fabius, to whom the province of encountering the enemy fell by lot. The Æquans, on merely showing their spiritless army, were driven off the field in a shameful flight, without affording the consul much honour, for which reason he was refused a triumph; however, as he had effaced the ignominy of the misfortune under Sempronius, he was permitted to enter the city in ovation. As the war was brought to a conclusion with less difficulty than had been apprehended, so the city, from a state of tranquillity, was unexpectedly involved in a scene of turbulent dissensions between the patricians and plebeians. This was the effect of a plan for doubling the number of quæstors: for the consuls having proposed, that, in addition to the two city-quæstors, two others should always attend the consuls, to discharge the business relative to the army, and the measure having been warmly approved by the patricians, the tribunes contended, in opposition to the consuls, that half the number of quæstors should be taken from among the commons, for hitherto patricians only had been elected: against which scheme both consuls and patricians struggled at first with their utmost power. They afterwards offered a concession, that according to the practice in the election of tribunes with consular power, the people should have equal freedom of suffrage with respect to quæstors; yet finding that this had no effect, they entirely laid aside the design of augmenting the number. No sooner, however, was it dropped by them, than it was

1 A prosecution before the people was a very tedious business, and afforded the person accused many chances of escaping, even though he should not be able to prove his innocence; he might prevail on the prosecutor to relinquish the charge, or on a plebeian tribune to interpose, or on the augurs to report ill omens on the day of the assembly for the decision; or at the worst, he might go into voluntary exile; *vertere solum exilii gratia*. A magistrate, who intended to impeach a person before the people, mounted the rostrum, and gave notice that on such a day he intended to accuse that person of such a crime; on which the party accused was obliged to give bail for his appearance, which if he failed to do, he was thrown into prison. On the day appointed, the people being assembled (by centuries if the crime charged was capital, by tribes if fineable), the person accused was summoned by the crier, and if he did not appear, was punished at the pleasure of the prosecutor. If he appeared, the accuser mounted the rostrum, and began his charge, which he carried on through that and two other days, allowing an interval of one day between each. On the third day he made a recapitulation of the charge, and mentioned the punishment specified in the law for such an offence. This was expressed in writing, and exhibited to public view during three market-days. This proceeding was termed *rogatio* in respect of the people, and *irrogatio* in respect of the accused. On the day after the third market-day, the accuser finished the business of the prosecution, and concluded with giving notice of the day on which the assembly should meet to pass judgment. The accused was then at liberty to make his defence, either by himself, or by advocates.

taken up by the tribunes, while several other seditious schemes were continually started, and among the rest, one for an agrarian law. The senate was desirous, on account of these commotions, that consuls should be elected rather than tribunes, but no decree could be passed, by reason of the protests of the tribunes, so that the government, from being consular, became a kind of interregnum: nor was even that accomplished without a violent struggle, the tribunes obstructing the meeting of the patricians. The greater part of the ensuing year was wasted in contentions between the new tribunes, and the several interreges, the tribunes sometimes hindering the patricians from assembling to declare an interrex; at others, protesting against the interreges passing a decree for the election of consuls; at last, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, being declared interrex, severely reprov'd both the senate and the plebeian tribunes, affirming, that "the commonwealth, being forsaken by men, and preserved by the care and providence of the gods, subsisted merely by means of the Veientian truce, and the dilatoriness of the Æquans: from which quarter, should an alarm of danger be heard, did they think it right, that the nation, destitute of a patrician magistrate, should be exposed to a surprise? That it neither should have an army, nor a general to enlist one? Did they think an intestine war the proper means to repel a foreign one? Should both take place at the same time, the power of the gods would scarcely be able to preserve the Roman state from ruin. It were much fitter that both parties should remit somewhat of their strict rights; and, by a mutual compromise of their pretensions, unite the whole in concord, the senate permitting military tribunes to be appointed instead of consuls, and the tribunes of the commons ceasing to protest against the four quæstors being chosen out of the patricians and plebeians, indiscriminately, by the free suffrages of the people."

XLIV. The election of tribunes was first held, [Y. R. 335. B. C. 417.] and there were chosen tribunes, with consular power, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, Marcus Manlius and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, all patricians. The last-named tribune presided at the election of quæstors, when there appeared among several other plebeian candidates, a son of Antistius, a plebeian tribune, and a brother

of Sextus Pompilius, of the same order: but neither their power nor interest were able to prevent the people from choosing rather to raise those to the rank of nobility, whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen in the consulship. This enraged all the tribunes to madness, especially Pompilius and Antistius, who were incensed at the disappointment of their relations. "What could be the meaning of this," they said, "that neither their services, nor the injurious behaviour of the patricians, nor even the pleasure of exercising a newly acquired right, though a power was now granted which had hitherto been refused, had been sufficient to procure, for any plebeian whatever, the office of military tribune, or even that of quæstor? The prayers of a father in behalf of his son, those of one brother in behalf of another, those of persons invested with the tribuneship of the commons, that sacred and inviolable power created for the protection of liberty, had all proved ineffectual. There must certainly have been some fraudulent practices in the case, and Aulus Sempronius must have used more artifice in the election than was consistent with honour;" in fine, they complained loudly, that their relations had been disappointed of the office by his unfair conduct. But as no serious attack could be made on him, because he was secured, both by innocence, and by the office which he held at the time, they turned their resentment against Caius Sempronius, uncle to Atratinus; and, aided by Camuleius, one of their colleagues, entered a prosecution against him on account of the disgrace sustained in the Volscian war. By the same tribunes mention was frequently introduced, in the senate, of the distribution of lands, which scheme Caius Sempronius had always most vigorously opposed; for they foresaw, as it fell out, that, on the one hand, should he forsake that cause, he would be less warmly defended by the patricians; and, on the other, if he should persevere, at the time when his trial was approaching, he would give offence to the commons. He chose to face the torrent of popular displeasure, and rather to injure his own cause, than to be wanting to that of the public; and therefore, standing firm in the same opinion, he declared, that "no such largess should be made, which would only tend to aggrandize the three tribunes; affirming, that the object of their pursuits was not to procure lands for the commons, but ill-will against him. That, for his own part, he would under-



go the storm with determined resolution ; and, with regard to the senate, it was their duty, not to set so high a value on him, or on any other citizen, as through tenderness to an individual, to give room for an injury to the public." When the day of trial arrived, he pleaded his own cause with the same degree of intrepidity ; and, notwithstanding the patricians used every expedient to soften the commons, he was condemned in a fine of fifteen thousand *asses*.<sup>1</sup> The same year, Postumia, a vestal virgin, was charged with breach of chastity. She was free from the guilt, but took too little pains to avoid the imputation of it, which was grounded merely on suspicion, caused by her too great gaiety of dress, and from her manners being less reserved than became her state. The trial having been adjourned to a farther hearing, and she being afterwards acquitted, the chief pontiff, by direction of the college, ordered her to refrain from indiscreet mirth ; and, in her dress, to attend more to the sanctity of her character, than to the fashion. In this year Cumæ, a city then possessed by Greeks, was taken by the Campanians.

XLV. The ensuing year [Y. R. 336. B. C. 416.] had for military tribunes with consular power, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Spurius Nautius, and Caius Servilius ; a year which, by good fortune, was rendered remarkable, rather by great dangers, than by losses. The slaves formed a conspiracy to set fire to the city in different quarters : and, while the people should be every where intent on saving the houses, to take arms, and seize on the citadel and the capitol. Jupiter frustrated their horrid designs, and the offenders being seized upon the information of two of their number, were punished. The informers were rewarded with their freedom, and ten thousand *asses*<sup>2</sup> in weight of brass, paid out of the treasury, a sum which, at that time, was reckoned wealth. Soon after, intelligence was received at Rome, from good authority, that the Æquans were preparing to renew hostilities, and that this old enemy was joined in the design by a new one, the Lavicanians. Fighting with the Æquans was now become to the state almost an anniversary custom. To Lavinia ambassadors were sent, who having returned with an evasive answer, from which it was evident that, though immediate war was not in-

tended, yet peace would not be of long continuance, orders were given to the Tusculans to watch attentively, lest any new commotion should arise at Lavinia. The military tribunes, with consular power, of the next year, [Y. R. 337. B. C. 415.] Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugillanus, Caius Servilius, son of Priscus, who, in his dictatorship, had taken Fidenæ, were, soon after the commencement of their office, attended by an embassy from Tusculum, the purport of which was, that the Lavicanians had taken arms, and after having, in conjunction with the Æquans, ravaged that territory, had pitched their camp at Algidum. War was then proclaimed against the Lavicanians. The senate having decreed that two of the tribunes should go out to command the army, and that the other should manage affairs at Rome, there sprung up on a sudden a warm dispute among the tribunes, each representing himself as the fittest person to command in the war, and scorning the business of the city as disagreeable and inglorious. The senate, beholding with surprise this indecent contention between the colleagues, Quintus Servilius said, " Since ye pay no deference either to this august body, or to the commonwealth, parental authority shall put an end to your unseemly altercation. My son, without putting it to the lots, shall hold the command in the city. I hope that those, who are so ambitious of being employed in the war, may act with greater prudence and manliness in their conduct of it, than they show in their present competition."

XLVI. It was resolved that the levy should not be made out of the whole body of the people indiscriminately : ten tribes were drawn by lot, and out of these the tribunes enlisted the younger men, and led them to the field. The contentions which began in the city, were, through the same eager ambition for command, raised to a much greater height in the camp. On no one point did their sentiments agree ; each contended strenuously for his own opinion ; endeavoured to have his own plans and his own commands only put in execution ; showed a contempt of the other ; and met with a like contempt in return : until at length, on the remonstrances of the lieutenant-generals, they came to a compromise, which was to enjoy the supreme command alternately, each for a day. When these proceedings were reported at Rome, Quintus Servilius, whose wisdom was matured by age and experience, is said to have

prayed to the immortal gods, that the discord of the tribunes might not prove, as he feared it might, more detrimental to the commonwealth than it had done at Veii; and to have urged his son earnestly to enlist soldiers and prepare arms, as if he foresaw with certainty some impending misfortune. Nor was he a false prophet: for under the conduct of Lucius Sergius, whose day of command it was, the troops were suddenly attacked by the Æquans, in disadvantageous ground, adjoining the enemy's camp; into which they had been decoyed by vain hopes of mastering it; the enemy counterfeiting fear, and having retreated to their rampart. They were driven in great disorder down a declivity in the rear, and while they tumbled one on another, rather than fled, vast numbers were overpowered and slain. With difficulty they defended the camp for that day; and on the following, the enemy having invested it on several sides, they abandoned it in shameful flight through the opposite gate. The generals, lieutenant-generals, and such part of the body of the army as followed the colours, took the route to Tusculum: the rest dispersing up and down made their way to Rome, by many different roads, bringing exaggerated accounts of the disaster which had happened. This unfortunate affair caused the less consternation, because it was not unexpected, and because there was a reinforcement of troops already prepared by the military tribune, to which, in this disorder of their affairs, they could look for security. By his orders also, after the confusion in the city had been quieted by means of the inferior magistrates, scouts were instantly despatched for intelligence, who brought accounts that the generals and the army were at Tusculum, and that the enemy had not removed their camp. But what chiefly contributed to raise people's spirits was, that, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus was created dictator, a man whose extensive judgment in public affairs the state had experienced, as well on many former occasions as in the issue of that campaign; he alone having, before the misfortune happened, expressed apprehensions of danger from the disputes of the tribunes. He appointed for his master of the horse the tribune by whom he had been nominated dictator, his own son, according to some accounts; but other writers mention Servilius Ahala as master of the horse that year. Then, putting himself at the head of the new raised troops, and

sending orders to those at Tusculum to join him, he marched against the enemy, and chose ground for his camp within two miles of theirs.

XLVII. The negligence and the vanity inspired by success, which were formerly manifested in the Roman commanders, were now transferred to the Æquans. In the first engagement, the dictator having thrown the enemy's van into disorder by a charge of the cavalry, immediately directed the infantry to advance with speed, and slew one of his own standard bearers who did not readily obey the order. Such ardour was in consequence displayed by the troops, that the Æquans could not support the shock of their onset. Vanquished in the field, they fled precipitately to their camp, the taking of which cost even less time and trouble than the battle had done. After the camp had been taken and plundered, the dictator giving up the spoil to the soldiers, the horsemen, who had pursued the enemy in their flight, returned with intelligence, that after their defeat all the Lavicanians, and a great part of the Æquans, had retreated to Lavici; on which the army was next day conducted thither, and the town, being invested on every side, was taken by storm. The dictator, having led back his victorious army to Rome, resigned his office, on the eighth day after his appointment; and the senate, seizing the opportunity, before the tribunes of the commons should raise seditions about the agrarian laws, voted, in full assembly, that a colony should be conducted to Lavici, at the same time introducing a proposal for a distribution of its lands. One thousand five hundred colonists, sent from the city, received each two acres. During two years after the taking of Lavici, [Y. R. 338. B. C. 414.] in the first of which Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Lucius Servilius Structus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, all these a second time, and Spurius Rutilius Crassus were military tribunes with consular power; and in the following, [Y. R. 339. B. C. 413.] Aulus Sempronius Atrantinus a third time, and Marcus Papirius Mugillanus and Spurius Nautius Rutilus both a second time. There was tranquillity with respect to affairs abroad, but at home dissensions occasioned by agrarian laws.

XLVIII. The incendiaries of the populace were the Spurii, tribunes of the commons, Mæcilius a fourth time, and Mætilius a third, both elected in their absence. A very violent contest between the patricians and plebeians



was now expected on the subject of the agrarian laws; for these tribunes had publicly proposed, that the lands, taken from their enemies, should be distributed in such a manner, that every man might have a share. Had this proposal passed into a law, the property of a great part of the nobles would have been confiscated; for scarcely was there any of the public territory, not even the ground on which the city itself was built, but what had been acquired by arms; all of which consequently must have been comprehended in it; nor could the military tribunes, either in the senate, or in the private meetings of the nobles, devise, in this exigency, any promising plan of conduct: when Appius Claudius, grandson of him who had been decemvir for compiling the laws, being the youngest senator in the assembly, is said to have told them, that "he had brought from home, for their use, an old scheme, which had been first devised by his family:—that his great-grandfather Appius Claudius had shown the patricians one method of baffling the power of the tribunes, by the protests of their colleagues:—that new men were easily drawn off from their designs by the influence of people of consequence, if they were addressed in language suited to the times rather than to the dignity of the speakers. Their sentiments were ever directed by their circumstances. When they should see that their colleagues who first set the business on foot had got the start, and monopolized the whole credit of it with the commons, so that there was no room left for them to come in for any share, they would, without reluctance, lean for support to the cause of the senate, by means of which they might conciliate the favour, not only of the principal patricians, but of the whole body." Every one expressing approbation, and particularly Quintus Servilius Priscus, highly commending the youth for not having degenerated from the Claudian race, a general charge was given, that they should gain over as many of the college of tribunes as possible, to enter protests. On the breaking up of the senate, the principal patricians made their applications to the tribunes, and by persuasions, admonitions, and assurances that it would be acknowledged as a favour by each of them in particular, and also by the whole senate, they prevailed on six to promise their protests. Accordingly, on the day following, when the senate was consulted, as had been preconcerted,

concerning the sedition which Mætilius and Mætilius were exciting, by the proposal of a largess of most pernicious tendency, the speeches of the principal patricians ran all in the same strain, each declaring that, for his part, "he could neither devise any satisfactory mode of proceeding, nor could he see a remedy any where, unless it were found in the protection of the tribunes. To that office the commonwealth, embarrassed with difficulties, in like manner as a private person in distress, had now recourse for aid: and that it would be highly honourable to themselves, and to their office, if they showed that the tribuneship possessed not greater power to harass the senate, and excite discord between the orders of the state, than to favour ill-designing colleagues." The voices of the whole senate were then heard together, appeals to the tribunes coming from every corner of the house; and, in some time, silence being obtained, those who had been prepared through the influence of the principal nobility gave notice, "that the proposal of a law, published by their colleagues, which, in the judgment of the senate, tended to the dissolution of the commonwealth, they would oppose with their protests." The thanks of the senate were given to the protestors: but the authors of the proposal, having called an assembly of the people, abused their colleagues as traitors to the interests of the commons, and slaves to the consulars; but, after uttering other bitter invectives against them, dropped the prosecution of their scheme.

XLIX. The two perpetual enemies of the Romans would have given them employment during the following year, [Y. R. 340. B. C. 412.] in which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quintius Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, were military tribunes with consular power, had not the religious scruples of their leaders deferred the military operations of the Veientians, in consequence of their lands having suffered severely, principally in the destruction of their country-seats, by an inundation of the Tiber. At the same time, the Æquans, by the loss which they had sustained three years before, were deterred from affording aid to the Volani, one of their kindred states. These had made inroads on the contiguous district of Lavici, and committed hostilities on the new colony: in which unjust proceeding they had hoped to have been supported by the concur-

rence of all the Æquans; but, being forsaken by their confederates, they, without performing any action worth mentioning, were stripped, in one slight battle and a siege, both of their lands and their city. An attempt made by Lucius Sextius, plebeian tribune, to procure a law that a colony should be sent to Volæ, in like manner as to Lavici, was crushed by the protests of his colleagues: who declared openly that they would not suffer any order of the commons to be passed, unless it were approved by the senate. Next year [Y. R. 341. B. C. 411.] the Æquans, having recovered Volæ, and sent a colony thither, strengthened the town with additional fortifications, the military tribunes with consular power, at Rome, being Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus a second time, and Marcus Postumius Regillensis. The conduct of the war with the Æquans was intrusted to the last-mentioned, a man of a depraved mind; which, however, did not appear so much in his management of the campaign, as in his behaviour on gaining success. Having, with great activity, levied an army and marched to Volæ, after breaking the spirits of the Æquans in slight engagements, he at length forced his way into the place; where he began a contention with his countrymen, instead of the Æquans. For having proclaimed, during the assault, that the plunder should be given to the soldiers, he broke his word on getting possession of the town. This, I am inclined to believe, was the cause of the displeasure of the army, rather than from finding less booty than the tribune had represented, and which they could not well expect in a new colony, and a town which had been sacked a short time before. Their anger was farther inflamed on his return to the city, (whither he had been summoned by his colleagues, on account of seditions raised by the plebeian tribunes,) from an expression which he was heard to utter in an assembly of the people, and which showed great weakness, or rather a degree of insanity. On Sextius, the plebeian tribune, proposing an agrarian law, and at the same time declaring that he would also propose the sending of a colony to Volæ, because those men deserved to enjoy the city and lands of Volæ, who had gained possession of them by their arms, he exclaimed, "Woe to my soldiers, if they are not quiet." Which words gave not greater offence to the assembly,

than they did soon after to the patricians, when they heard them; and the plebeian tribune, a keen man, and not destitute of eloquence, having found among his adversaries this haughty temper and ungoverned tongue, which he could easily provoke to such expressions as would excite indignation, not only against himself, but against the whole body and their cause, took occasion to draw Postumius more frequently into disputes than any other of the military tribunes. But now, on such a barbarous and inhuman expression, he remarked, "Do ye hear him, citizens! denouncing woe to soldiers as he would to slaves? and yet this brute will be judged by you more deserving of his high office than those who send you into colonies, and enrich you with lands and cities; who provide a settlement for your old age; and who fight, to the last, in defence of your interests. Begin then to learn why so few undertake your cause. What would they have to expect at your hands? posts of honour? These ye choose to confer on your adversaries, rather than on the champions of the Roman people. Ye murmured just now on hearing that man's words. What does that avail? If ye had an opportunity, this moment, of giving your votes, ye would no doubt prefer him who denounces woe to you, before those who wish to procure establishments for you, of lands, habitations, and property."

L. The words of Postumius being conveyed to the soldiers, excited in the camp a much higher degree of indignation. "Should a fraudulent embezzler of the spoils," they said, "denounce also woe to the soldiers?" A general and open avowal of their resentment ensuing, the quæstor, Publius Sextius, supposing that the mutiny might be quashed, by the same violence which had given rise to it, sent a licitor to one of the most clamorous of the soldiers, on which a tumult and scuffle arose, in which he received a blow of a stone, which obliged him to withdraw from the crowd; the person who had wounded him adding, with a sneer, that "the quæstor had got what the general had threatened to the soldiers." Postumius being sent for, on account of this disturbance, exasperated still farther the general ill-humour, by the severity of his inquiries and cruelty of his punishments. At last, a crowd being drawn together, by the cries of some whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle, he gave a loose to his rage, running down from



the tribunal, like a madman, against those who interrupted the execution. There the indignation of the multitude, increased by the lictors clearing the way on all sides, and by the conduct of the centurions, burst out with such fury, that the tribune was overwhelmed with stones by his own troops. When this deed of such a heinous nature was reported at Rome, and the military tribunes endeavoured to procure a decree of the senate, for an inquiry into the death of their colleague, the plebeian tribunes interposed their protest. But this dispute was a branch of a contest of another kind; for the patricians had been seized with apprehensions that the commons, actuated by resentment and dread of the inquiries, would elect military tribunes out of their own body; therefore they laboured with all their might for an election of consuls. The plebeian tribunes, not suffering the decree of the senate to pass, and also protesting against the election of consuls, the affair was brought to an interregnum. The patricians then obtained the victory.

L.I. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, interrex, presiding in the assembly, Marcus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus were chosen consuls. [Y. R. 342. B. C. 410.] In the beginning of their year of office, the senate passed a decree, that the tribunes should, without delay, propose to the commons an inquiry into the murder of Postumius, and that the commons should appoint whomsoever they should think proper to conduct the inquiry. The employment was, by a vote of the commons, which was approved by the people at large, committed to the consuls; who, notwithstanding they proceeded in the business with the utmost moderation and lenity, passing sentence of punishment only on a few, who, as there is good reason to believe, put an end to their own lives; yet could he not prevent the commons from conceiving the highest displeasure, and from observing that "any constitutions, enacted for their advantage, lay long dormant and unexecuted; whereas a law passed, in the meantime, consigning their persons and lives to forfeiture, was instantly enforced, and that with such full effect." This would have been a most seasonable time, after the punishment of the mutiny, to have soothed their minds with such a healing measure as the distribution of the territory of Volæ; as it would have diminished their eagerness in the pursuit

of an agrarian law, which tended to expel the patricians from the public lands, the possession of which they had unjustly acquired. But as matters were managed, the ill-treatment shown them, in this very instance, was an additional source of vexation, as the nobility not only persisted with obstinacy to retain possession of those public lands, but even refused to distribute to the commons such as had been lately taken from the enemy, which otherwise would, like the rest, in a short time become the prey of a few. This year, the legions were led out by the consul Furius against the Volscians, who were ravaging the country of the Hernicians; but not finding the enemy there, they proceeded to and took Ferentinum, whither a great multitude had retreated. The quantity of the spoil was less than they had expected, because the Volscians, seeing small hopes of holding out, had carried off their effects by night, and abandoned the town; which, being left almost without an inhabitant, fell next day into the hands of the Romans. The lands were given to the Hernicians.

L.II. That year, through the moderation of the tribunes, passed in domestic quiet; [Y. R. 343. B. C. 409.] but the succeeding one, wherein Quintus Fabius Ambustus and Caius Furius Pacilus were consuls, was ushered in with the turbulent operations of Lucius Icilius, a plebeian tribune. Whilst in the very beginning of the year, he was employed in exciting sedition by the publication of agrarian laws, as if that were a task incumbent on his name and family, a pestilence broke out, more alarming, however, than deadly, which diverted men's thoughts from the forum, and political disputes, to their own houses, and the care of their personal safety. It is believed that the disorder was less fatal, in its effects, than the sedition would have proved, the state being delivered from it, with the loss of very few lives, though the sickness had been exceedingly general. This year [Y. R. 344. B. C. 408.] of pestilence was succeeded by one of scarcity, owing to the neglect of agriculture, usual in such cases. Marcus Papirius Atratinus and Caius Nauticus Rutilus were consuls. Famine would now have produced more dismal effects than the pest, had not a supply been procured to the market by despatching envoys round all the nations bordering on the Tuscan sea, and on the Tiber, to purchase corn. The Samnites, who were then in possession of Capua and Cu-

mæ, in a haughty manner prohibited them from trading there : they met, however, with a different reception from the tyrants of Sicily, who kindly afforded every assistance. The largest supplies were brought down by the Tiber, through the very active zeal of the Etrurians. In consequence of the sickness, the consuls were at a loss for men to transact the business of the nation, so that not finding more than one senator for each embassy, they were obliged to join to it two knights. Except from the sickness and the scarcity, there happened nothing during those two years, either at home or abroad, to give them any trouble. But no sooner did those causes of uneasiness disappear, than all the evils which had hitherto so frequently distressed the state, started up together, intestine discord and foreign wars.

LIII. In the succeeding consulate of Mamerceus Æmilius and Caius Valerius Potitus, [Y. R. 345. B. C. 407.] the Æquans made preparations for war ; and the Volscians, though they took not arms by public authority, supplied them with volunteers who served for pay. On the report of hostilities having been committed by them, for they had now marched out into the territories of the Latines and Hernicians, Valerius the consul began to enlist troops, whilst Marcus Mænius, a plebeian tribune, who was pushing forward an agrarian law, obstructed the levies ; and as the people were secure of the support of the tribune, no one, who did not choose it, took the military oath,—when on a sudden, news arrived that the citadel of Carventa had been seized by the enemy. The disgrace incurred by this event, while it served the senate as a ground of severe reproaches against Mænius, afforded at the same time to the other tribunes, who had been already pre-engaged, to protest against the agrarian law, a more justifiable pretext for acting in opposition to their colleague. Wherefore, after the business had been protracted to a great length, by wrangling disputes, the consuls appealing to gods and men, maintained that whatever losses or disgrace had already been, or was likely to be suffered, from the enemy, the blame of all was to be imputed to Mænius, who hindered the levies ; Mænius, on the other hand, exclaiming, that if the unjust occupiers would resign the possession of the public lands, he would give no delay to the levies. On this, the nine tribunes interposed, by a decree, and put an end to the

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contest, proclaiming as the determination of their college, that “ they would, for the purpose of enforcing the levy, in opposition to the protest of their colleague, support Caius Valerius in inflicting fines and other penalties on such as should refuse to enlist.” Armed with this decree, the consul ordered a few, who appealed to the tribune, to be taken into custody ; at which, the rest, being terrified, took the military oath. The troops were led to the citadel of Carventa, and though mutual dislike prevailed between them and the consul, yet, as soon as they arrived at the spot, they retook the citadel with great spirit, driving out the troops which defended it. Numbers having carelessly straggled from the garrison, in search of plunder, had left the place so exposed as to be attacked with success. The booty was there considerable ; because the whole of what they collected, in their continual depredations, had been stored up in the citadel, as a place of safety. This the consul ordered the quæstors to sell by auction, and to carry the produce into the treasury, declaring that when the soldiers should appear not to have a desire to decline the service, they should then share in the spoil. This so much increased the anger of the people and soldiers against the consul, that when, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, he entered the city in ovation, in the couplets of rude verses, thrown out with military license, and in which he was reflected on with severity, the name of Mænius was extolled with praises, and on every mention of the tribune the attachment of the surrounding populace manifested itself in expressions of approbation and applause, which vied with the commendations of the soldiers. This circumstance, in regard to the tribune, more than the wanton raillery of the soldiers against the consul, and which was in some measure customary, gave great uneasiness to the senate ; so that, not doubting but Mænius would be honoured with a place among the military tribunes, if he were to be a candidate, they put it out of his reach by appointing an election of consuls.

LIV. The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time. [Y. R. 346. B. C. 406.] The commons were never more highly displeased than now, at not being allowed to elect tribunes. At the nomination of quæstors, they discovered this displeasure, and at the

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same time took their revenge by raising, for the first time, plebeians to their place : of the four appointed, Cæso Fabius Ambustus was the only patrician ; the three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Ælius, and Publius Pupius being preferred before young men of the most illustrious families. That the people exerted this freedom, in giving their suffrages, was owing, I find, to the Iciliï, out of which family, the most hostile of any to the patricians, three were chosen tribunes for that year ; who, after flattering the multitude with the prospect of various and great designs to be achieved, and thereby exciting their most ardent expectations, affirmed that they would not stir a step, unless the nation would, at least in the election of quæstors, the only one which the senate had left open to both patricians and plebeians, show a proper degree of spirit for the accomplishment of what they had long wished for, and what the laws had put in their power. The commons, therefore, considered this as an important victory, and estimated the quæstorship in its present state, not according to the intrinsic value of the office itself, but as it appeared to lay open to new men an access to the consulship and the honours of a triumph. On the other hand, the patricians expressed great indignation at the prospect of the posts of honour not only being shared with others, but perhaps lost to themselves, affirming that, "if things were to remain in that state, it would be folly to educate children, who, being excluded from the station of their ancestors, and seeing such in possession of their rightful honours, would be left without command or power in the character of Salii or Flamens, with no other employment than that of offering sacrifices for the people." The minds of both parties became highly irritated, while the commons assumed new courage, in having acquired three leaders of the popular cause, of most distinguished reputation. The senate, seeing that every election wherein the commons had liberty of choosing out of both parties, would prove in the issue like that of the quæstors, were earnest for the naming of consuls, which was not yet laid open to them. On the other hand, the Iciliï insisted that military tribunes should be elected, and some posts of dignity be at length imparted to the commons.

LV. The consuls had no business on their hands, by an opposition to which they could extort a compliance to their wishes : when at a

moment surprisingly seasonable for their purpose, news was brought that the Volscians and Æquans had marched beyond their own frontiers, to ravage the lands of the Latines and Hernicians. But when the consuls began to levy troops, the tribunes exerted themselves strenuously to hinder it ; affirming that this was an advantageous opportunity, presented by fortune to them and to the commons. There were three of them all men of the most active talents, and considerable families among the plebeians. Two of these chose each a consul, whose motions he was to watch with unremitting assiduity ; the third had the charge assigned him, of sometimes restraining, sometimes spiriting up the commons by his harangues. Thus the consuls could not accomplish the levy, nor the tribunes the election which they had planned. After some time expresses arrived that the Æquans had attacked the citadel of Carventa, while the soldiers of the garrison were straggling abroad in search of plunder, and had put to death the few who were left to guard it : that several were slain as they were hastily returning to the citadel, with others who were dispersed through the country. This incident, while it prejudiced the state, added force to the project of the tribunes. For, though assailed by every argument to induce them to desist, at least in the present situation of affairs, from obstructing the business of the war, they would not give way either to the storm which threatened the public, or to the torrent of displeasure to which themselves were exposed ; and, at length, carried their point, that the senate should pass a decree for the election of military tribunes. This, however, was accompanied with an express stipulation, that no person should be admitted as a candidate who was in that year a plebeian tribune ; and that no plebeian tribune should be re-chosen for the year following : the senate in this, pointing undoubtedly at the Iciliï, whom they suspected of aiming at the consular tribuneship. After this, the levy and other preparations for war, went forward, with the general concurrence of all ranks. The diversity of the accounts given by writers renders it uncertain, whether the two consuls marched to the citadel of Carventa, or whether one remained at home to hold the elections ; but those facts in which they do not disagree we may receive as certain ; that, after having carried on the attack for a long time, without effect, the army retired

from that citadel; that, by the same army, Verrugo, in the country of the Volscians, was retaken, great devastation made, and immense booty captured, in the territories both of the Æquans and Volscians.

LVI. At Rome, [Y. R. 347. B. C. 405.] as the commons gained the victory, so far as to procure the kind of election which they preferred, so in the issue of it, the patricians were victorious: for, contrary to the expectation of all, three patricians were chosen military tribunes with consular power; Caius Julius Iulus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and Caius Servilius Ahala. It is said that an artifice was practised by the patricians on the occasion, and the Æilii charged them with it at the time; that by intermixing a number of unworthy candidates with the deserving, they turned away the people's thoughts from the plebeian candidates. The disgust was excited by the remarkable meanness of some of the number. Information was now received that the Volscians and Æquans, actuated by hopes, from having been able to keep possession of the citadel of Carventa, or by anger, for the loss of the garrison of Verrugo, had in conjunction commenced hostilities, with the utmost force which they could muster, and that the Antians were the chief promoters of this measure; for that their ambassadors had gone about among both those states, upbraiding their spiritless conduct, saying that they had the year before lain hid behind walls, and suffered the Romans to carry their depredations through every part of the country, and the garrison of Verrugo to be overpowered. That now, armed troops, as well as colonies, were sent into their territories; and that the Romans not only kept possession of their property, and distributed it among themselves, but even made presents of a part of it to the Hernicians of Terentinum, a district of which they had been stripped. People's minds being inflamed by these representations of the envoys, great numbers of the young men were enlisted. Thus the youth of all the several nations were drawn together to Antium, and there pitching their camp, they waited the attack. These violent proceedings being reported at Rome, and exaggerated beyond the truth, the senate instantly ordered a dictator to be nominated, their ultimate resource in all perilous conjunctures. We are told that this measure gave great offence to Julius and Cornelius, and was not accomplished without much ill temper in others. The principal pa-

tricians, after many fruitless complaints against the military tribunes, for refusing to be directed by the senate, at last went so far, as to appeal to the tribunes of the commons, representing, that compulsory measures had been used by that body even to consuls in a similar case. The plebeian tribunes, overjoyed at this dissension among the patricians, made answer, that "there was no support to be expected from persons who were not accounted in the number of citizens, and scarcely of the human race. If at any time the posts of honour should cease to be confined to one party, and the people should be admitted to a share in the administration of government, they would then exert their endeavours to prevent the decrees of the senate being invalidated by any arrogance of magistrates. Until then, the patricians, who were under no restraint in respect to the laws, might by themselves manage the tribuni-tian office along with the rest."

LVII. This connection, at a most unseasonable time, and when they had on their hands a war of such importance, occupied every one's thoughts; until at length, after Julius and Cornelius had for a long time descanted, by turns, on the injustice done them in snatching out of their hands the honourable employment intrusted to them by the people, (they being sufficiently qualified to conduct the war,) Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, said, that "he had kept silence so long, not because he was in doubt as to the part he ought to take; for what good citizen would consider his own emolument, rather than that of the public? but because he wished that his colleagues would, of their own accord, yield to the authority of the senate, rather than let supplications be made to the college of tribunes, for support against them. That notwithstanding what had passed, if the situation of affairs would allow it, he would still give them time to recede from an opinion, too obstinately maintained. But as the exigencies of war would not wait on the counsels of men, he would prefer the interest of the commonwealth to the regard of his associates; and if the senate continued in the same sentiments, he would, on the following night, nominate a dictator; and if any person protested<sup>1</sup> against the senate passing a decree, he would consider a

<sup>1</sup> Many circumstances might prevent the senate's passing a decree; in such cases the opinion of the majority was recorded, and was called *senatus auctoritas*. It might be referred to the people for confirmation.



vote of that body as sufficient authority." By this conduct, having, deservedly, obtained the praises and continuance of all, after he had nominated Publius Cornelius dictator, he was himself appointed by him master of the horse, and afforded an example to such as observed his case, and that of his colleagues, that honours and public favour sometimes offer themselves the more readily to those who show no ambition for them. The war produced no memorable event. In one battle, and that gained without difficulty, the enemy were vanquished at Antium. The victorious army laid the lands of the Volscians entirely waste. Their fort, at the lake Fucinus, was taken by storm, and in it three thousand men made prisoners; the rest of the Volscians were driven into the towns, without making any attempt to defend the country. The dictator having conducted the war in such a manner as showed only that he was not negligent of fortune's favours, returned to the city with a greater share of success than of glory, and resigned his office. The military tribunes, without making any mention of an election of consuls, I suppose through pique for the appointment of a dictator, issued a proclamation for the choosing of military tribunes. The perplexity of the patricians became now greater than ever, when they saw their cause betrayed by men of their own order. In like manner, therefore, as they had done the year before, they set up as candidates the most unworthy of the plebeians, thus creating a disgust against all of these, even the deserving; and then, by engaging those patricians who were most eminently distinguished by the splendour of their character, and by their interest, to stand forth as candidates, they secured every one of the places, according to their wish. There were four military tribunes elected, [Y. R. 348. B. C. 404.] all of whom had already served, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and Caius Servilius Ahala: the last being continued in office, by re-election, as well on account of his other deserts, as in consequence of the popularity which he had recently acquired by his singular moderation.

LVIII. In that year, the term of the truce with the Veientian nation being expired, ambassadors and heralds were employed to make a demand of satisfaction for injuries, who, on coming to the frontiers, were met by an embassy from the Veientians. These requested

that the others would not proceed to Veii, until they should first have access to the Roman senate. From the senate they obtained, that, in consideration of the Veientians being distressed by intestine dissensions, satisfaction should not be demanded: so far were they from seeking, in the troubles of others, an occasion of advancing their own interests. In another quarter, and in the country of the Volscians, a disaster was felt in the garrison at Verrugo being lost. On which occasion so much depended on time, that though the troops besieged there by the Volscians had requested assistance, and might have been succoured, if expedition had been used, the army sent to their relief came only in time to destroy the enemy, who, just after putting the garrison to the sword, were dispersed in search of plunder. This dilatoriness was not to be imputed to the tribunes, so much as to the senate; who, because they were told that a very vigorous resistance was made, never considered, that there are certain limits to human strength, beyond which no degree of bravery can proceed. These very gallant soldiers, however, were not without revenge, both before and after their death. In the following year [Y. R. 349. B. C. 403.] Publius and Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus being military tribunes with consular power, war was commenced against the Veientians, in resentment of an insolent answer of their senate; who, when the ambassadors demanded satisfaction, ordered them to be told, that if they did not speedily quit the city, they would give them the satisfaction which Lars Tolumnius had given. The Roman senate being highly offended at this, decreed, that the military tribunes should, as early as possible, propose to the people the proclaiming war against the Veientians. As soon as that proposal was made public, the young men openly expressed their discontent. The war "with the Volscians," they said, "was not yet at an end; it was not long since two garrisons were utterly destroyed, and one of the forts was with difficulty retained. Not a year passed, in which they were not obliged to meet an enemy in the field, and, as if these fatigues were thought too trifling, a new war was now set on foot against a neighbouring, and most powerful nation, who would soon rouse all Etruria to arms." These discontents, first suggested by themselves, were farther aggravated by the plebeian tribunes

who affirmed, that "the war of greatest moment subsisting, was that between the patricians and plebeians. That the latter were designedly harassed by military service, and exposed to the destructive weapons of enemies. They were kept at a distance from the city, and in a state of banishment, lest, should they enjoy rest at home, they might turn their thoughts towards liberty, and the establishment of colonies, and form plans, either for obtaining possession of the public lands, or asserting their right of giving their suffrages with freedom." Then taking hold of the veterans, they recounted the years which each of them had served, their wounds and scars, asking, "where was there room on their bodies to receive new wounds? what quantity of blood had they remaining which could be shed for the commonwealth." As they had by these insinuations and remarks, thrown out in public assemblies, rendered the commons averse from the war, the determination on the proposition was adjourned, because it was manifest, that if it came before them, during the present ill-humour, it would certainly be rejected.

LIX. It was resolved, that, in the meantime, the military tribunes should lead an army into the territories of the Volscians. Cneius Cornelius alone was left at Rome. The three tribunes, finding that the Volscians had not any where formed a camp, and that they were resolved not to hazard a battle, divided their forces into three parts, and set out towards different quarters to waste the enemy's country. Valerius directed his march to Antium, Cornelius to Ecetra, and wherever they came, they made extensive depredations both on the lands and houses, in order to separate the troops of the Volscians. Fabius marched, without plundering, to attack Anxur, which was the principal object in view. Anxur is a city which we now call Tarracina, situated on a declivity adjoining a morass. On this side, Fabius made a feint of attacking it, but sent round four cohorts under Caius Servilius Ahala, who, having seized on an eminence which commands the city, assailed the walls, with great shouting and tumult, and where there was no guard to defend them. Those, who were employed in protecting the lower part of the city against Fabius, being stunned and in amazement at this tumult, gave him an opportunity of applying the scaling ladders. Every place was quickly filled with

the Romans, and a dreadful slaughter continued a long time without distinction of those who fled and those who made resistance, of the armed or unarmed. The vanquished therefore were under the necessity of fighting, there being no hope for such as retired, until an order was suddenly proclaimed, that no one should be injured except those who were in arms, which induced all the surviving multitude instantly to surrender. Of these, there were taken alive, to the number of two thousand and five hundred. Fabius would not suffer his soldiers to meddle with the spoil, until his colleagues arrived, saying, that those armies had also a part in the taking of Anxur, who had diverted the other troops of the Volscians from the defence of the place. On their arrival, the three armies plundered the city, which a long course of prosperity had filled with opulence; and this liberality of the commanders first began to reconcile the commons to the patricians: which end was soon after promoted; for the principal nobility, with a generosity towards the multitude the most seasonable that ever was shown, procured a decree of the senate, and before such a scheme could be mentioned by the tribunes or commons, that the soldiers should receive pay out of the public treasury,<sup>1</sup> whereas hitherto every one had served at his own expense.

LX. No measure, we are told, was ever received by the commons with such transports of joy: they ran in crowds to the senate-house, caught the hands of the senators as they came out, declaring that they were fathers in reality, and acknowledging that their conduct had been such, that every man, whilst he had any share of strength remaining, would risk his person and property, in the cause of a country so liberal to its citizens. Whilst they were delighted with the comfortable prospect of their private substance, at all events resting unimpaired, during such time as they should be consigned over to the commonwealth, and employed in its service, their joy received a manifold addition, and their gratitude was raised to a higher pitch, from the consideration that this had been a voluntary grant, having never been agitated by the tribunes, nor attempted

<sup>1</sup> The foot soldiers only. The horse did not receive pay until three years after. The pay of a foot soldier, in the time of the second punic war, was three *asses*, too small, if they had not received an allowance of corn and sometimes of clothes.



to be gained by any requisitions of their own. The plebeian tribunes, alone, partook not of the general satisfaction and harmony diffused through every rank, but averred, that "this would not prove such matter of joy, nor so honourable to the patricians, as they themselves imagined. That the plan appeared better on the first view, than it would prove on experience. For how could that money be procured unless by imposing a tax on the people? They were generous to some, therefore, at other's expense. Besides, even though this should be borne, those who had served out their time in the army would never endure that their successors should be retained on better terms than they themselves had been; and that they should bear the expense first of their own service and then of that of others." These arguments had an effect on great numbers of the commons. At last, on the publication of the decree for levying the tax, the tribunes went so far, as, on their part, to give public notice, that they would give protection to any person who should refuse his proportion of the tax for payment to the soldiers. The patricians persisted in support of a matter so happily begun. They first of all paid in their own assessment; and there being no silver coined at that time, some of them conveying their weighed brass to the treasury in waggons, gave a pompous appearance to their payments. This being done by the senate with the strictest punctuality, and according to their rated properties, the principal plebeians, connected in friendship with the nobility, in pursuance of a plan laid down, began to pay; and, when the populace saw these highly commended by the patricians, and also respected as good citizens by those of military age, scorning the support of the tribunes, they began at once to vie with each other in paying the tax. The law being then passed for declaring war against the Veientians, a numerous army, composed chiefly of volunteers, followed the new military tribunes, with consular power, to Veii.

LXI. These tribunes were Titus Quintius Capitolinus, Publius Quintius Cincinnatus, Caius Julius Iulus a second time, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus. [Y. R. 350. B. C. 402.] By these Veii was first invested. A little before this siege began, a full meeting of the Etrurians being held at the temple of Voltumna, the question whether the Veientians should be supported by the joint

concurrence of the whole confederacy, was left undecided. During the following year the siege was prosecuted with less vigour, because some of the tribunes and their troops were called away to oppose the Volscians. The military tribunes, with consular power, of this year were, Caius Valerius Potitus a third time, Manius Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus, a second time. [Y. R. 351. B. C. 401.] A pitched battle was fought with the Volscians, between Ferentinum and Ecetra, in which the Romans had the advantage. Siege was then laid by the tribunes to Artena, a town of the Volscians. After some time, the enemy having attempted a sally, and being driven back into the town, the besiegers got an opportunity of forcing their way in, and made themselves masters of every place, except the citadel. This fortress was naturally very strong, and a body of armed men had thrown themselves into it. Under its walls great numbers were slain and made prisoners. The citadel was then besieged, but it neither could be taken by storm, because it had a garrison sufficient for the size of the place, nor did it afford any hope of a surrender, because, before the city was taken, all the public stores of corn had been conveyed thither; so that the Romans would have grown weary of the attempt, and retired, had not the fortress been betrayed to them by a slave. He gave admittance, through a place of difficult access, to some soldiers, who made themselves masters of it; and while they were employed in killing the guards, the rest of the multitude, losing all courage at the sight of this unexpected attack, laid down their arms. After demolishing both the citadel and city of Artena, the legions were led back from the country of the Volscians, and the whole power of Rome turned against Veii. The traitor received as a reward, besides his liberty, the property of two families, and was called Servius Romanus. Some are of opinion, that Artena belonged to the Veientians, not to the Volscians: a mistake occasioned by there having been once a town of that name between Cære and Veii. But that town the Romans kings demolished; it was the property of the Cæritians, not of the Veientians; this other of the same name, the destruction of which we have related, was in the country of the Volscians.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK V.

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On occasion of the siege of Veii, winter huts erected for the troops; on account of which, being a new plan, the tribunes of the people endeavour to excite discontent, complaining that no repose is given to the soldiers, even in winter. The cavalry, for the first time, serve on horses of their own. Veii, after a siege of ten years, taken by Furius Camillus, dictator. In the character of military tribune, he lays siege to Falisci; sends back the children of the enemy, who were betrayed into his hands; being charged with criminal conduct, goes into exile. The Senonian Gauls lay siege to Clusium. Roman ambassadors, sent to mediate peace, take part with the Clusians; provoked at which, the Gauls march directly against Rome, and, after routing the Romans at the Allia, take possession of the whole city, except the Capitol. Having scaled the Capitol in the night, they are discovered by the cackling of geese, and repulsed, principally by the exertions of Marcus Manlius. The Romans, compelled by famine, agree to ransom themselves. While they are weighing the gold, Camillus arrives with an army beats off the Gauls, and destroys their army. He prevents the design of moving to Veii.

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I. PEACE now subsisted in all other quarters; [Y. R. 352. B. C. 400.] but the Romans and Veientians were still in arms, and displayed such violent rancour and animosity as made it evident that utter destruction would be the fate of the party vanquished. The election of magistrates in the two states was conducted in very different methods. The Romans augmented the number of their military tribunes with consular power, electing eight, a number greater than had hitherto been known. These were Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a second time, Lucius Valerius Potitus a third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quintilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. The Veientians, on the other hand, disgusted at the annual intrigues of candidates, which were sometimes the cause of violent dissensions, elected a king. This step gave great offence to all the states of Etruria, as, besides their abhorrence of kingly government, they held the person elected in no less detestation. He, out of the insolence of wealth, and the arrogance of his temper, had, before this, rendered himself obnoxious to the nation, by violently breaking off the performance of certain annual games, the omission of which was deemed an impiety: for, instigated by pique, because another candidate for the office of priest had been preferred before him, by the suffrages of the twelve states, in the middle of the solemnity, he abruptly carried away the performers, of whom a great part were his slaves. That nation, therefore, devoted beyond all others to religious performances, the more so, because they excelled in the conduct of them, passed a decree, by which all aid was refused to the Veientians, so long as they should continue under the government of a king. At Veii, all mention of this decree was suppressed by people's dread of the king, who would have treated any person, reported to have mentioned such a matter, as a leader of sedition, not as the author of an idle rumour. Although the Romans received intelligence that all was quiet in Etruria, yet, being also informed that this business was again agitated in every one of their meetings, they formed and strengthened their fortifications in such a manner as gave them security on both sides. Some they raised on the part next the town, against the irruptions of the townsmen; others on the side opposite Etruria, so as to guard against any auxiliaries which might come from thence.

II. The Roman generals, conceiving greater



hopes from a blockade, than from an assault, resolved to carry on their operations during the whole winter; and accordingly they began to erect huts, a proceeding quite new to Roman soldiers. As soon as an account of this was brought to the plebeian tribunes, who for a long time past found no pretext for starting new disturbances, they flew out to meet the people in assembly, and laboured to inflame the minds of the commons, asserting, that "this was the purpose for which pay for the soldiery had been established; nor had they been so blind, as not to see, that such a present from their enemies was tainted with poison. That the liberty of the commons had been sold; their young men carried away without hope of return, exposed to the severity of winter, excluded from their houses and family affairs. What did they suppose was the reason for keeping the troops on duty without intermission? They would find it, in fact, to be no other than the apprehension, lest, in case of the attendance of those youths, in whom the whole strength of the commons consisted, some steps might be taken towards promoting their interests. Besides, the men were more harassed, and subjected to greater hardships than the Veientians. For the latter passed the winter under their own roofs, having their city secured by strong walls, and its natural situation; while the Roman soldiers, in the midst of labour and toils, lay perishing in tents, overwhelmed by snow and frost; never laying their arms out of their hands even in that severe season, which had ever given a respite to all wars either on land or sea. Neither kings nor consuls, overbearing as they were, before the institution of the tribunitian office; nor the stern government of a dictator; nor the arbitrary decemvirs; ever imposed such a pain as this of unremitting military service. Yet military tribunes assumed that degree of kingly power over the commons of Rome. What would have been the behaviour of those men, in the office of consul or dictator, who have exhibited a picture of proconsular power in colours of such harshness and cruelty? but this was no worse than what the people deserved. Among eight military tribunes, they did not give room to one plebeian. Till of late, the patricians used to find the utmost difficulty in filling up three places; but now they march in files, eight deep, to take possession of the posts of government; and even in such a crowd, no plebeian is found intermixed, who, if he

served no other purpose, might remind his colleagues, that the army was composed not of slaves but of freemen; of citizens who ought to be brought home, at least in winter, to their habitations, and the comforts of their own roofs, and allowed, at some time of the year, to visit their parents, children, and wives; to exercise the rights of Romans, and to take a part in the election of magistrates." While they exclaimed in these, and such like terms, they were not unequally matched in an opponent, Appius Claudius, who had been left at home, by his colleagues, for the purpose of repressing the turbulent schemes of the tribunes; a man trained, from his youth, in contentions with the plebeians; who, some years before, had recommended, as has been mentioned, the disuniting the power of the tribunes by the protests of their colleagues.

III. Endowed by nature with good abilities, and possessed also of experience, from long practice, he spoke on this occasion in the following manner: "If it ever was a matter of doubt, citizens, whether the motives which led the plebeian tribunes to foment sedition, on every occasion, regarded your interests or their own, I am confident that, in the course of this year, every such doubt must have vanished; and while I rejoice at your being at length undeceived in respect of a mistake of long continuance, I cannot at the same time refrain from congratulating you, and on your account the commonwealth, that the delusion has been removed by a train of prosperous events, rather than by any other means. Is there a person living, who is not convinced that the plebeian tribunes were never so highly displeased and provoked by any instance of the ill treatment felt by you, if any such ever really existed, as by the generosity of the patricians towards the commons, in establishing pay for the army? What other event do ye think they either dreaded then with so much anxiety, or wish so ardently at present to obviate, as an union between the orders, which in their opinion would prove the subversion of the tribunitian power? Thus, in fact, as labourers in the field of iniquity, they are at a loss for employment; and even wish, that there may be always some diseased part in the commonwealth, for the cure of which they may be employed by you. For whether tribunes, are ye at present defending the commons, or making an attack on them? Whether are ye adversaries of the soldiery, or

patrons of their cause? Perhaps ye will say thus, whatever the patricians do, we disapprove, whether it be favourable or prejudicial to the commons; and, just as masters forbid their slaves to have any dealings with those belonging to others, and think proper to cut off the commerce between them either of kindness or unkindness, ye, in like manner, interdict us, the patricians, from all intercourse with the commons; lest by our civility and generosity we should challenge their regard, and they become obedient and willing to be directed as we might see best. Would it not much better become you, if ye had any of the sentiments, or feelings, I say not, of fellow citizens, but of human beings, rather to favour, and, as far as in your power, to cherish this kindness of the patricians, and the tractable disposition of the commons? Were such harmony once established, on a permanent footing, who is there that would not venture to engage, that this empire would soon arrive at a height of grandeur far beyond all the neighbouring states.

IV. "I shall hereafter explain to you, not only the expediency, but the necessity, of the plan adopted by my colleagues, of not drawing off the troops at Veii, until the business shall be completed. At present I choose to confine my observations to the state of the soldiery; and if what I shall say on that head were to be spoken, not only before you, but also in the camp, I am persuaded, that it would appear reasonable to the army themselves. Indeed, if my own understanding were incapable of suggesting any arguments on the subject, I might be well content with those which have been thrown out in the discourses of our adversaries. They lately insisted that pay ought not to be given to the soldiers, because it had never been given before. Upon what grounds, therefore, can they now be displeased, if persons who have received an addition of profit, beyond what was usual, are enjoined to perform some additional labour proportioned thereto? In no case is labour to be procured without emolument, nor emolument, in general, without the expense of labour. Toil and pleasure, in their natures opposite, are yet linked together in a kind of necessary connection. Formerly, the soldier deemed it a hardship to give up his labour to the commonwealth, and to bear his own expenses. At the same time, he found pleasure in having it in his power, for a part of the year, to till his own ground, and to acquire the

means of supporting himself and his family, at home, and in the field. At present, he has a source of pleasure in the profits set apart for him by the commonwealth, and he no doubt receives his pay with joy. Let him, therefore, bear with resignation the being detained a little longer from his home and from his family affairs, which are not now burthened with his expenses. Suppose the commonwealth called him to a statement of accounts, might it not justly say, you receive pay by the year, give me your labour by the year. Do you think it just, that for half a-year's service, you should receive a whole year's pay? It is disagreeable to me, Romans, to dwell on this topic; for this kind of proceeding suits only those, who employ mercenary soldiers; but we wish to deal, as with our fellow citizens. Either, then, the war ought not to have been undertaken, or it ought to be conducted in a manner suited to the dignity of the Roman people, and to be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible. Now it will certainly be brought to a conclusion, if we press forward the siege; if we do not retire, until we have attained the object of our hopes, in the capture of Veii. In truth, if there were no other motive, the very discredit of acting otherwise ought to urge us to perseverance. In former times, a city was held besieged for ten years on account of one woman, by the united force of all the Greeks. At what a distance from their homes! What tracts of land and sea lying between! Yet we grumble at the fatigue of a siege of one year's continuance, within less than twenty miles of us, almost within sight of our city; because, I suppose, the ground of our quarrel is not sufficiently just to stimulate us to persevere. This is the seventh time that the people have rebelled. During peace, they were never faithful to their engagements. They have laid waste our territories a thousand times. They have compelled the Fidenatians to revolt from us; have put to death our colonists in that district; and have been the instigators of the impious murder of our ambassadors, in violation of the laws of nations: they have endeavoured, in short, to stir up all Etruria against us; and, at this day, are busy in the same attempt: and scarcely did they refrain from offering violence to our ambassadors who demanded satisfaction. Against such people, ought war to be waged in a remiss and dilatory manner?



V. "If such just causes of resentment have no weight with us, have, I beseech you, the following considerations none? The city has been inclosed with immense works, by which the enemy are confined within their walls. Of late they have not tilled their lands; and what were cultivated before, have been laid waste in the course of the war. If we withdraw our army, who can doubt that not only through desire of revenge, but even through the necessity imposed on them of plundering the property of others, since they have lost their own, they will make an invasion on our territories? By such conduct, therefore, we should not defer the war, but open it a passage into our own frontiers. What shall we say, as to the circumstances immediately affecting the soldiers, of whose interests your worthy tribunes have, all on a sudden, grown so careful, after having attempted to wrest their pay out of their hands? How do they stand? They have formed a rampart and a trench, both works of immense labour, through so great an extent of ground: they have erected forts, at first only a few, afterwards a great number, when the army was augmented; and they have raised defences, not only on the side next to the city, but also opposite Etruria, against any succours which should arrive from thence. Why need I mention towers, covered approaches, and the like; together with all the various machines used in attacking towns? Now, that such a quantity of labour has been expended, and that they have just come to the finishing of the work, do ye think it would be prudent to abandon all these preparations, that, the next summer, they may be obliged to undergo again the same course of toil and labour in forming them anew? How much less difficult would it be, to support the works already formed, to press forward, to persevere, and thus at once to be set at rest? The business might soon be accomplished by a uniform course of exertions; for it is certain, that by thus interrupting and suspending all proceedings, we absolutely hinder the attainment of our own hopes. What I have said, regards only the labour, and the loss of time. But let me ask farther, can we disregard the danger which we incur by procrastination, while we see so frequent meetings held by the Etrurians on the subject of sending aid to Veii? As matters stand, at present, they are displeased and angry with that people; declare that they will not send them aid; and for any con-

cern which they take in the affair, we are at liberty to take Veii. But who can promise that if we suspend our operations, they will be in the same temper hereafter? For, if you allow any relaxation, more respectable, and more frequent, embassies will be despatched; and the very circumstance which now disgusts the Etrurians, the establishment of a king at Veii, may, in the interim, be done away, either by the joint determination of the several members of the state, for the sake of recovering the friendship of Etruria, or by a voluntary act of the king himself, who may be unwilling to continue on the throne, when he finds it an obstruction to the welfare of his countrymen. See now how many consequences, and how detrimental, attend that method of proceeding; the loss of works formed with so great labour; the consequent devastation of our frontiers; and, instead of the Veientians, the whole nation of Etruria united against us. These, tribunes, are your plans, much indeed, of the same kind, as if, in the case of a sick person, who by submitting to a regimen with resolution, might quickly recover his health, should render his disorder tedious, and perhaps incurable, for the sake of the present pleasure which eating and drinking would afford him.

VI. "I insist, that, though it were of no consequence, with respect to the present war, yet it is certainly of the utmost importance to military discipline, that our soldiers be accustomed, not only to enjoy the fruits of victory, but, should the business prove tedious, to endure the irksomeness of delay; to wait the issue of their hopes, though tardy; and, if the summer did not finish the war, to try what the winter might produce; and not, like birds of spring, to look about for hiding places and shelter, the moment autumn arrived. Consider, I beseech you, how the pleasure of hunting and eagerness in the chase hurry men through woods and over mountains, in the midst of frost and snow; and shall we not bestow on the necessary exigencies of war, the same degree of patience, which is usually called forth, even by sport and amusement? Do we suppose the bodies of our soldiers so effeminate, their minds so feeble, that they cannot for one winter endure the fatigue of a camp, and absence from home? That, like those who carry on war by sea, they must regulate their operations by taking advantage of the weather, and observing the seasons of the year? That they are incapa-

ble of enduring either heat or cold? I am convinced they would blush, if such things were laid to their charge, and would maintain that both their minds and bodies were possessed of manly firmness: that they were able to perform the duties of war, as well in winter as in summer: that they never had commissioned the tribunes to patronize sloth and effeminacy; and remembered very well, that it was not under their own roofs nor in the shade, that their ancestors established the tribuneship. Such sentiments are worthy of the valour of soldiers, such are worthy of the Roman name; not to consider merely the city of Veii, nor the present war, in which ye are employed, but to seek a reputation which may last during other wars, and among all other nations. Do ye look on the difference between the characters which will be applied to you, according to your conduct in this affair, as a matter of trivial importance?

Whether the neighbouring nations deem the Romans to be soldiers of such a kind, that any town which can withstand their first assault, and that of very short continuance, has nothing farther to apprehend; or, whether our name be terrible on this account, that neither the fatigue of a tedious siege, nor the severity of winter, can remove a Roman army from a place, which it has once invested; that it knows no other termination of war, than victory; and that its operations are not more distinguished by briskness of action, than by steady perseverance? a qualification which, as it is highly requisite in every kind of military service, is most particularly so in carrying on sieges of towns; because these being generally, from the nature of their situation, and the strength of their works, impregnable by assault, time alone overpowers and reduces them by means of hunger and thirst, as it will certainly reduce Veii, unless the tribunes of the commons supply aid to the enemy, and the Veientians find in Rome that support, which they seek in vain in Etruria. Could any other event so fully accord to the wishes of the Veientians, as that the city of Rome first, and then, by the spreading of the contagion, the camp, should be filled with sedition? But now, among the enemy, such a temperate disposition prevails, that neither through disgust at the length of the siege, nor even at the establishment of kingly government, has one change of measures been attempted; nor has the refusal of aid, from the Etrurians, soured their temper; because, if any one there proposes seditious mea-

sures, he will be instantly put to death; nor will any person be suffered to utter such things, as are uttered among you without any fear of punishment. He deserves the bastinado who forsakes his colours, or quits his post: yet men are heard, openly in public assembly, recommending, not to one or two particular soldiers, but to whole armies, to leave their colours, and desert their camp. With such partiality are ye accustomed to listen to whatever a plebeian tribune advances, although it manifestly tends to the ruin of your country, and the dissolution of the commonwealth; and so captivated are ye by the charms of that office, that, under shelter of it, ye suffer every kind of wickedness to lurk unnoticed. They have but one step farther to take, to engage the soldiers in camp, in the same measures which they urge here with so much clamour, to debauch the troops, and allow them no longer to obey their officers, since liberty, according to the present notion of it at Rome, consists in casting off all reverence for the senate, for the magistrates, for the laws, for the practices of our ancestors, for the institutions of our fathers, and for military discipline."

VII. Appius was now fully equal to a contention with the plebeian tribunes, even in the assemblies of the people, when a misfortune suffered before Veii, by an effect which no one could have expected, threw the superiority at once on his side, and produced both an unusual harmony between the orders of the state, and a general ardour to push on the siege of Veii with greater vigour. For when the trenches had been advanced almost to the very town, and the machines were just ready to be applied to the walls, the troops, employing greater assiduity in forming their works by day, than in guarding them by night, one of the gates was thrown open on a sudden, and a vast multitude, armed chiefly with torches, sallied forth, and set fire to them on all sides; so that the flames destroyed in an instant both the rampart and the machines, the construction of which had cost so much time; and great numbers of men, attempting in vain, to save them, perished by fire and the sword. When news of this disaster arrived at Rome, it diffused a general sadness through all ranks of men, and filled the senate also with anxiety and strong apprehensions lest they should find it impossible to withstand any longer the machinations of the seditious, either in the city, or the camp, and



lest the tribunes of the commons should insult over the commonwealth, as if it lay vanquished at their feet. At this juncture, those persons who possessed equestrian fortunes, and had not had horses assigned them by the public, after previously consulting together, went in a body to the senate, and having obtained permission to speak, declared their resolution to serve in the army, on horses provided at their own expense. On which the senate returning them thanks in the most honourable terms, and the report of this proceeding having spread through the forum, and all parts of the city, there immediately ensued a general concourse of the commons to the senate-house, where they declared, that "they were now the infantry of that army; and that, though it was not their turn to serve, yet they freely engaged in the cause of the commonwealth, whether it should be thought proper to lead them to Veii, or to any other place. If they should be led to Veii," they affirmed, "that they would never return from thence, until that city should be taken from the enemy." The senate now scarce set any bounds to the torrent of joy which flowed in upon them; for they did not, as in the case of the horsemen, pass an order for thanks to be conveyed by the magistrates, neither were the people called into the senate-house to receive an answer; nor did the senators confine themselves within their house; but, from the eminence adjoining, every one of them eagerly, with voice and hands, testified the public satisfaction, to the multitude who stood below in the assembly; declared, that, by such unanimity, the city of Rome was rendered happy, invincible, and everlasting; praised the horsemen, praised the commons; blessed even the day, as a day of happiness, and acknowledged that the courtesy and kindness of the patricians were now outdone, while, through excess of joy, tears flowed in abundance, both from the patricians and commons; until the senators, being called back into their house, passed a decree, that "the military tribunes, summoning an assembly, should give thanks to the infantry, and to the horsemen, and should assure them, that the senate would keep in remembrance the dutiful affection which they had shown towards their country; and had come to a resolution that every one of those who had, out of turn, voluntarily undertaken the service, should enjoy rank and pay from that date." A certain stipend

was also assigned to the horsemen. This was the first instance of the cavalry serving on their own horses. This army of volunteers, being led to Veii, not only restored the works which had been destroyed, but erected new ones. Greater care than ever was used in sending them supplies from the city, that no kind of accommodation should be wanting to troops who merited so highly.

VIII. The ensuing year [Y. R. 353. B. C. 399.] had military tribunes with consular power, Caius Servilius Ahala a third time, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Virginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius a second time, Manius Sergius a second time. In their tribunate, whilst all men's attention was directed to the Veientian war, the security of the garrison at Anxur was neglected, the soldiers obtaining leave of absence, and the Volscian traders being freely admitted: the consequence of which was, that the guards at the gates were suddenly overpowered, and the place taken by surprise. The number of soldiers slain was the less, because, except the sick, they were all employed like sutlers, in trafficking about the country and the neighbouring cities. Nor did better success attend the operations before Veii, which were then the grand object which engrossed all the public solicitude; for the Roman commanders showed a stronger disposition to quarrel among themselves, than to act with spirit against the enemy. Besides, the power of their adversaries received an addition, by the unexpected arrival of the Capenatians and Faliscians. These two states of Etruria, contiguous in situation to Veii, judged that, should that city be conquered, they should be the next exposed to the attacks of the Romans. The Faliscians were farther induced, by a reason particularly affecting themselves, to enter into the quarrel, as having been formerly a party in the war of the Fidenatians: wherefore, after having, by reciprocal embassies, ratified their engagements with an oath, they advanced with their forces to Veii, at a moment when no one thought of their coming. They happened to attack the camp on that quarter, where Manius Sergius, military tribune, commanded, which caused a violent alarm; for the Romans imagined that all Etruria had been set in motion, and had come out in a mass against them. The same opinion roused to action the Veientians in the city. Thus the camp was attacked on both sides;

and the troops, in opposing the attempts of the enemy, being obliged to wheel round their battalions from one post to another, could neither effectually confine the Veientians within their fortifications, nor repel the assault from their own works, nor even defend themselves on the outer side. Their only hope was, that they might be reinforced from the greater camp, and then the several different legions would support the different parts of the fight, some against the Capenatians and Faliscians, others against the sallies from the town. But that camp was commanded by Virginius, between whom and Sergius there subsisted a personal hatred: on being informed that most of the forts were attacked, the fortifications scaled, and that the enemy poured in on both sides, he kept his men within his own works, under arms, saying, that if there were need of a reinforcement, his colleague would send to him. His arrogance was equalled by the obstinacy of the other, who, rather than appear to have asked any assistance from a person with whom he was at variance, chose to be conquered by the enemy. His troops, inclosed on either side, suffered great slaughter for a long time; at last, abandoning the works, a very small part of them made their way to the principal camp; the greater number with Sergius himself, proceeded to Rome; here as he threw the entire blame on his colleague, it was determined that Virginius should be called home, and that in the mean time the lieutenant-generals should hold the command. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate, where the dispute between the colleagues was carried on with mutual recriminations. Few of the members regarded the interests of the commonwealth, each adhered to one, or the other, just as he happened to be prejudiced by private regard, or interest.

IX. The principal senators were of opinion, that whether the misconduct, or the misfortune of the commanders, had been the cause of such an ignominious overthrow, they ought not to wait for the regular time of election, but to create immediately new military tribunes, who should enter into office on the calends of October. While the members were proceeding to show their assent to this opinion, the other military tribunes offered no objection; but Sergius and Virginius, to whose behaviour it was evidently owing that men wished to get rid of the magistrates of that year, at first deprecated

the ignominy which would hereby be thrown upon them, and afterwards protested against the passing of the decree, and declared that they would not retire from office before the ides of December, the usual day for others entering into office. On this the tribunes of the commons, who, during the general harmony and the prosperity of public affairs, had unwillingly kept silence, at once assuming confidence, threatened the military tribunes, that, unless they submitted to the direction of the senate, they would order them to be carried to prison. Then Caius Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, said, "As to your part, tribunes of the people, I assure you I would with great pleasure put it to the proof, whether your threats are more destitute of authority, or yourselves of spirit. But I consider it as impious to act in opposition to the will of the senate; wherefore on the one hand, I desire that ye may desist from seeking in our disputes for an opportunity of doing mischief; and on the other hand, either my colleagues shall act according to the order of the senate, or if they persist any farther in opposition, I will instantly nominate a dictator, who will compel them to retire from office." This discourse being received with universal approbation, and the senators rejoicing that another power had been thought of, which, by its superior authority, might reduce the magistrates to order, without the terrors of the tribunitian office, those magistrates yielded to the universal desire of the public, and held an election of military tribunes, who were to enter into office on the calends of October; and before that day, they divested themselves of the magistracy.

X. [Y. R. 354. B. C. 398.] This military tribunate with consular power, of Lucius Valerius Potitus a fourth time, Marcus Furius Camillus a second, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a third, Cneius Cornelius Cossus a second, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Julius Iulus, was occupied by a multiplicity of business both civil and military: for the operations of war were to be carried on in many different places at once, at Veii, and at Capena; at Falerii, and among the Volscians for the recovery of Anxur. Then at Rome, there was great uneasiness, occasioned by the levying of troops, and at the same time by the paying in of the tax. There was also a struggle about the appointment of the plebeian tri-



bunes; while the trial of two of those, who had lately been invested with consular power, excited no trifling disturbance. The military tribunes applied themselves, first of all, to the raising of troops, and not only the younger men were enlisted, but the elder citizens also were compelled to give in their names, to serve as a garrison to the city. Now, in proportion as the number of soldiers was augmented, so much the more money became necessary for their pay, and this was made up by a tax which was very unwillingly paid by those who remained at home, because, as the guard of the city lay upon them, they must also perform military duty, and give their labour to the public. These circumstances, grievous in themselves, were set forth in more provoking terms, in the seditious harangues of the plebeian tribunes, who insisted, that "the establishment of pay to the soldiers was intended for the purpose of ruining one-half of the commons, by the fatigues of war, and the other half, by a tax. That one war had now been protracted to the fifth year; and was conducted, without success, designedly, in order that it might afford them the longer employment. Besides, armies had been enlisted at one levy for four different expeditions, and even boys and old men dragged from their homes. That no distinction was made between summer and winter, lest any respite should be allowed to the wretched commons; who, now, as the finishing stroke, had been made subject to a tax; so that when they should return, with their bodies wasted through toils, wounds, and even age, and find every thing at home in disorder, from the long absence of the owners, would at the same time be obliged, out of their ruined property, to refund in a manifold proportion, to the state, the money which they had received as pay, as if it had been taken up at usurious interest." Between the levy, and the tax, and from men's thoughts being occupied by more important concerns, the number of plebeian tribunes could not be filled up on the day of election. A violent effort was afterwards made to have patricians assumed into the vacant places, but that being found impracticable, another plan was adopted, for the purpose of weakening at least the authority of the Trebonian law, by the assumption of Caius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius as plebeian tribunes; and this was effected evidently by the influence of the patricians.

XI. It so happened, that this year Caius

Trebonius was a plebeian tribune: and he considered it as a duty incumbent on his name and family, to patronize the Trebonian law. He therefore complained loudly, that "a measure which had been attempted by some patricians, and in which they were baffled at their first setting out, had been violently carried by the military tribunes:—that the Trebonian law had been subverted, and plebeian tribunes elected, not in conformity to the suffrage of the people, but to the mandate of the patricians. That the matter was brought to this issue, that people must be content to see the office of plebeian tribune filled either by patricians or their dependants:—that all the advantages of the devoting laws were wrested from them, and the tribunitian power forcibly transferred to other hands. And he insisted, that this must have been effected, either by some artifices of the patricians, or by the villany and treachery of his colleagues." The public being inflamed with a high degree of resentment not only against the patricians, but the tribunes of the people also; as well those who had been elected, as those who had elected them; three of that body, Publius Curatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, greatly alarmed for their own interests, made an attack on Sergius and Virginus, military tribunes of the former year, and, by a prosecution which they commenced, turned off upon them the anger of the commons, and the resentment of the public. They desired people to "take notice, that such as felt themselves aggrieved by the levy, by the tax, by long service in the army, and the distance of the seat of war; such as lamented the loss sustained at Veii; such as had their houses in mourning for the loss of children, brethren, kinsmen, and relations; all these had now, by their means, both the right and the power afforded them, of avenging the public and private calamities on the two persons who were the guilty causes of them. For to Sergius and Virginus were owing," they asserted, "all their misfortunes. And that was not more fully evinced by the charge of the prosecutor, than by the acknowledgment of the defendants; who, being equally conscious of crime, each imputed it to the other; Virginus charging Sergius with cowardice; Sergius, Virginus with treachery. The absurdity of whose conduct was so great, that there was a high degree of probability that the whole affair had been transacted by concert,

and according to a wicked design of the patricians; who, for the purpose of protracting the war, first gave the Veientians an opportunity to burn the works, and now had delivered up an army to the sword of the enemy, and surrendered a Roman camp to the Faliscians. The management of all affairs was directed to one end, that the young men should grow old before Veii; and that the tribunes should be thereby deprived of the power of taking the sense of the people, either concerning the lands, or any other advantages of the commons: of having their plans supported by a numerous attendance of citizens, or of making head against the conspiracy of the patricians. That the cause of the defendants had been already prejudged by the senate, by the Roman people, and by their own colleagues. For, by a decree of the senate, they had been removed from the administration of government; and, refusing to resign their office, had been constrained to submit by their colleagues, who threatened them with a dictator; and that the Roman people had elected tribunes, who were to assume the government, not on the usual day, the ides of December, but instantly on the calends of October; because the continuance of the former in office was incompatible with the safety of the commonwealth. Yet, after all this, those men, censured and overwhelmed by so many decisions against them, presented themselves for trial before the people, and imagined that they were discharged, and had undergone sufficient punishment, because they had been reduced to the rank of private citizens two months sooner than ordinary; never considering, that this was only taking out of their hands the power of doing farther mischief, not inflicting punishment; their colleagues, who were manifestly clear of all share of the blame, being deprived of authority as well as themselves. They requested that the citizens of Rome would resume the same sentiments which they had felt when the disastrous event was recent, when they beheld the army flying in consternation, covered with wounds, and filled with dismay; pouring into the gates, accusing not fortune, nor any of the gods, but these their comrades. They were confident, that there was not a man present in the assembly who did not, on that day, utter execrations and curses against the persons, the families, and fortunes of Lucius Virginus and Marcus Sergius. And it would be the highest inconsistency if they did

not now, when it was not only lawful but their duty, exert their own power against those, on whom each of them had imprecated the vengeance of the gods. The gods themselves never laid their hands on the guilty, it was enough if they armed the injured with power to take revenge."

XII. Instigated by such discourses, the commons condemned the accused in a fine of ten thousand asses in weight; while Sergius in vain alleged that the miscarriage was to be imputed to fortune and the common chance of war: and Virginus made earnest supplications that they would not render him more unfortunate at home than he had been in the field. The current of popular resentment, having been thus turned against them, almost obliterated the remembrance of the assumption of tribunes, and the fraudulent infraction of the Trebonian law. The victorious tribunes, in order that the commons might reap an immediate advantage from their effort, published a proposal of an agrarian law, and forbade the tax to be paid, since pay was required for such a number of troops, while the success of their arms in any of the wars had been no more than sufficed to keep their hopes in suspense. At Veii, the camp which had been lost was recovered, and strengthened with forts and a garrison. Here Marcus Æmilius and Cæso Fabius, military tribunes, commanded. Marcus Furius in the territory of the Faliscians, and Cneius Cornelius in that of the Capenatians, meeting with none of the enemy in the field, drove off the spoil and ravaged the country, burning all the houses and the fruits of the earth. The towns they neither assaulted nor besieged. But in the country of the Volscians, after the lands had been wasted, Anxur was assaulted, though without success. Being seated on a lofty eminence, and force being found ineffectual, it was determined to surround it with a rampart and trench. This province of the Volscians had fallen to Valerius Potitus. While the business of the campaign was in this state, a sedition burst out at home, with more formidable violence than appeared in the operations against the enemy. And as the tribunes would not suffer the tax to be paid, and consequently no remittances were made to the generals for the payment of the troops, and as the soldiers clamorously demanded their due, there



was the greatest danger that the contagion of sedition might spread from the city, and the camp also be involved in the confusion. Though the commons were so much incensed against the patricians, and though the plebeian tribunes asserted, that the time was now come for establishing liberty, and transferring the supreme dignity from such as Sergius and Virginus, to men of plebeian rank, men of fortitude and industry, yet they proceeded no farther in gratification of their passion, than the election of one plebeian, Publius Licinius Calvus, [Y. R. 355. B. C. 397.] to the office of military tribune with consular power, for the purpose of establishing their right by a precedent. The others elected were patricians, Publius Mænius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Mælius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Lucius Publius Volscus. The commons themselves were surprised at having carried such an important point, no less than the man himself who had been elected, a person who had no post of honour before, although a senator of long standing, and now far advanced in years. Nor does it sufficiently appear why he was chosen in preference to others, to taste the first sweets of this new dignity. Some are of opinion, that he was appointed to so high a station by the influence of his brother Cneius Cornelius, who had been military tribune the preceding year, and had given triple pay to the cavalry. Others, that it was owing to a seasonable discourse, made by himself, recommending harmony between the orders of the state, which was equally acceptable to the patricians and plebeians. The plebeian tribunes, filled with exultation by this victory in the election, remitted their opposition with respect to the tax, which was the principal obstruction to the public business. It was then paid in without murmuring, and sent to the army.

XIII. In the country of the Volscians, Anxur was quietly retaken, through the neglect of the guards on a festival day. This year was remarkable for a cold winter and great fall of snow, so that the roads were impassable, and the navigation of the Tiber shut up. There was no change in the price of provisions, considerable stores having been previously collected. As Publius Licinius had obtained his office without any riotous proceeding, to the great joy of the commons, and the no less mortification of the patricians, so the same regularity was preserved through the whole course

of his administration. Hence the people became enraptured with the thoughts of choosing plebeians at the next election of military tribunes. [Y. R. 356. B. C. 396.] Of the patrician candidates, Marcus Veturius alone carried his election. The centuries almost unanimously appointed the following plebeians military tribunes with consular power: Marcus Pomponius, Caius Duilius, Volero Publilius, Cneius Genutius, and Lucius Atilius. The severe winter, whether from the ill temperature of the air occasioned by the sudden transition from one extreme to the other, or from some other cause, was succeeded by a sickly summer, fatal to all kinds of animals; and as neither the beginning nor end of the virulence of the disorder could be discovered, the Sibylline books were consulted, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. The decemvirs who had the direction of religious matters, then first introduced the *lecti-sternium*<sup>1</sup> in the city of Rome, and decking out three couches with the utmost magnificence which those times could afford, implored thus the favour of Apollo, Latona, and Diana; and of Hercules, Mercury and Neptune, for the space of eight days. The same solemn rites were performed by private persons. We are told, that the doors were thrown open in every part of the city; that every thing was exposed in public to be used in common; that passengers, whether known or unknown, were universally invited to lodgings; and even that people at variance refraining from animosity and ill language, conversed together with complaisance and kindness. During those days too, such as were in confinement were set at liberty; and that afterwards people were deterred, by a religious scruple, from imprisoning those persons to whom the gods had brought such deliverance. Meanwhile dangers multiplied at Veii, to which point the operations of three different wars were concentrated; for the Capenatians and Faliscians coming up unexpectedly to the relief of the town, the troops were obliged in the same manner as formerly, to make head against three

<sup>1</sup> From *lectus*, a bed, or rather a couch, and *sterno*, to spread. Upon couches of this kind the Romans reclined at their meals, but especially at entertainments. Upon this occasion these couches were brought out into the streets, and being decorated in the most magnificent manner, the statues of the gods and goddesses were laid thereupon, and sumptuous banquets placed before them. Of these repasts all comers were allowed to partake.

different armies, on different sides, through the whole extent of their works. What contributed to their safety beyond every thing else, was the recollection of the sentence passed on Sergius and Virginus: so that a reinforcement was quickly led round from the principal camp, where the delay had been made in the former case, and these fell upon the rear of the Capenatians, while their front was engaged against the rampart of the Romans. The fight no sooner began here, than it struck terror into the Faliscians also, and a seasonable sally, made from the camp while they were thus disordered, obliged them to turn their backs. The victors then, pursuing them in their retreat, made vast slaughter among them; and, in a short time after, a party, which had been employed in ravaging the territory of Capena, accidentally meeting them as they fled in confusion, entirely cut off those who had survived the fight. Great numbers of the Veientians also, in their retreat to the city, were slain before the gates; for, dreading lest the Romans should force in along with them, they closed the gates, and shut out the hindmost of their own men. These were the transactions of that year.

XIV. And now approached the election of military tribunes, which seemed to engross a greater share of the attention of the patricians, than even the business of the war: for they saw that the sovereign power was not only shared with the commons, but almost entirely lost to themselves. They therefore by concert, engaged the most illustrious characters to stand candidates, such as they believed people would be ashamed to pass by; the others, nevertheless, put in practice every possible expedient, as if they had all been aiming at the same object, and endeavoured to draw to their side, not only men, but the gods, representing the election held two years before in a light offensive to religion: that "in the former of those years, a winter came on with intolerable severity, such as bore every appearance of a prodigy sent from the gods. In the following, no longer portents but events ensued; a pestilence fell on both country and city, manifestly displaying the wrath of heaven; whom, as was discovered in the books of the fates, it was necessary to appease, in order to avert that plague. It appears to the immortals as an affront, that, in an election held under their auspices, honours should be prostituted, and the distinctions of

birth confounded." The people being deeply struck, both by the high dignity of the candidates, and also by a sense of religion, chose all the military tribunes with consular power from among the patricians, the greater part of them men who had been highly distinguished by public honours: [Y. R. 357. B. C. 395.] Lucius Valerius Potitus a fifth time, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a third time, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a second time, Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus a second time. During their tribunate, nothing very memorable was performed at Veii: the forces were wholly employed in wasting the country: two commanders of consummate abilities did nothing more than carry off vast quantities of spoil, Potitus from Falerii, and Camillus from Capena, leaving nothing undestroyed that could be injured either by sword or fire.

XV. In the mean time, many prodigies were reported to have happened, the greater part of which met with little credit, and were generally disregarded; partly, because the accounts rested on the testimony of single persons; and partly because, while they were at war with the Etrurians, they could not procure aruspices to perform the expiations. One of them, however, attracted universal attention; the lake in the Alban forest swelled to an unusual height, without any rain or other cause, so that the fact could only be accounted for by a miracle. Commissioners were sent to the oracle at Delphi, to inquire what the gods portended by this prodigy; but an interpreter of the will of the fates was thrown in their way nearer home: a certain aged Veientian, amidst the scoffs thrown out by the Roman and Etrurian soldiers, from the out-posts and guards, pronounced, in the manner of one delivering a prophecy, that "the Roman would never be master of Veii, until the water were discharged from the Alban lake." This, at first, was disregarded, as thrown out at random; afterward it became the subject of conversation: at length one of the Roman soldiers on guard asked a townsman on the nearest post, as from the long continuance of the war they had come into the practice of conversing with each other, who that person was, that threw out those ambiguous expressions concerning the Alban lake; and, on hearing that he was an aruspex, the man, whose mind was not without a tincture of religion, pretending that he wished to consult him on the expiation of a



private portent, enticed the prophet to a conference. When they had proceeded free from any apprehensions, being both without arms, to a considerable distance from their parties, the young Roman, having the superiority in strength, seized the feeble old man, in the view of all, and, in spite of the bustle made by the Etrurians, carried him off to his own party. Being conducted to the general, he was sent by him to Rome to the senate; and, on their inquiring the meaning of the information which he had given concerning the Alban lake, he answered, that "certainly the gods had been incensed against the Veientian nation, on that day when they prompted him to disclose the decree of the fates, which doomed his native country to destruction. What, therefore, he had then delivered under the influence of divine inspiration, he could not now recall, so as to render it unsaid; and perhaps the guilt of impiety might be contracted in as high a degree, by concealing what it was the will of the gods should be published, as by publishing what ought to be concealed. Thus, therefore, it was denounced in the books of the fates, and the Etrurian doctrine, that whensoever the Alban water should rise to an unusual height, if the Romans should then discharge it in a proper manner victory would be granted them over the Veintians; but until that should be done, the gods would never abandon the walls of Veii." He then gave directions with respect to the proper method of draining it; but the senate, deeming his authority of but little weight, and not to be entirely relied on in a case of such importance, determined to wait for the deputies, with the answer of the Pythian oracle.

XVI. Before the commissioners returned from Delphi, [Y. R. 358. B. C. 394.] or the method of expiating the Alban prodigy was discovered, the new military tribunes with consular power came into office. These were Lucius Julius Iulus, and Lucius Furius Medullinus a fourth time, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius. This year there started up a new enemy, the Tarquinians; who, seeing the Romans embroiled in so many wars at once, against the Volscians at Anxur, where the garrison was besieged; at Lavici against the Æquans, who were besieging the colony there; and also against the Veintians and the Faliscians, and the Cape-

natians, while their affairs within the walls were not less embarrassed by dissensions, thought this a favourable season to attack them with effect. They sent their light-armed cohorts to make depredations on the Roman territories, concluding that the people would either suffer that affront to pass unrevenged, rather than burden themselves with an additional war, or if they resented it, would send out an army neither numerous nor strong. The Romans felt greater indignation at the affront than concern for the loss sustained by the inroads of the Tarquinians. They, therefore, undertook the business without either much preparation or long delay. Aulus Postumius and Lucius Julius having collected a body of troops, not by a regular levy, for in that they were prevented by the tribunes of the commons, but mostly volunteers, whom by persuasions they had prevailed on to follow them, directed their march by cross roads through the territory of Cære, and came upon the Tarquinians unawares, as they were returning from their depredations, heavily laden with booty: they slew great numbers of their men, got possession of all their baggage; and, having retaken the spoils of their lands, returned to Rome. The space of two days was allowed to the owners to reclaim their property; on the third, what remained unclaimed, the greatest part of which had belonged to the enemy, was sold by auction, and the produce distributed among the soldiers. The issue of the other wars, particularly that of Veii, still remained doubtful. And now the Romans, despairing of success through human aid, began to look for succour towards the fates and the gods, when the deputies arrived from Delphi, bringing with them the decision of the oracle, which corresponded with the answer of the captive prophet. "Roman, beware lest the Alban water be confined in the lake; beware lest thou suffer it to flow into the sea in a stream. Thou shalt form for it a passage over the fields; and, by dispersing it in a multitude of channels, consume it. Then press thou boldly on the walls of the enemy; assured, that over the city which thou besiegest through so many years, conquest is granted by these orders of the fates, which are now disclosed. The war concluded, do thou, possessed of victory, bring ample offerings to my temples, and renewing the religious rites of thy country, the observance of which has been neglected, perform them in the usual manner."

XVII. The captive prophet, upon this, began to be held in very high esteem, and the military tribunes, Cornelius and Postumius, thenceforward consulted with him concerning the expiration of the Alban prodigy, and the proper method of appeasing the gods. It was at length discovered what was that neglect of ceremonies, and omission of customary rites, for which they were blamed by the gods. It was, in fact, nothing else than that the magistrates, their election being defective, had not, with due regularity, directed the Latine festival,<sup>1</sup> and the anniversary solemnities on the Alban mount. The only mode of expiation in this case was, that the military tribunes should resign the government, the auspices be taken anew, and an interregnum appointed. All which was performed, pursuant to a decree of the senate. There were three interreges in succession: Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, and Marcus Furius Camillus. In the mean time the city was a scene of unceasing confusion and disorder, the plebeian tribunes refusing to let the elections proceed, unless a previous stipulation were agreed to, that the greater number of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the commons. During these transactions, a general assembly of Etruria was held at the temple of Voltumna, and the Capenatians and Faliscians demanding that all the states of Etruria should unite in the design of raising the siege of Veii, the answer returned was, that "they had formerly given a refusal of the same request to the Veientians, because these ought not to apply for succour, where, in a case of such consequence, they had not applied for advice. That at present, though they of themselves would not refuse it, yet the situation of their affairs compelled them so to do: especially as in that part of Etruria, the

Gauls, a race of men with whom they were unacquainted, had lately become their neighbours, and with whom they were not on a footing, either of secure peace, or of determined war. Nevertheless, in consideration of the blood, the name, and the present dangers of their kinsmen, they would go so far, as that if any of their young men chose to go to that war, they would not hinder them." The arrival of these was announced at Rome, as of a formidable number of enemies; and through the apprehensions which this excited for the public safety, the violence of their intestine quarrels of course began to subside.

XVIII. Without causing any displeasure to the patricians, the prerogative tribe,<sup>2</sup> at the election, chose for military tribune Publius Licinius Calvus, although he had not declared himself a candidate; this honour was done him, because in his former administration he had approved himself a man of moderation; but he was now in extreme old age. It was observed, that those who had been his colleagues, in that year, were re-elected in order; Lucius Titinius, Publius Mænius, Publius Mælius, Cneius Genutius, and Lucius Atilius. Before these were proclaimed to the tribes, who were to vote in the ordinary course, Publius Licinius Calvus, with permission of the interrex, spoke to this effect: "I consider it, Romans, as an omen of concord, a thing essentially requisite to the state at the present juncture, that, from the remembrance of our former administration, ye are desirous of re-electing the same colleagues, improved by experience. As to me, ye no longer see me the same, but the shadow and the name of Publius Licinius. The powers of my body are decayed, my senses of sight and hearing are grown dull, my memory falters, and the vigour of my mind is blunted. Behold here a youth," pursued he, holding his son, "the representation and image of him whom ye formerly made a military tribune, the first plebeian that was ever so honoured. Him, formed under my own discipline, I present and dedicate to the commonwealth as a substi-

1 The Romans, Latines, and some states of the Hernicians and Volscians, met annually on the Alban mount to celebrate this festival, in commemoration of the treaty made with those states by Tarquin the Proud. It was attended by the deputies of forty-seven states, who, under the direction of the Roman consul, or other chief magistrate, offered joint sacrifices to Jupiter, whom they termed *Latiavis*. In particular, they offered a white bull, of which the deputies of each state received a piece. The public festivals, *feriæ*, were of four kinds: *stativæ*, immovable; *conceptivæ*, or *indictæ*, moveable; *imperativæ*, commanded on particular occasions; and *mandatæ*, for holding markets; so called, because the time was fixed by proclamation: they were generally celebrated by the consuls, before departure for their provinces.

2 The prerogative tribe was that to which the lot fell to vote first, at the election of magistrates. Anciently, the centuries were called to give their votes according to the order established among them by Servius Tullius, first, the *equites*, then the centuries of the first class, &c. It was afterwards (at what time is not known) determined by lot, *sortito*, in what order they should vote.



tute in my stead. And I beseech you, Romans, that the honour which, of your own motion, ye offered to me, ye will vouchsafe to grant to his petition, and to my prayers, which I add in his behalf." This request of the father was complied with and his son Publius Licinius was declared military tribune with consular power, together with those whom we mentioned before. [Y. R. 359. B. C. 393.] The military tribunes, Titinius, and Genucius, marched against the Faliscians and Capenatians, and acting with more courage than conduct, fell into an ambush. Genucius atoned for his rashness by an honourable death, falling among the foremost, and in the front of the standards. Titinius, after rallying his men, who had been thrown into the utmost confusion, and leading them to a rising ground, formed them again in order of battle; but did not venture to come down and meet the enemy. The disgrace was greater than the loss, and had like to have proved the cause of grievous misfortunes, so great was the alarm which it excited, not only at Rome, where it was highly exaggerated by report, but also in the camp before Veii. Here the soldiers were, with difficulty, restrained from flight, on a rumour having spread, that the generals and the army had been cut to pieces; and that the Capenatians and Faliscians, flushed with victory, and all the youth of Etruria were at no great distance from their posts. Accounts still more dreadful had gained credit at Rome: that the camp at Veii was already attacked, and that part of the enemy were already on their march to the city, prepared for an assault. The men ran in crowds to the walls, and the matrons, called out from their houses by the public distraction, offered supplications for protection in all the temples, beseeching the gods to repel destruction from the Roman walls, from the houses of the city, and the temples, and to turn back such terrors on Veii, if the sacred rites had been renewed, and the prodigies expiated in due manner.

XIX. The games and the Latine festival had now been performed anew, the water from the Alban lake<sup>1</sup> discharged on the fields, and the fates demanded the ruin of Veii. Ac-

cordingly, a general, selected both for the destruction of that city, and the preservation of his native country, Marcus Furius Camillus, was nominated dictator, and he appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio his master of the horse. The change of the commander at once produced a change in every particular: even the fortune of the city seemed to have assumed a new face; so that men felt themselves inspired with different hopes and different spirits. He first of all put in force the rules of military discipline against such as had fled from Veii, on the alarm excited there, and took effectual care that the enemy should not be the principal object of the soldier's fears. Then having, by proclamation, appointed a certain day for holding a levy of troops, he made, in the meantime, a hasty excursion in person to Veii in order to strengthen the courage of the soldiers. From thence he returned to Rome to enlist the new army, and not a man declined the service. Young men came even from foreign states, Latines and Hernicians, offering their service in the war: to whom the dictator returned thanks in the senate. And now, having completed all necessary preparations for the campaign, he vowed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, that he would, on the capture of Veii, celebrate the great games: and would repair and dedicate the temple of Mother Matuta, which had been formerly consecrated by king Servius Tullius. Marching out of the city at the head of his army, while people's anxiety was stronger than their hopes, he came to the first engagement with the Faliscians and Capenatians, in the district of Nepote, on which occasion every particular was conducted with consummate prudence and skill; success of course ensued. He not only routed the enemy in battle, but took possession of their camp, and seized a vast quantity of spoil, the greatest part of which was put into the hands of the quæstor, and no great share distributed to the soldiers. From thence the troops were led to Veii, where additional forts were erected at smaller distances from each other, and by an edict, forbidding any to fight without orders, the soldiers were taken off from skirmishing, which had hitherto been frequently practised between the walls and the rampart of the camp, and their labour applied to the works. Of these, the greatest by far and most laborious was a mine, which they undertook to carry into the citadel of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> The remains of the sewer, a stupendous work, by which the water was discharged, still subsist, at the bottom of the hill on which stands Castel Gandolfo, the elegant country-retirement of the Pope.

In order that there should be no interruption in this, and at the same time that the same set of persons should not, by unintermitted labour under ground, be spent with fatigue, he formed the whole number of pioneers into six divisions, and six hours were allotted for each division to work in rotation; nor did they stop either by night or day, until they formed a passage into the citadel.

XX. When the dictator now saw conquest within his reach, and that he was on the point of getting possession of a city of the greatest opulence, the spoil of which would exceed in quantity whatever had been obtained in all former wars taken together, fearing lest he might incur either the resentment of the soldiers, as being too sparing in his distribution of it, or the displeasure of the senators as being profusely lavish, he despatched a letter to the senate, that "through the favour of the immortal gods, his own conduct, and the persevering courage of the troops, Veii would immediately be in the power of the Roman people, and requested their directions with regard to the spoil." Two opinions divided the senate; one was that of the elder Publius Licinius, who being first called upon by his son, as we are told, proposed a resolution, that public notice should be given to the people by proclamation, that whosoever chose to share in the spoil should retire to the camp before Veii. The other that of Appius Claudius, who censured such profusion as unprecedented, extravagant, and partial; and which would also be productive of ill consequences, if people should once conceive an opinion that it would be criminal to deposit in the treasury, when exhausted by wars, the money taken from the enemy. He therefore recommended it to them to make that a fund for the payment of the soldier's wages, to the end that the commons might be eased of part of the tax. For "every man's family," he said, "would feel its share of such a bounty in equal proportion, and the hands of the idle city rabble, ever greedy of rapine, would not then snatch away the prizes due to men who had showed their bravery in war: it being generally the case, that the man who is most ready, on every occasion, to undertake the largest share of toil and danger, is the least active in plundering." Licinius, on the other hand, argued, that in that case, the money would be an eternal cause of jealousy and ill-humour, would afford grounds for invidious representa-

tions to the commons, and, in consequence, for seditions, and the enacting of new laws. "It was therefore more to be desired," he said, "that the affection of the commons might be conciliated by a bounty of that kind; that this resource should be afforded them, after they had been exhausted and entirely drained, by the payment of the tax for so many years; and that they should enjoy the fruits arising from a war, in which they had employed, one might say, the better part of their lives. That what a man took with his own hand from the enemy, and brought home with him, would afford him more satisfaction and delight, than a share many times larger conferred on him by another. That the dictator himself was aware of the odium and the disagreeable reflections to which this business might subject him, and had for that reason transferred the determination of it from himself to the senate: and that the senate ought, on their part, since the business had been thus thrown upon them, to hand it over to the commons, and let every man enjoy what the chance of war should give him." This plan was deemed the safer, as it promised to procure popularity to the senate. Accordingly proclamation was made, that all such as chose might go to the camp of the dictator, to share in the plunder of Veii. The vast multitude who went entirely filled the camp.

XXI. Then the dictator, after taking the auspices, came forth, and having previously ordered the soldiers to take arms, spoke thus: "O Pythian Apollo, under thy guidance, and inspired by thy divinity, I am now proceeding to destroy the city of Veii, and I devote to thee the tenth part of the spoil thereof. Thee also, imperial Juno, who now dwellest in Veii, I beseech, that when we shall have obtained the victory, thou wilt accompany us into our city, soon to be thine own, where a temple shall receive thee, worthy of thy majesty." After these prayers, having more than a sufficient number of men, he assaulted the city on every quarter, in order to prevent their perceiving the danger which threatened from the mine. The Veientians, ignorant that they had been already doomed to ruin by their own prophets, and likewise by foreign oracles; that the gods had been already invited to a share in their spoil; that some of them listening to the vows by which they had been solicited to forsake their city, began to look towards the temples of the enemy, and new habitations, and that this was



the last day of their existence ; fearing nothing less, than their walls being already undermined, and the citadel filled with enemies, ran briskly in arms to the ramparts, wondering what could be the reason, that when for so many days not one Roman had stirred from his post, they should now run up to the walls without apprehension, as if struck with a sudden fit of madness. A fabulous account has been given of an incident happening at this juncture ; it is, that while the king of the Veientians was offering sacrifice, the words of the aruspex were heard in the mine, denouncing, that whoever should cut up the entrails of that victim should obtain the victory, and that this incited the Roman soldiers to burst open the mine, seize the entrails, and carry them to the dictator. But in matters of such remote antiquity, I think it enough, if relations which carry a resemblance of truth, be received as true ; stories of this kind, better calculated for the extravagant exhibitions of the stage, which delights in the marvellous, than for gaining belief, it is needless either to affirm or refute. The mine at this time, full of chosen men, suddenly discharged its armed bands in the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel of Veii, some of whom attacked the rear of the enemy on the walls, some tore down the bars of the gates, some set fire to the houses, from the roofs of which stones and tiles were thrown by females and slaves. Every place was filled with confused clamour, composed of the terrifying shouts of the assailants, and the cries of the affrighted, joined to the lamentations of the women and children. Those who defended the works were in an instant beaten off, and the gates forced open, where some entering in bodies, others scaling the deserted walls, the town was filled with the enemy, and a fight commenced in every quarter. After great slaughter the ardour of the combatants began to abate, and the dictator, proclaiming orders by the heralds, that no injury should be done to the unarmed, put an end to the effusion of blood. The townsmen then began to lay down their arms and surrender, and the soldiers, with permission of the dictator, dispersed in search of booty. When the spoil was collected before his eyes, far exceeding both in quantity and in the value of the effects all his calculations and hopes, the dictator is said to have raised his hands towards heaven, and prayed, "that if any gods or men looked on

his success and that of the Roman people as excessive, such jealousy might be appeased by some calamity peculiar to himself alone, rather than by the slightest detriment to the Roman people." It is recorded, that as he turned himself about, during this address to the gods, he stumbled and fell ; and this was considered afterwards, by such as judged of the matter by the events which followed, to be an omen portending Camillus's own condemnation, and the disaster of the city of Rome being taken, which happened a few years after. The subduing of the enemy, and the plundering of this very opulent city, employed that whole day.

XXII. Next day the dictator sold the inhabitants of free condition by auction : the money arising from this sale was all that was applied to the use of the public, and even that was resented by the commons. As to what spoil they brought home, they did not think themselves under any obligation, in applying it either to the general who, with design, to procure their countenance to his own parsimony, had referred to the senate a business which properly belonged to his own jurisdiction, or to the senate, but to the Licinian family, of which the son had laid the affair before the senate, and the father first proposed the popular resolution. When the wealth, belonging to the inhabitants, had been carried away from Veii, they then began to remove the treasures of the gods, and the gods themselves, but with the demeanor of worshippers rather than of ravishers : for certain young men selected out of the army, to whom was assigned the charge of conveying imperial Juno to Rome, after thoroughly washing their bodies, and clothing themselves in white garments, entered her temple with tokens of adoration, and approaching, laid hands upon her with religious awe, because, according to the Etrurian rules, no person but a priest of a particular family had been usually allowed to touch that statue. Afterwards one of them, either prompted by divine inspiration, or in a fit of youthful jocularity, saying, "Juno, art thou willing to go to Rome," the rest cried out at once, that the goddesses had assented. To this fable an addition was made that she was heard to utter the words, "I am willing." However we are informed, that she was raised from the place whereon she stood by machines, with slight efforts, and was found light and easy to be removed, as if she accompanied them with her own consent ; that she was brought

safe to the Aventine, her eternal seat, to which the vows of the Roman dictator had invited her, where the same Camillus who had vowed it afterwards dedicated her temple. Thus fell Veii, the most powerful city of the Etrurian nation, even in its final overthrow demonstrating its greatness; for, after having withstood a siege during ten summers and winters, without intermission, after inflicting on its enemy losses considerably greater than itself had felt; even now, even when fate at last urged its doom, yet still it was vanquished not by force, but by the art of engineers.

XXIII. When the news arrived at Rome that Veii was taken, notwithstanding that the prodigies had been expiated, that the answers of the prophets and the responses of the Pythian oracle were known to all, and that they had used the most effectual means which human wisdom could suggest, for insuring success, in giving the command to Marcus Furius, the greatest general of the age; yet, as they had for so many years experienced such a variety of fortune in that war, and had sustained so many losses, their joy was as unbounded as if they had entertained no hopes of that event. And before the senate passed any decree to the purpose, every temple was filled with the Roman matrons returning thanks to the gods. The senate ordered supplications for the space of four days, a longer term than had ever been appointed in the case of any former war. The dictator also on his arrival was more numerously attended than any general had ever been before; all ranks pouring out to meet him, while the honours, conferred on him in his triumph, far surpassed the compliments usually paid on such occasions. He himself was the most conspicuous object of all, riding through the city in a chariot drawn by white horses, was deemed unbecoming, not to say a member of a commonwealth, but a human being: people deeming it an affront to religion, that the dictator should emulate the equipage of Jupiter and Apollo; and on account chiefly of that single circumstance, his triumph was more splendid than pleasing. He then contracted for the building of a temple to imperial Juno on the Aventine, and dedicated that of mother Matuta: after performing these services to the gods, and to mankind, he laid down his office of dictator. The offering to be made to Apollo came then under consideration, and Camillus declaring that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil to

that use, and the pontiffs having given their opinion that the people ought to discharge that vow, it was found difficult to strike out a proper mode of obliging them to refund the spoil, in order that the due proportion might be set apart for that religious purpose. At length, recourse was had to a method which seemed least troublesome, that every man who wished to acquit himself and his family of the obligation of the vow, making his own estimate of his share of the spoil, should pay into the treasury the tenth part of the value, in order that a golden offering might be made, worthy of the grandeur of the temple, the divinity of the god, and the dignity of the Roman people: this contribution also helped to alienate the affection of the commons from Camillus. During these transactions, ambassadors had come from the Volscians and Æquans to sue for peace, and peace was granted them rather out of a desire that the state, wearied with so tedious a war, might enjoy some repose, than in consideration of the desert of the persons petitioning.

XXIV. The year [Y. R. 360. B. C. 392.] which followed the taking of Veii had six military tribunes, with consular power, the two Publii Cornelii, Cossus, and Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus a second time, Cæso Fabius Ambustus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a fifth time, and Quintus Servilius a third time. The war with the Faliscians fell by lot to the Cornelii; that with the Capenatians to Valerius and Servilius. These latter made no attempt on the towns, either by assault or siege, but spread devastation over the lands, and carried off as spoil every thing found in the country; not a fruit tree, nor any useful vegetable, was left in the whole territory. These losses reduced the people of Capena to submission, and on their suing for peace, it was granted. The war with the Faliscians still continued. Meanwhile seditions multiplied at Rome, and in order to assuage their violence it was resolved, that a colony should be sent to the country of the Volscians, for which three thousand Roman citizens should be enrolled, and the triumvirs, appointed to conduct it, distributed three acres and seven-twelfths to each man. This donation was looked on with scorn, because they considered the offer as intended to pacify them, on the disappointment of higher expectations: for "why," said they, "should the commons be sent into exile among the Volscians, when the beautiful city of Veii lay



within view, and the territory belonging to it being more fertile and more extensive than the territory of Rome?" This city, too, they extolled as preferable even to that of Rome, both in point of situation, and the magnificence of its edifices and inclosures, both public and private. Nay, they went so far as to propose the scheme which, after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, was more generally adopted, of removing to Veii. But their plan now was, that half of the commons, and half of the senate, should fix their habitations at Veii; and thus two cities, composing one commonwealth, might be inhabited by the Roman people. The nobles opposed these measures with such warmth, as to declare, that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman people, than that any of those matters should be put to the vote: for, "when one city at present supplied such abundance of dissensions, what would be the case with two? Was it possible that any one could prefer a vanquished, to a victorious city, and suffer Veii, after being captured, to enjoy a greater degree of prosperity than ever it had known in its most flourishing days? In short, they might be forsaken in their native country by their fellow-citizens, but no force ought ever to compel them to forsake that country and those citizens, and to follow Titus Sicinius, (for he was the plebeian tribune who had brought forward the proposition,) as a founder to Veii, abandoning the divine Romulus, the son of a god, the parent and founder of the city of Rome." These disputes proceeded to a shameful height: for the patricians had drawn over one half of the plebeian tribunes to their sentiments; so that no other circumstance obliged the commons to refrain from outrage, but that after a clamour had been set up as the prelude to riot, the principal members of the senate, throwing themselves foremost in the way of the crowd, desired that they might be the persons attacked, struck, or put to death. On this the populace not only abstained from offering violence to their age, their dignity, and honourable characters, but in respect for their opinions restrained their rage even from any such attempts on others.

XXV. Camillus on every occasion, and in every place, publicly asserted, that "there was nothing surprising in all these commotions; that the state was actually gone mad; for though it was engaged by a vow, yet it bestowed

more concern on every other kind of business, than on acquitting itself of the obligation. He would say nothing of the contribution of an alms in reality, rather than of a tenth. However, as each man had bound himself in his private capacity, the public was set free. But his conscience would not suffer him to be silent on another head,—that the tenth of that part only of the spoil was set apart, which consisted of moveable effects, and no mention was made of the city or of the lands, which, as well as the rest, were comprehended in the vow." The senate, finding it difficult to come to a determination on this point, referred it to the pontiffs in conjunction with Camillus; and that body gave their opinion, that whatsoever had been the property of the Veientians before the uttering of the vow, and after the vow was made, came into the power of the Roman people; of that the tenth part was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and the land were brought into the estimate. The money was issued from the treasury, and the consular military tribunes were commissioned to lay it out in the purchase of gold. A sufficient quantity of this metal could not be procured; on which the matrons, after holding some meetings to deliberate on the subject, with unanimous consent, engaged to supply the military tribunes with gold, and actually carried all their ornaments into the treasury. Nothing ever happened which gave greater pleasure to the senate, and it is said, that in return for this generosity, these women were honoured with the privilege of using covered chariots, when going to public worship or games, and open chaises on any day whether festival or common. The gold being received from each by weight, and a valuation being made, in order that the price might be repaid, it was resolved that a golden bowl should be made thereof, to be carried to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. No sooner were men's minds disengaged from religious concerns, than the plebeian tribunes renewed their seditious practices, stimulating the resentment of the populace against all the nobility, but especially against Camillus; alleging that, "by his confiscations and consecrations, he had reduced the spoils of Veii to nothing;" daringly abusing the nobles, in their absence; yet, on their appearing, as they sometimes threw themselves in the way of their fury, showing them some respect. When they perceived that the business would be protract-

ed beyond the present year, they re-elected for the year following such tribunes of the commons, as had promoted the passing of the law, and the patricians exerted themselves to effect the same with regard to such of them as had protested against it. By these means the same persons mostly were re-elected plebeian tribunes.

XXVI. At the election of military tribunes, [Y. R. 361. B. C. 391.] the patricians, by straining their interest to the utmost, prevailed to have Marcus Furius Camillus chosen. They pretended, that on account of the wars in which they were engaged, they wished to have him as a commander: but, in fact, they wanted him as an antagonist to the tribunes, to check their corrupt profusion. Together with Camillus were elected military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Furius Medullinus a sixth time, Caius Æmilius, Lucius Valerius Poplicola, Spurius Postumius and Publius Cornelius a second time. In the beginning of the year, the plebeian tribunes declined proceeding on the business, until Marcus Furius Camillus should set out against the Faliscians; for he had been appointed to the command in that war. In consequence of this delay, the ardour of the pursuit was cooled, and Camillus, whom they had chiefly dreaded as an opponent, found an increase of glory in the country of the Faliscians: for the enemy at first confining themselves within their walls, which appeared to be the safest plan, he, by ravaging the country and burning the houses, compelled them to come forth from the city. But still their fears prevented them from advancing to any considerable length. At the distance of about a mile from the town, they pitched their camp, for the security of which they confided entirely in the difficulty of the approaches, all the roads on every side being rough and craggy, in some parts narrow, in others steep: but Camillus, following the directions of a prisoner taken in the country, who acted as his guide, decamped in the latter end of the night, and, at break of day, showed himself on ground much higher than theirs. The Romans were formed into three divisions, each of which, in turn, worked on the fortifications of the camp, while the rest of the troops stood in readiness for battle. The enemy then making an attempt to interrupt his works, he attacked and put them to flight; and with such consternation were the Faliscians struck, that in their haste, they passed by their

own camp, which lay in their way, and pushed forward to the city. Great numbers were slain and wounded before they reached the gates, through which they rushed in great confusion and dismay. Their camp was taken, and the spoil given up by Camillus to the que-stors, to the great dissatisfaction of the soldiers: but such was the influence of his strictness in discipline, that the same propriety of conduct which excited their resentment, raised also their admiration. The town was then invested, and the approaches carried on, while sometimes occasional attacks were made by the townsmen on the Roman posts, and trifling skirmishes ensued. Thus time was spent without either party gaining a prospect of success, and as the besieged were more plentifully supplied than the besiegers, with corn and all other necessities, from magazines which they had formed some time before, the affair, to judge from appearances, would have been as laborious and tedious as at Veii, had not fortune, together with an instance of meritorious conduct, which, in respect of military matters, he had already sufficiently displayed, procured to the Roman commander a speedy victory.

XXVII. It was the custom among the Faliscians, to employ the same person as master and private tutor to their children; and, as it continues to be the practice to this day in Greece, several were intrusted at the same time to the care of one man. The teacher who appeared to have the greater share of knowledge, had of course the instruction of the children of the first rank. The person supposed to possess this knowledge, and now so intrusted, having made it a custom in time of peace, to carry the boys out of the city for the sake of exercise and play, and having never discontinued the practice since the war began, drew them away from the gate, sometimes in shorter, sometimes in longer excursions. At length, he found an opportunity of straying farther than usual; and, by introducing a variety of plays and conversations, he led them on between the advanced guards of the enemy, and then through the Roman camp, into the tent of Camillus; and there, to this atrocious act, added a speech still more atrocious: that "he had delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, by putting into their power those boys, whose parents were there at the head of affairs." On hearing which, Camillus told him, "Neither the



people, nor the commander, to whom thou hast come, thou wretch, with thy villanous offer, is like unto thyself. Between us and the Faliscians there subsists not, it is true, that kind of society which is formed by human compact, but that which nature has implanted in both, does, and ever will subsist. War has its laws as well as peace; and we have learned in waging it, to be as observant of those laws, as we are brave. We carry arms, not against persons of such age as these, who, even in the storming of towns, are exempted from injury, but against men who have arms in their hands, as well as ourselves, and who without being either injured or provoked by us, made an attack on a Roman camp at Veii. Those thou hast conquered as far as in thee lay, by an act of unexampled villany. I shall conquer them as I conquered Veii, by Roman methods, by valour, by labour, and by arms." Then ordering him to be stripped naked, and his hands to be tied behind his back, he delivered him to the boys to be conducted back to Falerii, and gave them rods with which they should scourge the traitor, and drive him into the city. Such a spectacle first attracting a concourse of people, and the senate being afterwards summoned by the magistrates on the extraordinary case, so great an alteration was hereby effected in their sentiments, that they, who a short time before were so outrageous in their hatred and anger, as almost to have chosen the catastrophe of the Veintians, rather than the truce obtained by the Capenatians: these same persons now, through every rank in the state, universally called out for peace. The faith of the Romans, and the justice of their general, were extolled by every mouth in the forum, and in the senate-house: and in compliance with the universal desire, ambassadors went to the camp to Camillus, and from thence, with permission of Camillus, to Rome, to make a surrender of Falerii. On being introduced to the senate, they are said to have spoken in this manner: "Conscript fathers! overcome by you and your general, by a victory of such a kind, as neither God nor man can view with displeasure, we surrender ourselves into your hands, and in an expectation which redounds in the highest degree to the honour of the conqueror, that we shall live more happily under your government, than under our own laws. In the issue of this war, two salutary examples have been held out to mankind. Ye have preferred good

faith in war, to present victory. We, challenged to emulation in the observance of faith, have voluntarily presented you with conquest. We are your subjects: send persons to receive our arms, hostages, and our city, whose gates they will find open. Ye will never have reason to complain of our fidelity, or we of your government." Camillus received the thanks both of the enemy and of his countrymen. The Faliscians were ordered to furnish that year's pay for the soldiers, that the Roman people might enjoy a respite from the tax. As soon as peace was acceded to, the troops were brought home to Rome.

XXVIII. Camillus returning home, crowned with honours of far greater value than when white horses had drawn him in triumph through the city, being distinguished by a conquest acquired through the means of justice and good faith, the senate did not conceal their sense of the respectful attention due to his concerns, but hastened the measures for acquitting him of his vow. Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, and Aulus Manlius, were sent ambassadors with one ship of war, to carry the golden bowl to Delphi, as an offering to Apollo. These falling in with some Liparensian pirates, not far from the Sicilian strait, were taken and carried to Liparæ. It was the custom of the state to make a general division of all booty acquired, as if piracy were the public act of the government. It happened that the office of chief magistrate was filled by one Timasitheus, a man more like the Romans than his own countrymen, who, being touched himself with reverence for the character of ambassadors, for the offering, for the god to whom it was sent, and the cause for which it was presented, impressed the multitude likewise, who almost in all cases resemble their ruler, with proper sentiments of religion on the occasion; and, after entertaining the ambassadors at the public expense, convoyed them with some of his own ships to Delphi, and from thence conducted them in safety to Rome. By decree of senate a league of hospitality was formed with him, and presents were made him by order of the state. During this year, the war with the Æquans was attended with advantages pretty equal on both sides; so that it was a matter of doubt, both at Rome and even among the troops themselves, whether they were victorious or vanquished. The Roman commanders were Caius Æmilius and Spurius Postu-

mius, two of the military tribunes. At first they acted in conjunction, but after having defeated the enemy in the field, they came to a determination that Æmilius, with a sufficient force, should keep possession of Verrugo, and that Postumius should lay waste the country. In performance of this, the latter, since the late success, thinking less caution requisite, and marching in an unguarded manner, was attacked by the Æquans, who threw his troops into confusion, and drove them to the next hills. The panic spread from thence even to Verrugo, to the other part of the enemy posted there. Postumius having withdrawn his men to a place of safety, called them to an assembly, where he upbraided them with their fright, and with having fled from the field, being routed by an enemy heretofore remarkable for cowardice and running away. On which the whole army cried out together, that they deserved to hear such reproaches, and that they acknowledged the shamefulness of their behaviour; but that they were at the same time determined to make amends for it, and that the conqueror's joy on the occasion should be but of short duration. They requested earnestly that he would lead them thence directly to the camp of the enemy, which lay in the plain within their view, offering to submit to any punishment if they did not take it before night. After commending their resolution, he ordered them to refresh themselves, and to be in readiness at the fourth watch: the enemy on the other side, with design to prevent the Romans from flying from the hill by night, through the road which led to Verrugo, were there prepared to receive them, and the battle began at the first hour. However the moon was up through the whole night, so that the fight was managed with as little confusion as it could have been by day. But the shout reaching Verrugo, where it was imagined that the Roman camp had been attacked, the troops were seized with such terror, that in spite of the entreaties of Æmilius, and all his endeavours to detain them, they fled to Tusculum in the utmost disorder. From thence a report was carried to Rome, that Postumius and his army were cut to pieces. However, as soon as day-light had removed the danger of falling into ambuscades, in case of a hasty pursuit, riding through the ranks, and demanding the performance of their promises, the general infused into the men such a degree of ardour, that the Æquans could no longer withstand

their efforts, but betook themselves to flight, when a slaughter of them ensued (as in a case where anger was more concerned than courage), that ended in the entire destruction of their army; and the afflicting news from Tusculum, which had caused a great, though groundless, alarm in the city, was followed by a letter from Postumius decked with laurel, '—that victory had fallen to the Roman people, and that the army of the Æquans was wholly destroyed.

XXIX. As no determination had yet been made, with respect to the plans introduced by the plebeian tribunes, the commons on the one hand laboured to continue in office such of them as had promoted the passing of the law, and the patricians on the other, to procure the re-election of those who had protested against it. But the commons had the superior influence in the election of their own magistrates: for which disappointment the patricians revenged themselves by passing a decree of senate, that consuls (magistrates ever odious to the commons) should be elected. Thus, after an interval of fifteen years, consuls were again appointed, Lucius Lucretius Flavius, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. [Y. R. 362. B.C. 390.] In the beginning of this year, while the plebeian tribunes, uniting their efforts, pressed the passing of their law with great confidence, because there was not any of their body who would protest against it, and while the consuls for that very reason were no less active in opposing it, (the whole attention of the public being taken up with this business,) the Æquans made themselves masters of Vitellia, a Roman colony in their territory. The general part of the colonists escaped with safety to Rome; for the town being betrayed to the enemy in the night, there was nothing to hinder their flight from the contrary side of the city. That province fell to the lot of the consul Lucius Lucretius. He marched thither with an army, defeated the enemy in the field, and returned to Rome, where he was to encounter a contest of much greater difficulty. A prosecution had been commenced against Aulus Virginius and Quintus Pomponius, plebeian tribunes of the two preceding years, whom the senate was bound in honour to defend with the joint exertions of all the patricians: for no one laid any

1 It was the custom, when the Roman generals sent intelligence of a victory, to wrap their letters up in laurel.



other charge against them, with respect either to their conduct in life, or their behaviour in office, than that, to gratify the nobles, they had protested against the law proposed by the tribunes. However, the resentment of the commons overpowered the influence of the senate, and, by a sentence of most pernicious example, those men, convicted of no crime, were condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>1</sup> This highly incensed the patricians: Camillus openly reproached the commons with violating the duty which they owed to their own order, telling them, that "while they thus vented their spleen on their own magistrates, they did not perceive that by their iniquitous sentence they had abolished the privilege of protesting, and by taking away that privilege, had overturned the tribunitian power. For they were much mistaken if they imagined that the patricians would endure the unbridled licentiousness of that office. If tribunitian violence could not be repelled by tribunitian aid, the patricians would find out a weapon of some other kind. He censured the consuls also, for silently suffering those tribunes, who had complied with the directions of the senate, to be disappointed in their reliance on the faith of the public." By such discourses, uttered in public, he exasperated people daily more and more against him.

XXX. As to the senate, he never ceased urging them to a vigorous opposition to the passing of the law; exhorting them, that "when the day arrived on which it was to be put to the vote, they should go down to the forum with no other sentiments than such as became men who knew they were to contend for their religion and liberty; for the temples of their gods, and the soil that gave them birth. As to his own particular part, if it were allowable for him, during a contest wherein the interest of his country lay at stake, to consider the aggrandizement of his own character, it would even redound to the increase of his fame, that a city which he had taken should be filled with inhabitants, that he should every day enjoy that monument of his own glory, and have before his eyes a people whom he himself had led in his triumph, and that all men, at every step they took, should meet with testimonies of his valour. But, in his opinion, it would be an impious proceeding, if a city forsaken and aban-

doned by the immortal gods were to be inhabited; if the Roman people were to reside in a captivated soil, and to exchange a victorious for a vanquished country." Stimulated by such arguments, uttered by the first man in the state, the patricians, both old and young, when the law was to be debated, came in a body to the forum, and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each endeavoured to influence the members of his own body; beseeching them, with tears, "not to abandon the country, in defence of which themselves and their fathers had fought with the greatest bravery and the greatest success, pointing at the same time to the capitol, the temple of Vesta, and the other temples of the gods which stood within view; that they would not drive the Roman people, as exiles and outcasts, away from their native soil and guardian deities, into a once hostile city, and bring matters to such a conclusion, that it would be better if Veii had never been taken, lest Rome should be abandoned." As they made use of no violence, but of entreaties only, and among these entreaties made frequent mention of the gods, the greatest part of the people were impressed with an opinion that religion was concerned in the case, and the tribes, by a majority of one, rejected the law. The patricians were so highly gratified by this success, that next day, the consuls holding a meeting for the purpose, a decree of senate was passed, that a distribution should be made to the commons of the Veientian lands, in the proportion of seven acres to each, and that this distribution should be extended not only to the fathers of families, but to every person in their houses of free condition, that they might have satisfaction in rearing children with the hope of such an establishment.

XXXI. [Y. R. 363. B. C. 389.] This generosity had such a conciliatory effect on the minds of the commons, that no opposition was made to the election of consuls. Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, afterwards surnamed Capitolinus, were appointed to that office. In their consulate were celebrated the great games which Marcus Furius when dictator had vowed, on occasion of the war with the Veientians. In this year also, the temple of imperial Juno, vowed by the same dictator, during the same war, was dedicated, and it is mentioned that the matrons displayed an extraordinary degree of zeal in their attendance on the dedication. In the campaign against the

<sup>1</sup> L. 32 § 5. 10d.

Æquans, the seat whereof was at Algidum, nothing memorable occurred; the enemy scarcely waiting for the engagement to begin, before they betook themselves to flight. To Valerius, because he continued the pursuit and slaughter with great earnestness, a triumph was decreed; to Manlius an ovation. This year there sprung up a new enemy, the Volsinians, against whom no army could be sent on account of a famine and pestilence which raged in the Roman territories, in consequence of extraordinary drought and heat. On these circumstances the Volsinians presumed with such confidence that, forming a junction with the Salpinians, they made incursions on the lands of the Romans. War was then proclaimed against those two nations. Caius Julius died in the office of censor, and Marcus Cornelius was substituted in his room; which proceeding came afterwards to be considered as displeasing to the gods, because in that lustrum Rome was taken. Nor since that time is a censor ever substituted in the room of one dying. The consuls being seized by the distemper, it was resolved that an interregnum should be constituted, and auspices taken anew.

XXXII. [Y. R. 364. B. C. 388.] In pursuance therefore of a decree of the senate, the consuls having resigned their office, Marcus Furius Camillus was created interrex, who appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio interrex, and he, afterwards, Lucius Valerius Potitius. By him were elected six military tribunes with consular power, to the end that in case any of them should be disabled by bad health, the commonwealth might still have a sufficient number of magistrates. These were Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Æmilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a seventh time, Agrippa Furius, and Caius Æmilius a second time, who entered into office on the calends of July. Of these Lucius Lucretius and Caius Æmilius had the Volsinians as their province; Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius the Salpinians. The first battle happened with the Volsinians. This war, formidable in appearance, from the great number of the enemy, was terminated without any difficulty: at the first onset, their army was put to flight, and eight thousand of their soldiers, being surrounded by the cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered. The account which they received of that battle, made the Salpinians determine not to hazard an engagement; their troops secured

themselves in the towns. The Romans, meeting no opposition, carried off the spoil from all parts, both of the Volsinian and Salpinian territories, until the Volsinians, becoming weary of the war, had a truce for twenty years granted them, on condition that they should make restitution to the Roman people, and furnish the pay of the army for that year. During this year, Marcus Cædicius, a plebeian, gave information to the tribunes, that "in the new street, where the chapel now stands, above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the dead of the night, a voice louder than that of a man, ordering notice to be given to the magistrates, that the Gauls were approaching." This intelligence, on account of the mean condition of the author, was, as frequently happens, disregarded; and also, because that nation, lying at a great distance, was therefore very little known. They not only slighted the warnings of the gods, at this crisis of impending fate, but the only human aid which could have availed them, Marcus Furius, they drove away to a distance from the city: for, having been cited by Apuleius, a plebeian tribune, to answer a charge concerning the plunder of Veii, and having, about the same time suffered the loss of a son, who had almost arrived at the years of manhood, he called together to his house the members of his tribe and dependents, who composed a great part of the commons, and asked their sentiments on the occasion; when being told, in answer, that they would make up by a contribution whatever fine he should be condemned to pay, but to effect his acquittal was out of their power: he went into exile after praying to the immortal gods, that if he was undeserving of such injurious treatment, they would speedily give that ungrateful state reason to regret his absence. On his not appearing, he was fined fifteen thousand asses in weight.<sup>a</sup>

XXXIII. Having thus driven away the citizen, whose presence, if in any case we can pronounce with certainty on human affairs, would have effectually saved Rome from falling into the hands of an enemy, the destined ruin now approached the city with hasty steps: at this time ambassadors arrived from the people of Clusium, soliciting aid against the Gauls. According to some reports, that nation was allured to cross the Alps, and take possession of



the country formerly cultivated by the Etrurians, by the deliciousness of its productions, and especially of the wine, a luxury then new to them : and Aruns of Clusium having introduced it into Gaul, for the purpose of enticing that people, that he might, by their means, gratify his resentment for his wife's being debauched by Lucumo, (whose guardian he himself had been,) a young man of overgrown power, on whom it would have been impossible to inflict punishment without foreign assistance. He acted as their guide, in passing the Alps, and advised them to lay siege to Clusium. I do not indeed take upon me to deny, that the Gauls were conducted to Clusium by Aruns, or some other Clusian, but that those who laid siege to Clusium, were not the first who crossed the Alps, is certain ; for the Gauls went over into Italy, two hundred years before they besieged that town, and took the city of Rome. Nor were these the first of the Etrurians with whom they waged war ; for long before this, the Gallic armies fought many battles with those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. The Tuscans, before the growth of the Roman empire, possessed very extensive sway both by land and sea : how great their power was in the upper and lower seas by which Italy is almost surrounded, as an island, the names of those seas demonstrate ; one being called by the Italian nations, the Tuscan, the general appellation of that people ; the other the Adriatic, from Adria, a colony of Tuscans. The Greeks also call those seas the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic. This people inhabited both the tracts of territory which stretch from each side of the mountain, to the two seas, having founded twelve cities on either, first on the hither side towards the lower sea, and afterwards sending to the other side of the Apennines as many colonies as there were capital cities in the mother country. These acquired possession of the whole region beyond the Po, all the way to the Alps, except the corner of the Venetians who dwell round the extreme point of the Adriatic. The Alpine nations also, without doubt, derived their origin from them, particularly the Rhetians, who were rendered savage merely by their situation, so as to retain no mark of their original, except the accent of their language, and not even that without corruption.

XXXIV. Concerning the passage of the Gauls into Italy, what we have learned is this :

when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the supreme government of the Celts, who composed one-third part of Gaul, lay in the hands of the Biturigians. These gave a king to the Celtic nation. Ambigatus, a man very eminently distinguished by his own merit, and by the extraordinary degree of prosperity which attended him, both in his private concerns, and in those of the public : in his time Gaul was so fruitful, and so numerously peopled, that it seemed scarcely practicable to retain such an enormous multitude under the direction of one government. Being far advanced in years, and wishing to exonerate his realm of a crowd with which it was over-burdened, he declared his intention of sending away his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, two spirited young men, to whatever settlements the gods should point out by their auguries ; and that they should carry with them any number of men, which they themselves should choose ; so that no nation which lay in their way should be able to obstruct their course. Sigovesus was then directed by the oracle to the Hercinian forest : to Bellovesus the gods showed a much more delightful route into Italy. He carried with him from the Biturigians, the Arvernians, the Senonians, the Æduans, the Ambarrians, the Carnutians, and the Aulercians, all their superfluous numbers : and setting out, at the head of an immense body of horse and foot, arrived in the country of the Triastinians. The Alps then stood in his way, which I do not wonder that these people should consider as impassable, having never been climbed over by any path at least, as far as we have been able to learn, unless we choose to believe the fables told of Hercules. Whilst the height of the mountains kept the Gauls penned up as it were, and while they were looking about for some route between those lofty summits which joined the sky, an ominous incident also gave them some delay ; for an account was brought to them, that some strangers, who had come in search of lands, were attacked by the nation of the Salyans : these were the Massilians who had come by sea from Phoea.<sup>1</sup> The Gauls,

<sup>1</sup> A city of Asia Minor, built by a colony of Athenians. Being besieged and hard pressed by Harpagus, an officer of Cyrus king of Persia, the inhabitants resolved to abandon the town, and seek another residence. Accordingly, after uttering heavy imprecations on themselves, if they should ever return, they carried their effects on board their ships, and, sailing to the coast of Provence, founded the city of Marseilles.

considering this as prognostic of their own fortune, gave them their assistance, in fortifying the ground, which they had first seized on their landing, covered with wide extended woods. They themselves climbed over the pathless Alps, through the forest of Taurinum, routed the Tuscans in battle, not far from the river Ticinus; and, hearing that the district in which they had posted themselves, was called Insubria, the same name by which one of the cantons of the Insubrian *Æduans* was distinguished, they embraced the omen which the place presented, and founded there a city, which they called *Mediolanum*.

XXXV. Some time after, another body, composed of the *Cenomanians*, under the conduct of *Elitovius*, following the tracks of the former, made their way over the Alps, through the same forest, *Bellovesus* favouring their march, and settled themselves where the cities *Brixia* and *Verona* now stand, places then possessed by the *Libuans*. After these, came the *Salluvians*, who fixed their abode near the ancient canton of the *Ligurians*, called *Lævi*, who inhabited the banks of the *Ticinus*. The next who came over were the *Boians* and *Lingonians*, through the *Penine* pass, who, finding all the space between the Alps and the *Po* already occupied, crossed the *Po* on rafts, and drove out of the country, not only the *Etrurians*, but the *Umbrians* also. They confined themselves however within the *Apennines*. After them the *Senonians*, the latest of these emigrants, possessed themselves of the track which reaches from the river *Utens* to the *Æsis*. This latter people, I find, it was, who came to *Clusium*, and from thence to *Rome*. But whether alone, or assisted by all the nations of *Cisalpine Gauls*, is not known with certainty. The *Clusians*, on observing so great a multitude, the appearance of the men, too, being different from any which they had seen before, and also the kind of arms which they carried, were terrified at the approach of this strange enemy; and having heard that the legions of the *Etrurians* had been often defeated by them, on both sides of the *Po*, determined, although they had no claim on the *Romans*, either in right of alliance or friendship, except that they had not protected their relations the *Veientians* in opposition to the *Roman* people, to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to solicit aid from the senate; which request was not complied with. The three *Fabii*, sons of *Ambustus*, were sent to

mediate with the *Gauls*, in the name of the senate and commons of *Rome*; who recommended to them not to attack the allies and friends of the *Roman* people, from whom they had received no injury, and whom they would be obliged to support even by force of arms, if matters went so far; but who, at the same time, would be better pleased, that hostile proceedings should be avoided if possible, and that their acquaintance with the *Gauls*, a nation to whom they were as yet strangers, should commence in an amicable rather than in a hostile manner.

XXXVI. This was an embassy mild in its import, but intrusted to men of tempers too ferocious, more resembling *Gauls* than *Romans*. These, having explained their commission in an assembly of the *Gauls*, received for answer, that although this was the first time that they had heard the name of the *Romans*, yet they supposed, that they were men of bravery, whose assistance the *Clusians* had implored in a conjuncture so perilous; and in consideration of their having chosen to interfere between their allies and them, in the way of negotiation, rather than that of arms, they would make no objection to the amicable terms which they proposed, provided that the *Clusians*, who possessed a greater portion of land than they turned to use, would give up a part of it to the *Gauls*, who wanted it. On no other terms, they said, was peace to be obtained: that they wished to receive an answer in presence of the *Romans*, and if the land were refused them, would also decide the matter by arms in the presence of the same *Romans*, that they might inform their countrymen, how far the *Gauls* excelled the rest of mankind in bravery. The *Romans* asking, by what right they could demand land from the possessors, and in case of refusal threaten war; and what concern the *Gauls* had in *Etruria*? The others fiercely replied, that they carried their right on the points of their swords, and that all things were the property of the brave. Thus, with minds inflamed on both sides, they hastily separated to prepare for battle, which began without delay. Here, fate now pressing the city of *Rome*, the ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations, took a part in the action: a fact which could not be concealed, for three of the noblest and bravest of the *Roman* youth fought in the van of the *Etrurian* army; and the valour of these foreigners was eminently conspicuous. Besides,



Quintus Fabius rode forward beyond the line, and slew a general of the Gauls, who was making a furious charge against the standards of the Etrurians, running him through the side with his spear. He was known by the Gauls while he was stripping him of his spoils; on which notice was conveyed round through the whole army, that he was one of the Roman ambassadors. Dropping therefore their resentment against the Clusians, they sounded a retreat, threatening to wreak their vengeance on the Romans. Some advised that they should march instantly to Rome. But the opinion of the elders prevailed; that ambassadors should first be sent to complain of the ill treatment, which they had received, and to demand that the Fabii should be delivered into their hands as a satisfaction for having violated the law of nations. When the ambassadors of the Gauls had explained those matters according to their commission, the senate were highly displeased at the behaviour of the Fabii, and thought the demand of the barbarians just: but in the case of nobles, of such exalted rank, partial favour prevented their passing a decree conformable to their judgment. Lest, therefore, they might be chargeable with any misfortune, which might perhaps be sustained in a war with the Gauls, they referred the determination, on the demands of the Gauls, to the assembly of the people: where so prevalent was the influence of interest and wealth, that the very persons whose punishment was the subject of deliberation, were appointed military tribunes with consular power for the ensuing year. At which proceeding the Gauls being justly enraged, and openly denouncing war, returned to their countrymen. Together with the three Fabii were appointed military tribunes, [Y. R. 365. B. C. 387.] Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius a fourth time, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII. When fortune is determined upon the ruin of a people, she can so blind them, as to render them insensible to danger, even of the greatest magnitude: accordingly the Roman state, which, in its wars with the Fidenatians and Veientians and other neighbouring enemies, had left no means untried to procure aid, and had, on many occasions, nominated a dictator; yet now, when an enemy whom they had never met, or even heard of, was, from the ocean and the remotest coasts, advancing in arms against them, they looked not for any extraordinary command or assis-

tance. Tribunes, whose temerity had brought on the troubles, were intrusted with the reins of government, and they used no greater diligence in levying forces, than was usual in case of a rupture with any of their neighbours, extenuating the importance which fame gave to the war. Meanwhile the Gauls, hearing that the violators of the rights of mankind had even been recompensed with honours, and that their embassy had been slighted, inflamed with anger, a passion which that nation knows not how to control, instantly snatched up their ensigns, and began to march with the utmost expedition. When their precipitate movement caused such an alarm wherever they passed, that the inhabitants of the cities ran together to arms, and the peasants betook themselves to flight, they signified to them, by loud shouts, that it was to Rome they were going, while the space covered by their men and horses was immense, the troops spreading widely on every side. But report outstripped them; and messengers also from the Clusian, and from several other states, one after another, and the quickness of the enemy's proceedings, caused the utmost consternation among the Romans, whose army, composed, in a manner, of tumultuary troops, with all the haste which they could make, scarce advanced so far as the eleventh stone before they met them, where the river Allia, running down from the Crustumian mountains in a very deep channel, joins the Tiber, a little way below the road. Already every place, in front, and on each side, was occupied by numerous bodies of Gauls; and, as that nation has a natural turn for aggravating terror by confusion, by their harsh music and discordant clamours, they filled the air with a horrible din.

XXXVIII. There the military tribunes, without having previously formed a camp, without the precaution of raising a rampart which might secure a retreat, regardless of duty to the gods, to say nothing of that to man, without taking auspices, without offering a sacrifice, drew up their line, which they extended on towards the flanks, lest they should be surrounded by the numerous forces of the enemy. Still they could not show an equal front, and at the same time thinned their line in such a manner, as weakened the centre, and left it scarce sufficient to fill up the ranks without a breach. There was a small eminence on the right, which they determined to occupy with a

body of reserve; which measure, as it gave the first cause to their dismay and desertion of the field, so it proved the only means of safety in their flight. Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, thinking, that as his enemies were few, their skill was what he had chiefly to guard against; and supposing, that the eminence had been seized with design, that when the Gauls should be engaged in front with the line of the legions; that reserved body might make an attack on their rear and flank, turned his force against the reserve, not doubting, that if he could dislodge them from their post, his troops, so much superior in number, would find an easy victory in the plain: thus not only fortune, but judgment also stood on the side of the barbarians. In the opposite army there appeared nothing like Romans, either among the commanders, or the soldiers. Terror and dismay had taken possession of their minds, and such a total unconcern for the rest of mankind, that greater numbers by far fled to Veii, a city of their enemy, though the Tiber lay across the way, than by the direct road to Rome, to their wives and children. The situation of the ground for some time defended the reserve: but those who composed the rest of the line, on their flank, and on their rear, no sooner heard the shout, than, not only without attempting to fight, but without even returning the shout, fresh as they were and unhurt, they ran away from an untried enemy, and at whom they had scarcely ventured to look. Thus, no lives were lost in battle; but their rear was cut to pieces while they crowded on one another, in such hurry and confusion, as they retarded their retreat. Great slaughter was made on the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing, after throwing away their arms, had directed their flight; and great numbers who knew not how to swim, or were not very strong, being burthened with their coats of mail and other defensive armour, were swallowed up in the current. However, the greatest part escaped safe to Veii, from whence they neither sent any reinforcement to Rome, nor even a courier to give notice of their defeat. Those of the right wing, which had been posted at a distance from the river, near the foot of the mountain, all took the way to Rome, and without even shutting the gates of the city, made their way into the citadel.

XXXIX. On the other hand, the attainment of such a speedy, such an almost miraculous

victory, astonished the Gauls. At first, they stood motionless through apprehension for their own safety, scarcely knowing what had happened; then they dreaded some stratagem; at length, they collected the spoils of the slain, and piled the arms in heaps, according to their practice. And now, seeing no sign of an enemy any where, they at last began to march forward, and a little before sun-set arrived near the city of Rome, where receiving intelligence by some horsemen who had advanced before, that the gates were open without any troops posted to defend them, nor any soldiers on the walls, this second incident, not less unaccountable than the former, induced them to halt; and, apprehending danger from the darkness of the night, and their ignorance of the situation of the city, they took post between Rome and the Anio, sending scouts about the walls, and the several gates, to discover what plans the enemy would pursue in this desperate state of their affairs. The Roman soldiers, who were living, their friends lamented as lost: the greater part of them having gone from the field of battle to Veii, and no one supposing that any survived, except those who had come home to Rome. In fine the city was almost entirely filled with sorrowings. But on the arrival of intelligence, that the enemy were at hand, the apprehensions excited by the public danger stifled all private sorrow; soon after, the barbarians patrolling about the walls in troops, they heard their yells and the dissonant clangour of their martial instruments. During the whole interval, between this and the next morning, they were held in the most anxious suspense, every moment expecting an assault to be made on the city. At the enemy's first approach, it was supposed that they would begin the attack, as soon as they should arrive at the city, since, if this were not their intention, they would probably have remained at the Allia. Their fears were various and many; first, they imagined that the place would be instantly stormed, because there was not much of the day remaining; then that the design was put off until night, in order to strike the greater terror. At last, the approach of light sunk them in dismay, and the evil itself which they dreaded, closed this scene of unremitted apprehension, the enemy marching through the gates in hostile array. During that night, however, and also the following day, the state preserved a character, very different from that which such a dastardly flight at the Allia



had indicated : for there being no room to hope that the city could possibly be defended by the small number of troops remaining, a resolution was taken, that the young men who were fit to bear arms, and the abler part of the senate, with their wives and children, should go up into the citadel and the capitol ; and having collected stores of arms and corn, should, in that strong post, maintain the defence of the deities, of the inhabitants, and of the honour of Rome. That the Flamen Quirinalis, and the vestal priestesses, should carry away, far from slaughter and conflagration, all that appertained to the gods of the state ; and that their worship should not be intermitted, until there should be no one left to perform it. " If the citadel, and the capitol, the mansion of the gods ; if the senate, the source of public counsel ; if the youth of military age, should survive the ruin which impended over the city, they must deem the loss of the aged light, as of a crowd whom they were under the necessity of leaving behind, though with a certain prospect of their perishing." That such of this deserted multitude as consisted of plebeians, might bear their doom with the greater resignation, the aged nobles, formerly dignified with triumphal honours and consulships, openly declared, that " they would meet death along with them, and would not burthen the scanty stores of the fighting men, with bodies incapable of carrying arms, and of protecting their country." Such were the consolations addressed to each other by the aged who were destined to death.

XL. Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men, whom they escorted to the capitol and citadel, commending to their valour and youthful vigour the remaining fortune of their city, which, through the course of three hundred and sixty years, had ever been victorious in all its wars. When those who carried with them every hope and every resource, parted with the others, who had determined not to survive the capture and destruction of the city, the view which it exhibited was sufficient to call forth the liveliest feelings, the women at the same time running up and down in distraction, now following one party, then the other, asking their husbands and their sons, to what fate they would consign them ? All together formed such a picture of human woe as could admit of no aggravation. A great part, however, of the women followed their relations into the citadel, no one either hindering or inviting

them ; because, though the measure of lessening the number of useless persons, in a siege, might doubtless be adviseable in one point of view, yet it was a measure of extreme inhumanity. The rest of the multitude, consisting chiefly of plebeians, for whom there was neither room on so small a hill, nor a possibility of support in so great a scarcity of corn, pouring out of the city in one continued train, repaired to the Janiculum. From thence some dispersed through the country, and others made their way to the neighbouring cities, without any leader, or any concert, each pursuing his own hopes and his own plans, those of the public being deplored as desperate. In the meantime, the Flamen Quirinalis, and the vestal virgins, laying aside all concern for their own affairs, and consulting together which of the sacred deposits they should take with them, and which they should leave behind, for they had not strength sufficient to carry all, and what place they could best depend on, for preserving them in safe custody, judged it the most eligible method to inclose them in casks, and to bury them under ground, in the chapel next to the dwelling-house of the Flamen Quirinalis, where at present it is reckoned profane even to spit. The rest they carried, distributing the burdens among themselves, along the road which leads over the Sublician bridge, to the Janiculum. On the ascent of that hill, Lucius Albinus, a Roman plebeian, was conveying away in a waggon his wife and children, but observing them among the crowd of those who being unfit for war were retiring from the city, and retaining, even in his present calamitous state, a regard to the distinction between things divine and human, he thought it would betray a want of respect to religion, if the public priests of the Roman people were to go on foot, thus holly laden, whilst he and his family were seen mounted in a carriage ; ordering his wife and children then to alight, he put the virgins and the sacred things into the waggon, and conveyed them to Cære, whither the priests had determined to go.

XLI. Meanwhile at Rome, when every disposition for the defence of the citadel had been completed, as far as was possible in such a conjuncture, the aged crowd withdrew to their houses, and there, with a firmness of mind not to be shaken by the approach of death, waited the coming of the enemy : such of them as had held curule offices, choosing to die in that garb

which displayed the emblems of their former fortune, of their honours, or of their merit, put on the most splendid robes worn, when they draw the chariots of the gods in procession, or ride in triumph. Thus habited, they seated themselves in their ivory chairs at the fronts of their houses. Some say that they devoted themselves for the safety of their country and their fellow-citizens; and that they sung a hymn upon the occasion, Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff, dictating the form of words to them. On the side of the Gauls, as the keenness of their rage, excited by the fight, had abated during the night; and, as they had neither met any dangerous opposition in the field, nor were now taking the city by storm or force; they marched next day, without any anger or any heat of passion, into the city, through the Colline gate, which stood open, and advanced to the forum, casting round their eyes on the temples of the gods, and on the citadel, the only place which had the appearance of making resistance. From thence, leaving a small guard to prevent any attack from the citadel or capitol, they ran about in quest of plunder. Not meeting a human being in the streets, part of them rushed in a body to the houses that stood nearest; part sought the most distant, as expecting to find them untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards, being frightened from thence by the very solitude, and fearing lest some secret design of the enemy might be put in execution against them, while they were thus dispersed; they formed themselves into bodies, and returned again to the forum, and places adjoining to it. Finding the houses of the plebeians shut up, and the palaces of the nobles standing open, they showed rather greater backwardness to attack these that were open, than such as were shut; with such a degree of veneration did they behold men sitting in the porches of those palaces, who, beside their ornaments and apparel, more splendid than became mortals, bore the nearest resemblances to gods, in the majesty displayed in their looks, and the gravity of their countenances. It is said, that while they stood gazing as on statues, one of them, Marcus Papirius, provoked the anger of a Gaul, by striking him on the head with his ivory sceptre, while he was stroking his beard, which at that time was universally worn long: that the slaughter began with him, and that the rest were slain in their seats. The nobles being put to death, the

remainder of the people met the same fate. The houses were plundered, and then set on fire.

XLII. However, whether it was, that they were not all possessed with a desire of reducing the city to ruins, or whether the design had been adopted by the chiefs of the Gauls, that some fires should be presented to the view of the besieged for the purpose of terrifying them, and to try if they could be compelled to surrender, through affection to their own dwellings, or that they had determined that all the houses should not be burned down, because whatever remained they could hold as a pledge, by means of which they might work upon the minds of the garrison, the fire did not, during the first day, spread extensively, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans, beholding the enemy from the citadel, who ran up and down through every street, while some new scene of horror arose to their view in every different quarter, were scarcely able to preserve their presence of mind. To whatever side the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women and children, the crackling from the flames, and the crash of falling houses called their attention, thither, deeply shocked at every incident, they turned their eyes, their thoughts, as if placed by fortune to be spectators of the fall of their country;—left, in short, not for the purpose of protecting any thing belonging to them, but merely their own persons, much more deserving of commiseration, indeed, than any before who were ever beleaguered; as by the siege which they had to sustain they were excluded from their native city, whilst they saw every thing which they held dear in the power of the enemy. Nor was the night which succeeded such a shocking day attended with more tranquillity. The morning appeared with an aspect equally dismal; nor did any portion of time relieve them from the sight of a constant succession of new distresses. Loaded and overwhelmed with such a multiplicity of evils, they notwithstanding remitted nought of their firmness; determined, though they should see every thing in flames, and levelled with the dust, to defend by their bravery the hill which they occupied, small and ill provided as it was, yet being the only refuge of their liberty. And as the same events recurred every day, they became so habituated, as it were, to disasters, that, abstracting their thoughts as much as possible from their circumstances, they regarded the arms and the swords in their hands as their only hopes.



XLIII. On the other side, the Gauls, having for several days waged only an ineffectual war against the buildings, and perceiving that among the fires and ruins of the city nothing now remained but a band of armed enemies, who were neither terrified in the least, nor likely to treat of a capitulation unless force were applied, resolved to have recourse to extremities, and to make an assault on the citadel. On a signal given, at the first light, their whole multitude was marshalled in the forum, from whence, after raising the shout, and forming a *testudo*,<sup>1</sup> they advanced to the attack. The Romans in their defence did nothing rashly, nor in a hurry; but having strengthened the guards at every approach, and opposing the main strength of their men on the quarter where they saw the battalions advancing, they suffered them to mount the hill, judging that the higher they should ascend, the more easily they might be driven back, down the steep. About the middle of the ascent they met; and there making their charge down the declivity, which of itself bore them against the enemy, routed the Gauls with such slaughter, and such destruction, occasioned by their falling down the precipice, that they never afterwards, either in parties, or with their whole force, made another trial of that kind of fight. Laying aside therefore the hope of effecting their approaches by force of arms, they resolved to form a blockade, for which, having never until this time thought of making provision, they were ill prepared. With the houses, all was consumed in the city; and in the course of the days they had passed there, the produce of the country round about had been hastily carried off to Veii. Wherefore, dividing their forces, they determined that one part should be employed in plundering among the neighbouring nations, while the other carried on the siege of the citadel, in order that the ravagers of the country might supply the besiegers with corn.

XLIV. The party of Gauls, which marched away from the city, were conducted merely by the will of fortune, who chose to make a trial of Roman bravery, to Ardea, where Camillus dwelt in exile, pining in sorrow, and more deeply grieving at the distresses of the public, than at his own; accusing gods and men, burn-

ing with indignation, and wondering where were now those men who with him had taken Veii, and Falerii; those men who, in other wars, had ever been more indebted to their own courage, than to chance. Thus pondering, he heard, on a sudden, that the army of the Gauls was approaching, and that the people of Ardea in consternation were met in council on the subject. On which, as if moved by divine inspiration, he advanced into the midst of their assembly, having hitherto been accustomed to absent himself from such meetings, and said, "People of Ardea, my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, a relation encouraged by your kindness, and formed by my fortune; let not any of you imagine, that my coming hither to your council is owing to my having forgotten my situation; but the present case, and the common danger, render it necessary that every one should contribute to the public every kind of assistance in his power. And when shall I repay so great obligations as I owe you, if I am now remiss? On what occasion can I ever be serviceable to you, if not in war? By my knowledge in that line, I supported a character in my native country, and though never overcome by an enemy in war, I was banished in time of peace by my ungrateful countrymen. To you, men of Ardea, fortune has presented an opportunity of making a recompence for all the valuable favours which the Roman people have formerly conferred on you. How great these have been, ye yourselves remember; nor need I, who know you to be grateful, remind you of them. At the same time you may acquire, for this your city, a high degree of military renown, by acting against the common enemy. The nation, which is now approaching, in a disorderly march, is one to whom nature has given minds and bodies of greater size than strength: for which reason, they bring to every contest more of terror, than of real vigour. The disaster of Rome may serve as a proof of this; they took the city, when every avenue lay open; but still a small band in the citadel and capitol are able to withstand them. Already tired of the slow proceedings of the siege, they retire and spread themselves over the face of the country. When gorged by food, and greedy draughts of wine, as soon as night comes on, they stretch themselves promiscuously, like brutes, near streams of water, without intrenchment, and without either guards or advanced posts; using, at pre-

<sup>1</sup> Forming themselves into a compact body, with their shields joined together, and held over their heads to protect them from the missile weapons of the enemy.

sent, in consequence of success, still less caution than usual. If it is your wish to defend your own walls, and not to suffer all this part of the world to become a province of Gaul, take arms unanimously at the first watch. Follow me, to kill, not to fight. If I do not deliver them into your hands, overpowered with sleep, to be slaughtered like cattle, I am content to meet the same issue of my affairs at Ardea which I found at Rome."

XLV. Every one who heard him had long been possessed with an opinion, that there was not any where in that age a man of equal talents for war. The meeting then being dismissed, they took some refreshment, and waited with impatience for the signal being given. As soon as that was done, during the stillness of the beginning of the night, they attended Camillus at the gates: they had not marched far from the city, when they found the camp of the Gauls, as had been foretold, unguarded and neglected on every side, and, raising a shout, attacked it. There was no fight any where, but slaughter every where: being naked, and surprised in sleep, they were easily cut to pieces. However, those who lay most remote, being roused from their beds, and not knowing how or by whom the tumult was occasioned, were by their fears directed to flight, and some of them even into the midst of the enemy, before they perceived their mistake. A great number, flying into the territory of Antium, were attacked on their straggling march by the inhabitants of that city, surrounded and cut off. A like carnage was made of the Tuscans in the territory of Veii: for they were so far from feeling compassion for a city, which had been their neighbour now near four hundred years, and which had been overpowered by a strange and unheard of enemy, that they made incursions at that very time on the Roman territory: and, after loading themselves with booty, purposed even to lay siege to Veii, the bulwark, and the last remaining hope of the whole Roman race. The soldiers there, who had seen them straggling over the country, and also collected in a body, driving the prey before them, now perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii. At first, their minds were filled with melancholy reflections on their own situation; then with indignation, afterwards with rage. "Must their misfortunes," they said, "be mocked even by the Etrurians, from whom they had

drawn off the Gallic war on themselves?" Scarce could they curb their passions so far as to refrain from attacking them that instant; but, being restrained by Quintus Cædicius, a centurion, whom they had appointed their commander, they consented to defer it until night. The action which ensued wanted nothing to render it equal to the former, except that it was not conducted by a general equal to Camillus: in every other respect the course of events was the same, and the issue equally fortunate. Not content with this blow, but taking, as guides, some prisoners who had escaped the slaughter, and advancing to Salinæ against another body of Tuscans, they surprised them on the night following, slew a still greater number, and then returned to Veii, exulting in their double victory.

XLVI. Meanwhile, at Rome, the siege, in general, was carried on slowly, and both parties lay quiet; for the attention of the Gauls was solely employed in preventing any of the enemy escaping from between their posts; when on a sudden, a Roman youth drew on himself the attention and admiration both of his countrymen and the enemy. There was a sacrifice always solemnized by the Fabian family at stated times, on the Quirinal hill: to perform which, Caius Fabius Dorso having come down from the capitol, dressed in the form called the Gabine cincture, and carrying in his hands the sacred utensils requisite for the ceremony, passed out through the midst of the enemy's posts, without being moved in the least by any of their calls or threats. He proceeded to the Quirinal hill, and after duly performing there the solemn rites, returned by the same way, preserving the same firmness in his countenance and gait, confident of the protection of the gods, whose worship, even the fear of death, had not power to make him neglect, and came back to his friends in the capitol, while the Gauls were either held motionless with astonishment at his amazing confidence, or moved by considerations of religion, of which that nation is by no means regardless. Meanwhile, those at Veii found not only their courage, but their strength also increasing daily. Not only such of the Romans repaired thither, who, in consequence either of the defeat in the field, or of the disaster of the city being taken, had been dispersed in various parts, but volunteers also flowed in from Latium, with a view to share in the spoil; so that it now seemed high



time to attempt the recovery of their native city, and rescue it out of the hands of the enemy. But this strong body wanted a head: the spot where they stood reminded them of Camillus, a great number of the soldiers having fought with success under his banners and auspices. Besides, Cædicius declared, that he would not take any part which might afford occasion, either for god or man, to take away his command; but rather, mindful of his own rank, would himself insist on the appointment of a general. With universal consent it was resolved, that Camillus should be invited from Ardea; but that first the senate at Rome should be consulted; so carefully did they regulate every proceeding by a regard to propriety, and though in circumstances nearly desperate, maintain the distinctions of the several departments of government. It was necessary to pass through the enemy's guards, which could not be effected without the utmost danger. A spirited youth called Pontius Cominius, offered himself for the undertaking, and supporting himself on pieces of cork, was carried down the stream of the Tiber to the city. From thence, where the distance from the bank was shortest, he made his way into the capitol over a part of the rock which was very steep and craggy, and therefore neglected by the enemy's guards; and being conducted to the magistrates, delivered the message of the army. Then having received a decree of the senate, that Camillus should both be recalled from exile in an assembly of the Curias, and instantly nominated dictator by order of the people, and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished, going out by the same way, he proceeded with his despatches to Veii; from whence deputies were sent to Ardea to Camillus, who conducted him to Veii: or else, the law was passed by the Curians, and he was nominated dictator in his absence; for I am inclined to believe, that he did not set out from Ardea, until he found that this was done, because he could neither change his residence without an order of the people, nor hold the privilege of the auspices in the army, until he was nominated dictator.

XLVII. Thus they were employed at Veii, whilst, in the meantime, the citadel and capitol at Rome were in the utmost danger. The Gauls either perceived the track of a human foot, where the messenger from Veii had passed; or, from their own observation, had re-

marked the easy ascent at the rock of Carmentis: on a moonlight night, therefore, having first sent forward a person unarmed to make trial of the way, handing their arms to those before them; when any difficulty occurred, supporting and supported in turns, and drawing each other up according as the ground required, they climbed to the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of the guards, but did not even alarm the dogs, animals particularly watchful with regard to any noise at night. They were not unperceived however by some geese, which, being sacred to Juno, the people had spared, even in the present great scarcity of food; a circumstance to which they owed their preservation; for by the cackling of these creatures, and the clapping of their wings, Marcus Manlius was roused from sleep—a man of distinguished character in war, who had been consul the third year before; and snatching up his arms, and at the same time calling to the rest to do the same, he hastened to the spot: where, while some ran about in confusion, he by a stroke with the boss of his shield tumbled down a Gaul who had already got footing on the summit; and this man's weight, as he fell, throwing down those who were next, he slew several others, who, in their consternation, threw away their arms, and caught hold of the rocks, to which they clung. By this time many of the garrison had assembled at the place, who, by throwing javelins and stones, beat down the enemy, so that the whole band, unable to keep either their hold or footing, were hurled down the precipice in promiscuous ruin. The alarm then subsiding, the remainder of the night was given to repose, as much at least as could be enjoyed after such perturbation, when the danger, though past, kept up the agitation of people's mind. As soon as day appeared, the soldiers were summoned, by sound of trumpet, to attend the tribunes in assembly, when due recompence was to be made both to merit and demerit. Manlius was first of all commended for the bravery which he had displayed, and was presented with gifts, not only by the military tribunes, but by the soldiers universally; for every one carried to his house, which was in the citadel, a contribution of half a pound of corn and half a pint of wine—a present which appears trifling in the relation, yet the scarcity which prevailed rendered it a very strong proof of esteem, since each man contributed, in honour of a particular person, a portion subtracted

from his necessary supplies. Those who had been on guard at the place where the enemy climbed up unobserved, were now cited; and though Quintus Sulpicius, military tribune, had declared, that he would punish every man according to the rules of military discipline, yet being deterred by the unanimous remonstrances of the soldiers, who threw all the blame on one particular man of the guard, he spared the rest. The one who was manifestly guilty, he, with the approbation of all, threw down from the rock. From this time forth, the guards on both sides became more vigilant: on the side of the Gauls, because a rumour spread that messengers passed between Veii and Rome; and on that of the Romans, from their recollection of the danger to which they had been exposed in the night.

XLVIII. But beyond all the evils of the war and the siege, famine distressed both armies. To which was added on the side of the Gauls, a pestilential disorder, occasioned by their lying encamped in low ground surrounded with hills, which, besides having been heated by the burning of the buildings, and filled with exhalations, when the wind rose ever so little, sent up not only ashes but embers. These inconveniences that nation, of all others, is the worst qualified to endure, as being accustomed to cold and moisture. In a word, they suffered so severely from the heat and suffocation, that they died in great numbers, disorders spreading as among a herd of cattle. And now growing weary of the trouble of burying separately, they gathered the bodies in heaps promiscuously, and burned them, and this rendered the place remarkable by the name of the Gallic piles. A truce was now made with the Romans, and conferences held with permission of the commanders: in which, when the Gauls frequently made mention of the famine to which the former were reduced, and thence inferred the necessity of their surrendering, it is said, that in order to remove this opinion, bread was thrown from the capitol into their advanced posts, though the famine could scarcely be dissembled or endured any longer. But whilst the dictator was employed in person in levying forces at Ardea, in sending his master of the horse, Lucius Valerius, to bring up the troops from Veii, and in making such preparations and arrangements as would enable him to attack the enemy on equal terms, the garrison of the capitol was worn down with the fatigue of guards and

watches. They had hitherto stood superior to all evils, yet famine was one which nature would not allow to be overcome, so that looking out day after day for some assistance from the dictator, and at last, not only provisions, but hope failing, their arms, in the course of relieving the guards, at the same time almost weighing down their feeble bodies, they insisted that either a surrender should be made, or the enemy bought off, on such terms as could be obtained: for the Gauls had given plain intimations, that, for a small compensation, they might be induced to relinquish the siege. The senate then met, and the military tribunes were commissioned to conclude a capitulation. The business was afterwards managed in a conference between Quintus Sulpicius a military tribune, and Brennus the chieftain of the Gauls, and a thousand pounds weight of gold<sup>1</sup> was fixed as the ransom of that people, who were afterwards to be rulers of the world. To a transaction so very humiliating in itself, insult was added. False weights were brought by the Gauls, and on the tribune objecting to them, the insolent Gaul threw in his sword in addition to the weights, and was heard to utter an expression intolerable to Roman ears, "woe to the vanquished."

XLIX. But both gods and men stood forth to prevent the Romans living under the disgrace of being ransomed. For, very fortunately, before the abominable payment was completed, the whole quantity of gold being not yet weighed in consequence of the altercation, the dictator came up to the spot, ordered the gold to be carried away from thence, and the Gauls to clear the place. And when they made opposition, and insisted on the agreement, he affirmed that such an agreement could have no validity, being made after he had been created dictator, without his order, by a magistrate of subordinate authority; and he gave notice to the Gauls to prepare for battle. His own men he ordered to throw their baggage in a heap, to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel, not with gold; having before their eyes the temples of the gods, their wives and children, the site of their native city disfigured with rubbish through the calamities of war, and every object which they were bound by the strongest duties to defend, to recover, and to revenge. He then drew up his

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<sup>1</sup> L. 45,000.



forces for battle, as far as the nature of the ground would allow, on the site of the half-demolished city, which was in itself naturally uneven, having made every previous arrangement and preparation, which could be suggested by knowledge in war, to secure all possible advantages to himself. The Gauls, alarmed at this unexpected event, took up arms, and with more rage than conduct rushed upon the Romans. Fortune had now changed sides; and both divine favour and human wisdom aided the Roman cause. At the first onset, therefore, the Gauls were put to the route with no greater difficulty than they had themselves found, when they gained the victory at the Allia. They were afterwards defeated, under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus, in a more regular engagement at the eighth stone on the Gabine road, where they rallied after their flight. Here the slaughter was immense; their camp was taken, and not even a single person left to carry the news of the defeat. The dictator, having thus recovered his country from the enemy, returned in triumph, and among the rough jokes which the soldiers throw out on such occasions, received the appellations of a Romulus, a second founder of the city—praises certainly not unmerited. His country thus saved by arms, he evidently saved it a second time in peace, when he hindered the people from removing to Veii, a scheme pressed by the tribunes with greater earnestness after the burning of the city, and which the commons, or themselves, were then more inclined to pursue; and for that reason he did not resign the dictatorship immediately after his triumph, being entreated by the senate not to leave the commonwealth in that unsettled state.

L. The first business which he laid before the senate was that which respected the immortal gods; for he was remarkably attentive to all matters in which religion was concerned. He procured a decree of senate, that “all the temples having been in possession of the enemy should be restored, their bounds traced, and expiation made for them, and that the form of expiation should be sought in the books by the duumvirs. That a league of hospitality should be formed by public authority with the people of Cære, because they had afforded a reception to the sacred utensils, and to the priests of the Roman people; and because to the kindness of that nation it was owing, that the worship of the immortal gods had not been intermitted;

that Capitoline games should be exhibited in honour of Jupiter, supremely good and great, for having, in time of danger, protected his own mansion, and the citadel of Rome; and that a certain number of citizens, for the due performance thereof, should be incorporated by the dictator, out of those who resided in the capitol and fort.” Mention was also introduced of expiating the voice which had been heard by night, giving notice of the calamity before the Gallic war, and which had been neglected; and an order was made that a temple should be erected to Aius Locutius, in the new street. The gold, which had been rescued from the Gauls, and also what had been, during the hurry of the alarm, carried from the other temples into the recess of Jupiter’s temple, was all together judged to be sacred, and ordered to be deposited under the throne of Jupiter, because no one could recollect to what temples it ought to be returned. The state had, before this, manifested a high regard to religion, in accepting a contribution of gold from the matrons, when the public fund was found insufficient to make up the sum stipulated to be paid to the Gauls, rather than meddle with the sacred gold. To the matrons public thanks were given, and also the privilege of having funeral orations delivered in honour of them on their death, the same as on that of the men. When he had finished such business as respected the gods, and such as could be determined by the authority of the senate, and as the tribunes never ceased teasing the commons in their harangues to abandon the ruins, and remove to Veii, a city ready for their reception; being attended by the whole body of the senate, he mounted the tribunal, and spoke to this effect.

L.I. “Romans, so strong is my aversion from holding contentions with the tribunes of the people, that while I resided at Ardea, I had no other consolation in my melancholy exile than that I was at a distance from such contests; and, on account of these, I was fully determined never to return, even though ye should recall me by a decree of senate and order of the people. Nor was it any change of my sentiments, which induced me now to revisit Rome, but the situation of your affairs. For the point in question was, not whether I should reside in my native land, but whether that land, (if I may so express myself,) should keep in its own established seat? And on the present occasion most willingly would I remain silent, did not

this struggle also affect the essential interests of my country; to be wanting to which, as long as life remains, were base in others, in Camillus infamous. For to what purpose have we laboured its recovery? Why have we rescued it out of the hands of the enemy? After it has been recovered, shall we voluntarily desert it? Notwithstanding that the capitol and citadel continued to be held and inhabited by the gods and the natives of Rome, even when the Gauls were victorious, and in possession of the whole city; notwithstanding that the Romans are now the victors; shall that capitol and citadel be abandoned with all the rest, and our prosperity become the cause of greater desolation, than our adversity was? In truth, if we had no religious institutions which were founded together with the city, and regularly handed down from one generation to another; yet the divine power has been so manifestly displayed at this time in favour of the Roman affairs, that I should think all disposition to be negligent in paying due honour to the gods effectually removed from the minds of men. For, take a review of the transactions of these latter years in order,—prosperous and adverse,—ye will find that in every instance prosperity constantly attended submission to the immortals, and adversity the neglect of them. To begin with the war of Veii: for what a number of years, and with what an immensity of labour, was it carried on? Yet it could not be brought to a conclusion, until, in obedience to the admonition of the gods, the water was discharged from the Alban lake. Consider, did this unparalleled train of misfortunes, which ruined our city, commence until the voice sent from heaven, concerning the approach of the Gauls, had been disregarded, until the laws of nations had been violated by our ambassadors; and until we, with the same indifference towards the deities, passed over that crime which we were bound to punish? Vanquished, therefore, made captives, and ransomed, we have suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men, as render us a warning to the whole world. After this, our misfortunes again reminded us of our duty to the heavens. We fled for refuge into the capitol, to the mansion of Jupiter, supremely good and great. The sacred utensils, amidst the ruin of our own properties, we partly concealed in the earth, partly conveyed out of the enemy's sight, to the neighbouring cities. Abandoned by

gods and men, yet we did not intermit the sacred worship. The consequence was, they restored us to our country, to victory, and to our former renown in war, which we had forfeited; and, on the heads of the enemy, who, blinded by avarice, broke the faith of a treaty in respect to the weight of the gold, they turned dismay, and flight, and slaughter.

LII. "When ye reflect on these strong instances of the powerful effects produced on the affairs of men by their either honouring or neglecting the deity, do ye not perceive, Romans, what an act of impiety we are about to perpetrate; even in the very moment of emerging from the wreck and ruin which followed our former misconduct? We are in possession of a city built under the direction of auspices and auguries, in which there is not a spot but is full of gods and religious rites. The days of the anniversary sacrifices are not more precisely stated, than are the places where they are to be performed. All these gods, both public and private, do ye intend, Romans, to forsake? What similitude does your conduct bear to that, which lately, during the siege, was beheld, with no less admiration by the enemy than by yourselves, in that excellent youth Caius Fabius, when he went down from the citadel through the midst of Gallic weapons, and performed on the Quirinal hill the anniversary rites pertaining to the Fabian family? Is it your opinion that the religious performances of particular families should not be intermitted, though war obstruct, but that the public rites and the Roman gods should be forsaken even in time of peace; and that the pontiffs and flamens should be more negligent of those rites of religion than was a private person? Some, perhaps, may say, we will perform these at Veii; we will send our priests thither for that purpose: but this cannot be done without an infringement of the established forms. Even in the case of the feast of Jupiter, (not to enumerate all the several gods, and all the different kinds of sacred rites,) can the ceremonies of the Lectisternium be performed in any other place than the capitol? What shall I say of the eternal fire of Vesta; and of the statue, that pledge of empire, which is kept under the safeguard of her temple? What, O Mars Gradivus, and thou, Father Quirinus, of thy Ancilia? Is it right that those sacred things, coeval

1 *Ancile*, a shield, supposed to be of the god Mars, said



with the city, nay some of them more ancient than the city itself, should all be abandoned to profanation? Now, observe the difference between us and our ancestors. They handed down to us certain sacred rites to be performed on the Alban, and on the Lavinian mounts. Was it then deemed not offensive to the gods, that such rites should be brought to Rome, and from the cities of our enemies; and shall we, without impiety, remove them from hence to an enemy's city, to Veii? Recollect, I beseech you, how often sacred rites are performed anew; because some particular ceremony of our country has been omitted through negligence or accident. In a late instance, what other matter, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, proved a remedy for the distresses brought on the commonwealth by the war of Veii, but the repetition of them, and the renewal of the auspices? But besides, as if zealously attached to religious institutions, we have brought not only foreign deities to Rome, but have established new ones. It was but the other day that imperial Juno was removed hither from Veii; and with what a crowded attendance was her dedication on the Aventine celebrated? And how greatly was it distinguished by the extraordinary zeal of the matrons? We have passed an order for the erecting of a temple to Aius Locutius in the new street, out of regard to the heavenly voice which was heard there. To our other solemnities we have added Capitoline games, and have, by direction of the senate, founded a new college for the performance thereof. Where was there occasion for any of these institutions, if we were to abandon the city at the same time with the Gauls; if it was against our will that we resided in the capitol for the many months that the siege continued; if it was through a motive of fear that we suffered ourselves to be confined there by the enemy? Hitherto we have spoken of the sacred rites and the temples, what are we now to say of the priests? Does it not occur to you, what a degree of profaneness would be committed with respect to them? For the vestals have but that one residence, from which nothing ever disturbed them, except the capture of the city. It is deemed impious if the Fla-

men Dialis remain one night out of the city. Do ye intend to make them Veientian priests instead of Roman? And, O Vesta, shall thy virgins forsake thee? And shall the flamen, by foreign residence, draw every night on himself and the commonwealth so great a load of guilt? What shall we say of other kinds of business which we necessarily transact under auspices, and almost all within the Pomœrium? To what oblivion, or to what neglect, are we to consign them? The assemblies of the Curias, which have the regulation of military affairs, the assemblies of the centuries, in which ye elect consuls and military tribunes; where can they be held under auspices, except in the accustomed place? Shall we transfer these to Veii? Or shall the people, in order to hold their meetings, lawfully crowd together here, with so great inconvenience, and into a city deserted by gods and men?

LIII. "But it is urged that the case itself compels us to leave a city desolated by fire and ruin, and remove to Veii, where every thing is entire, and not to distress the needy commons by building here. Now, I think, Romans, it must be evident to most of you, though I should not say a word on the subject, that this is but a pretext held out to serve a purpose, and not the real motive. For ye remember, that this scheme of our removing to Veii was agitated before the coming of the Gauls, when the buildings, both public and private, were unhurt, and when the city stood in safety. Observe, then, tribunes, the difference between my way of thinking and yours. Ye are of opinion, that even though it were not advisable to remove at that time, yet it is plainly expedient now. On the contrary, and be not surprised at what I say until ye hear my reasons, even allowing that it had been advisable so to do, when the whole city was in a state of safety, I would not vote for leaving these ruins now. At that time, removing into a captured city from a victory obtained, had been a cause glorious to us and our posterity; but now, it would be wretched and dishonourable to us, while it would be glorious to the Gauls. For we shall appear not to have left our country in consequence of our successes, but from being vanquished; and by the flight at the Allia, the capture of the city, and the blockade of the capitol, to have been obliged to forsake our dwelling, and fly from a place which we had not strength to defend. And have the Gauls

to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa. It was repositied in the sanctuary, and kept with great care by the priests of Mars, called Salii. Being considered as a symbol of the perpetual duration of the empire, to prevent its being stolen, eleven others were made exactly resembling it, and laid up with it.

been able to demolish Rome, and shall the Romans be deemed unable to restore it? What remains, then, but that ye allow them to come with new forces, for it is certain they have numbers scarcely credible, and make it their choice to dwell in this city, once captured by them, and now forsaken by you? What would you think, if, not the Gauls, but your old enemies the Æquans or Volscians, should form the design of removing to Rome? Would ye be willing that they should become Romans, and you Veientians? Or would ye that this should be either a desert in your possession, or a city in that of the enemy? Any thing more impious I really cannot conceive. Is it out of aversion from the trouble of rebuilding, that ye are ready to incur such guilt and such disgrace? Supposing that there could not be erected a better or more ample structure than that cottage of our founder, were it not more desirable to dwell in cottages, after the manner of shepherds and rustics, in the midst of your sacred places and tutelal deities, than to have the commonwealth go into exile? Our forefathers, a body of uncivilized strangers, when there was nothing in these places but woods and marshes, erected a city in a very short time. Do we, though we have the capitol and citadel safe, and the temples of the gods standing, think it too great a labour to rebuild one that has been burned? What each particular man would have done, if his house had been destroyed by fire, should the whole of us refuse, in the case of a general conflagration.

LIV. Let me ask you, if, through some ill design or accident, a fire should break out at Veii, and the flames being spread by the wind, as might be the case, should consume a great part of the city; must we seek Fidenæ, or Gabii, or some other city, to remove to? Has our native soil so slight a hold of our affections; and this earth, which we call our mother? Or does our love for our country extend no farther than the surface, and the timber of the houses? I assure you, for I will confess it readily, that during the time of my absence, (which I am less willing to recollect, as the effect of ill treatment from you, than of my own hard fortune,) as often as my country came into my mind, every one of these circumstances occurred to me; the hills, the plains, the Tiber, the face of the country to which my eyes had been accustomed, and the sky, under which I had

been born and educated; and it is my wish, Romans, that these may now engage you, by the ties of affection, to remain to your own established settlements, rather than hereafter prove the cause of your pining away in anxious regret at having left them. Not without good reason did gods and men select this spot for the building of Rome, where are most healthful hills, a commodious river, whose stream brings down the produce of the interior countries, while it opens a passage for foreign commerce; the sea, so near as to answer every purpose of convenience, yet at such a distance as not to expose it to danger from the fleets of foreigners; and in the centre of the regions of Italy, a situation singularly adapted by its nature to promote the increase of a city. Of this the very size, as it was, must be held a demonstration. Romans, this present year is the three hundred and sixty-fifth of the city; during so long a time ye have been engaged in war, in the midst of nations of the oldest standing: yet, not to mention single nations, neither the Æquans in conjunction with the Volscians, who possess so many and so strong towns, nor the whole body of Etruria, possessed of such extensive power by land and sea, and occupying the whole breadth of Italy, from one sea to the other, have shown themselves equal to you in war. This being the case, where can be the wisdom in making trial of a change, when, though your valour might accompany you in your removal to another place, the fortune of this spot could not certainly be transferred? Here is the capitol, where a human head being formerly found, it was foretold that in that spot should be the head of the world, and the seat of sovereign empire. Here, when the capitol was to be cleared by the rites of augury, Juventas and Terminus, to the very great joy of our fathers, suffered not themselves to be moved. Here is the fire of Vesta, here the Ancilia sent down from heaven, here all the gods, and they, too, propitious to your stay." Camillus is said to have affected them much by other parts of his discourse, but particularly by that which related to religious matters. But still the affair remained in suspense, until an accidental expression, seasonably uttered, determined it. For in a short time after this, the senate sitting on this business in the Curia Hostilia, it happened that some cohorts, returning from relieving the guards, passed through the forum in their



march, when a centurion in the comitium called out, "Standard-bearer, fix your standard. It is best for us to stay here." On hearing which expression, the senate, coming forth from the Curia, called out with one voice, that "they embraced the omen;" and the surrounding crowd of commons joined their approbation. The proposed law being then rejected, they set about rebuilding the city in all parts at once. Tiles were supplied at the public expense, and liberty granted to hew stones and fell timber, wherever each person chose, security being

taken for their completing the edifices within the year. Their haste took away all attention to the regulation of the course of the streets: for setting aside all regard to distinction of property, they built on any spot which they found vacant. And that is the reason that the old sewers, which at first were conducted under the public streets, do now, in many places, pass under private houses, and that the form of the city appears as if force alone had directed the distribution of the lots.

## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK VI.

Successful operations against the Æquans, and Volscians, and Prænestines. Four new tribes added. Marcus

Manlius, who defended the capitol, being convicted of aspiring to regal power, is thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

A law, proposed by two plebeian tribunes, that consuls might be chosen from among the commons, causes a long and violent contest, during which, for five years, the same set of plebeian tribunes are the only magistrates in the state; is at length passed: and Lucius Sextus, one of the proposers, made the first plebeian consul. A law passed, that no person shall possess more than five hundred acres of land.

I. In the five preceding books, I have exhibited a view of the affairs of the Romans, from the building of the city of Rome, until its capture; [Y. R. 365. B. C. 387.] under the government, first, of kings; then of consuls and dictators, decemvirs, and consular tribunes: their foreign wars, and domestic dissensions: matters involved in obscurity, not only by reason of their great antiquity, like objects placed at such a distance as to be scarcely discernible by the eye; but also because that, in those times, the use of letters, the only faithful guardian of the memory of events, was very rare. And besides, whatever information might have been contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, and other public or private records, it was almost entirely lost in the burning of the city. Henceforward, from the second origin of Rome, from whence, as from its root, receiving new life, it sprung up with redoubled health and vigour, I shall be able to give the relation of its affairs, both civil and military, with more clearness and certainty. Now, after its restoration, it leaned still, for principal support, on the same instrument which had raised it from ruin, Marcus Furius Camillus. Nor did the people suffer him to lay aside the dictatorship before the end of that year. It was judged improper that the tribunes, during whose administration the city had been taken, should preside at the elections for the year ensuing, and an interregnum was resolved

on. While the public were kept diligently employed in repairing the city, Quintus Fabius, as soon as he went out of office, had a prosecution instituted against him by Caius Marcius, a tribune of the commons, for having, while in the character of ambassador, contrary to the law of nations, acted in arms against the Gauls, with whom he had been sent as a minister to negotiate: he escaped standing his trial, by a death so opportune, that most people believed it voluntary. The interregnum commenced. Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex; and, after him, Marcus Furius Camillus a second time. [Y. R. 366. B. C. 386.] He elected military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Valerius Poplicola a second time, Lucius Virginus, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Æmilius, and Lucius Postumius. These, entering on office, immediately on the conclusion of the interregnum, consulted the senate on no other business previous to that which related to religion. They ordered, in the first place, that a collection should be made of the treaties and laws which could be found. The latter consisted of the twelve tables, and some laws enacted by the kings. Some of these were publicly promulgated; but such as related to religious matters were kept secret, chiefly through means of the pontiffs, that they might hold the minds of the multitude in bondage. They next turned their deliberations to



those days, which were to be accounted displeasing to the gods; and the fifteenth day of the calends of August was distinguished by an order, that on that unfortunate day no public or private business whatever should be transacted: it was deemed doubly unfortunate; for on that day the Fabii were slain at Cremera; and afterwards, on the same day, the fatal battle of Allia, which effected the destruction of the city, was fought: from the latter disaster it was denominated the Allian day. Some are of opinion that, because, on the day following the ides of July, Sulpicius, when military tribune, had neglected to perform the rites of the augury; and, without being assured of the favour of the gods, had on the third day after exposed the Roman army to the enemy, it was ordained, that the days following the calends and the nones should also be accounted equally inauspicious.

II. But it was not long allowed them to consult, in quiet, on the means of raising up the city, after such a grievous fall. On one side their old enemy, the Volscians, had taken arms, resolved to extinguish the Roman name; and, on the other, according to intelligence received from certain traders, a conspiracy of the leading men, from all the several states of Etruria, had been formed at the temple of Voltumna, for the purpose of commencing hostilities. To which was added a new cause of apprehension, by the defection of the Latines and Hernicians, who, ever since the battle fought at the lake Regillus, during the course of near a hundred years, had continued in friendship with the Roman people, without ever giving reason to doubt their fidelity. Wherefore, when such alarms started up on every side, and all men plainly perceived, that the Roman name was not only loaded with hatred among their enemies, but also with contempt among their allies, it was determined, that the defence of the commonwealth should be conducted by the same auspices which had effected its recovery, and that Marcus Furius Camillus should be nominated dictator. On being invested with that office, he appointed Caius Servilius Ahala master of the horse; and, proclaiming a cessation of civil business, made a levy of the younger citizens, at the same time administering the oath of obedience to such of the elders also as retained any considerable degree of strength, and enrolling them among the troops. The army, thus enlisted and armed, he divided

into three parts; one division he opposed to the Etrurians, in the Veientian territories; another he ordered to encamp near the city; the latter were commanded by Aulus Manlius, military tribune; those who were sent against the Etrurians, by Lucius Æmilius. The third division he led, in person, against the Volscians, and prepared to assault their camp at a place called Admarcium, near Lanuvium. Their inducement to begin this war was, a belief that almost of the whole Roman youth were cut off by the Gauls; nevertheless, on hearing that the command was given to Camillus, they were struck with such terror, that they fenced themselves with a rampart, which they further secured with trees piled on each other, that the enemy might find no pass by which they could enter the works. As soon as Camillus saw the nature of this defence, he ordered it to be set on fire: a high wind blowing at the time towards the enemy, the flames quickly opened a passage, which, together with the heat, the smoke, and the cracking of the green timber in burning, filled them with such consternation, that the Romans found less difficulty in climbing over the rampart into the Volscian camp, than they had met in making their way across the fence, after it was consumed by the flames. The enemy being routed and put to the sword, the dictator, as he had taken the camp by assault, gave the spoil to the soldiers; a present the more acceptable to them, the less hopes they had conceived of it, from a commander by no means inclined to profuse generosity. Proceeding then in pursuit of those who fled, by entirely wasting every part of their lands, he at length, in the seventieth year, reduced the Volscians to submission. After subduing the Volscians, he marched against the Æquans who likewise had begun hostilities; surprised their army at Bola, and, having attacked not only their camp, but their city also, carried both at the first onset.

III. While such fortune attended the operations on that side where Camillus, the life of the Roman affairs, was employed, a violent alarm had fallen on another quarter: for the Etrurians, having taken arms, with almost their entire force, laid siege to Sutrium, a place in alliance with the Roman people, whose ambassadors, having applied to the senate, imploring aid in their distress, obtained a decree, that the dictator should, as soon as possible, carry assistance to the Sutrians. But the circum-

stances of the besieged not permitting them to wait the issue of their hopes, from that quarter, the townsmen being quite spent with labour, watching, and wounds, which, through the smallness of their number, fell continually on the same persons, they gave up the city to the enemy, by capitulation; and being discharged without arms, with only a single garment each, were leaving their habitations in a miserable train, when, at the very juncture, Camillus happened to come up at the head of the Roman army. The mournful crowd prostrated themselves at his feet, and their leaders addressed him in a speech dictated by extreme necessity, and seconded by the lamentations of the women and children, who were dragged into exile with them: on which he bade the Sutrians cease their lamentations, for he was come "to turn mourning and tears to the side of the Etrurians." He then ordered the baggage to be deposited, the Sutrians to remain there with a small guard, which he left, and the soldiers to follow him in arms: then, advancing to Sutrium, with his troops freed from incumbrance, he found, as he expected, every thing in disorder, the usual consequence of success; no advanced guard before the walls, the gates open, and the conquerors dispersed, carrying out the booty from the houses of their enemies; Sutrium therefore was taken a second time on the same day. The Etrurians, lately victorious, were cut to pieces in every quarter, by this new enemy; nor was time given them to assemble together, and form a body, or even to take up arms. They then pushed hastily toward the gates, in order, if possible, to throw themselves out into the fields, when they found them shut, for such had been the dictator's order at the beginning. On this, some took arms; others, who happened to be in arms before the tumult began, called their friends together to make battle, and a warm engagement would have been kindled by the despair of the enemy, had not criers been sent through every part of the city, with orders to proclaim, that "they should lay down their arms; that the unarmed should be spared, and no injury done to any but those who made opposition." On which, even those who had been most resolutely bent on fighting, when their situation was desperate, now that hopes of life were given, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves to the enemy; the safest method in their present circumstances. Their

number being very great, they were divided under several guards; and the town was, before night, restored to the Sutrians uninjured, because it had not been taken by force, but had surrendered on terms.

IV. Camillus returned to the city in triumph, crowned at once with conquest over three different enemies. By far the greater part of the prisoners, led before his chariot, were Etrurians; and these, being sold by auction, such a vast sum of money was brought into the treasury, that, after payment of the price of their gold to the matrons, there were three golden bowls made out of the surplus, which being inscribed with the name of Camillus, lay before the burning of the capitol, as we are well informed, in the recess of Jupiter's temple, at Juno's feet. In that year, such of the Veientians, Capenatians, and Faliscians, as had, during the wars with those nations, come over to the Romans, were admitted members of the state, and lands were assigned to these new citizens. Those were also recalled by decree of senate from Veii, who, to avoid the trouble of building at Rome, had betaken themselves thither, and seized on the vacant houses. This produced only murmurs, and they disregarded the order: but afterwards, a certain day being fixed, and capital punishment denounced against those who did not return to Rome, refractory as the whole had been, each particular person was reduced to obedience, through fear for his own safety. And now Rome increased, not only in number of inhabitants, but in buildings, which rose up at the same time in every part, as the state gave assistance in the expenses, the ædiles pressed forward the work, as if a public one; and private persons, of themselves, incited by their feeling of the want of accommodations, hastened to finish it; so that within the year, a new city was erected. On the year being ended, an election was held of military tribunes, with consular power. [Y. R. 367. B. C. 385.] Those elected were Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a fifth time, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. They led one army against the Æquans, not to wage war, for that people acknowledged themselves conquered, but, in the warmth of animosity, to lay waste their country, that they might not have strength for any new enterprises; and another, into the territory of Tar-



quini. Here Cortuosa and Contenebra, towns belonging to the Etrurians, were taken by storm, and demolished. At Cortuosa there was no contest; attacking it by surprise, they took it at the first onset: the town was then plundered and burnt. Contenebra sustained a siege for a few days, and it was continual labour, intermitted either by night or by day, which subdued the townsmen; for the Roman army being divided into six parts, each division maintained the fight, for one hour in six, in rotation, whereas the smallness of their number exposed the same townsmen always, fatigued as they were, to a contest with an enemy who were continually relieved. They gave way at length, and made room for the Romans to enter the city. It was agreed between the tribunes, that the spoil should be converted to the use of the public; but the order not being issued in time, during the delay the soldiers possessed themselves of the spoil, which could not be taken from them, without occasioning general discontent. In the same year, that the additions to the city should not consist of private buildings only, the lower parts of the capitol were rebuilt with hewn stone; a work deserving notice, even amidst the present magnificence of the city.

V. And now, while the citizens were busily employed in building, the tribunes of the commons endeavoured to draw crowds to their harangues, by proposals of agrarian laws. The Pomptine territory was held out as a lure to their hopes, as the possession of it was then, by the reduction of the Volscian power by Camillus, perfectly secure, which had not been the case before. They laid heavy charges, that "that territory was much more grievously oppressed by the nobility than it had been by the Volscians; for the latter had only made incursions into it, at such times as they had arms and strength; whereas certain persons of the nobility forcibly usurped possession of land, which was the property of the public; nor, unless there were a division of it now made, would there be any room left for the commons." They made no great impression on the commons, who were so intent on building, that they did not much frequent the forum; and, besides, were so exhausted by their expenses in that way, that they were careless about land, which they had not abilities to improve. The state having ever been strongly affected with religious impressions, and even

those of the first rank having, at that time, in consequence of the late misfortunes, become superstitious, the government was changed to an interregnum, in order that the auspices might be taken anew. There were interreges in succession, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus. [Y. R. 368. B. C. 384.] The last held, at length, an election of military tribunes, with consular power; and appointed Lucius Papirius, Caius Cornelius, Caius Sergius, Lucius Æmilius a second time, Lucius Menenius, and Lucius Valerius Poplicola a third time. These entered into office immediately on the expiration of the interregnum. In that year the temple of Mars, vowed during the Gallic war, was dedicated by Titus Quintius, one of the duumvirs appointed for the performance of religious rites. Four new tribes were formed of the new citizens, the Stellatine, the Tromentine, the Sabatine, and the Narnian, which made up the number of twenty-five tribes.

VI. Lucius Sicinius, plebeian tribune, pressed the business of the Pomptine lands in the assemblies of the people, who now attended in greater numbers, and were also more easily led to wish for land than formerly. Mention was introduced, in the senate, of declaring war against the Latines and Hernicians, but that business was postponed, by their attention being called to a more important war, Etruria being in arms. They had recourse, therefore, to the expedient of electing Camillus a military tribune, with consular power. [Y. R. 369. B. C. 383.] The five colleagues, joined with him, were Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a sixth time, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius. The cares of the public were, in the very beginning of the year, diverted from the Etrurian war: for a number of fugitives, from the Pomptine district, running hastily into the city, in a body, brought intelligence, that the Antians were in arms, and that the states of the Latines had privately sent their young men to co-operate with them in the war, alleging that the state was not concerned in the business, but only did not hinder volunteers to engage in any service which they chose. It had ceased to be the practice to despise any enemy: the senate therefore thanked the gods that Camillus was in office, because, had he been in a private station, it would have been necessary to have nominated him dictator:—

his colleagues also agreed, that when any danger threatened, the entire direction of affairs should be vested in him singly, and determined to consign all their authority into his hands; nor did they think, that any concession which they made, towards exalting his dignity, derogated in the least from their own. After the tribunes had been highly commended by the senate, Camillus too, covered with confusion, returned them his thanks, and proceeded to say, that "a heavy burthen was laid on him by the Roman people, who had created him, in a manner, dictator, now a fourth time: a very great one, by the senate, in such judgments as that body had expressed concerning him; but the greatest of all, by the condescension of colleagues of such eminent distinction. Wherefore, if it were possible to add to his diligence and vigilance, he would vie with himself, and labour earnestly, that the opinion of the state concerning him, so universally conceived, might be as lasting as it was honourable to him. With respect to the war, and the Antians, there was more of threats in it than of danger: nevertheless his advice was, that, as they should fear nothing, so they should despise nothing. The city of Rome was besieged on all sides, by the ill-will and hatred of its neighbours. The business of the commonwealth would therefore require more generals and more armies than one. It is my design," said he, "that you, Publius Valerius, as my associate in command and counsel, shall march with me, at the head of the legions, against the enemy at Antium: that you, Quintus Servilius, after forming another army; and putting it in readiness, shall encamp in the city, and be ready to act, in case the Etrurians, as lately, or these new disturbers, the Latines and Hernicians, should, in the meantime, make any attempts: I am perfectly assured, that your conduct will be worthy of your father, of your grandfather, of yourself, and of six tribunates. Let a third army be enlisted by Lucius Quintius, for the guard of the city, out of those excused from service, and those past the military age. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, weapons, corn, and whatever else the exigencies of war may demand. You, Servius Cornelius, we, your colleagues, appoint the president of this grand council of the state, the guardian of religion, of the assemblies, of the laws, and of every thing else pertaining to the city." All of them cheerfully promising their best endeavours, in

the several departments committed to them, Valerius, whom he had chosen his associate in command, added, that "he should consider Camillus as dictator, and himself as his master of the horse," and desired them therefore to "regulate their expectations respecting the war, according to the opinion which they entertained of their sole commander." The senate, elated with joy, one and all declared, that, "they really cherished the best expectations with regard to war and peace, and every branch of public business; nor would the commonwealth ever stand in need of a dictator, if it were to have such men in office, united in such harmony of sentiment, equally ready to obey and to command, and who rather considered fame as their joint-stock, than endeavoured to monopolize it, to the exclusion of others."

VII. A cessation of civil business being proclaimed, and troops levied, Camillus and Valerius marched towards Satricum, to which place the Antians had drawn together not only the youth of the Volscians, chosen from among the new generation, but immense numbers from the Latines and Hernicians, nations who, from a long enjoyment of peace, were in the fullest vigour. This new enemy then being united in addition to the old, shook the resolution of the Roman soldiery; and the centurions reporting to Camillus, while he was employed in forming his line of battle, that "the minds of the soldiers were disturbed; that a backwardness appeared in their taking up arms, and that they went out of the camp with reluctance, and after several halts; nay, that some had been heard to say, that each of them would have to fight against a hundred enemies; that so great a multitude, even if unarmed, could hardly be withstood, much less when they were furnished with arms;" he leaped on his horse, and in the front of the battalions, turning to the line, and riding between the ranks, asked them, "what is the meaning, soldiers, of this dejection, of this unusual backwardness? Are ye unacquainted with the enemy, or with me, or with yourselves? The enemy, what are they, but the continual subject of your bravery and your glory? On the other hand, with me at your head, not to mention the taking of Falerii, and Veii, or the cutting to pieces the Gallic legions, by whom our country was held in captivity, you have lately celebrated a triple triumph, for three several victories gained over these same Volscians, Æquans, and Etrurians.



Is it that ye do not recognize me as your leader, because I gave you the signal not in character of dictator, but of tribune? I desire not the highest degree of authority over you; and with respect to me, you ought to regard nothing but myself: for neither did the dictatorship ever add to my courage, nor even exile deprive me of it. We are all therefore the same, and since we bring to this war all the same advantages which accompanied us in the former, let us expect the same issue. Do ye once begin the fight, each party will do what they have learned and practised: you will conquer, they will fly."

VIII. Then giving the signal, he leaped from his horse, and laying hold of the nearest standard-bearer, hurried him onward against the foe, calling aloud, "Soldier, advance the standard." On seeing this, that Camillus himself, now unequal, through age, to acts of bodily strength, was advancing against the enemy, they all raised the shout, and rushed forward together, every one crying out eagerly, "Follow the general." It is said, that the standard was even thrown, by order of Camillus, into the ranks of the enemy, and the van hereby excited to exert themselves for its recovery: that in this spot, the Antians were first compelled to give way, and that the panic spread, not only through the first line, but even to the troops in reserve. Nor was it only the force of the soldiers, animated by the presence of their leader, which disheartened the enemy; the very sight of Camillus struck terror into the Volscians: so that wherever he met their eyes, victory was no longer doubtful. This was particularly evident, when hastily mounting his horse, he rode with a footman's shield to the left wing, when it was almost driven from its ground, and by his appearance restored the battle, while he pointed to the rest of the line who were fighting with success. The affair was now decided. On the one side the enemy's disordered numbers impeded their flight; on the other, the wearied soldiers would have had a long and laborious task, in putting to the sword so great a multitude, when heavy rain suddenly falling, attended with a violent storm of wind, prevented the pursuit of the victory, for it was no longer a fight. The signal for retreat was then given, and the following night put an end to the war, without any farther trouble to the Romans: for the Latines and Hernicians abandoning the Volscians, marched

away to their homes; having found such an issue of their enterprise as the wickedness of it deserved. The Volscians seeing themselves deserted by those, through reliance on whom they had been induced to revive hostilities, abandoned their camp, and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum; against these, the first plan of operations, adopted by Camillus, was, to inclose them with lines of circumvallation, and to carry on his approaches by mounds and other works; but finding that no obstruction was ever given to these, by any sally from the town, he judged that the enemy were not possessed of such a degree of spirit as should induce him, in apprehension thereof, to wait in tedious expectation of victory; and therefore exhorting his men not to waste their strength by a long course of labours, as in the siege of Veii, for victory was within their reach; and the soldiers showing the greatest alacrity, he assailed the walls on all sides by scalade, and made himself master of the town. The Volscians threw down their arms, and surrendered.

IX.—But the general's thoughts were intent on a matter of greater moment, on the city of Antium. That, he knew, was the grand spring which set the Volscians in motion, and had given rise to the last war. But as a city of so great strength could not be taken without great preparations for the siege, and a large train of engines and machines, he left his colleague to command the army, and went to Rome, in hopes of persuading the senate to resolve on the destruction of Antium. In the middle of his discourse on the subject, it being, I suppose, the will of the gods, that the state of Antium should have a longer duration, ambassadors arrived from Nepte and Sutrium, imploring aid against the Etrurians, and urging that the opportunity for assisting them would be quickly lost. Thither did fortune divert the force of Camillus from Antium; for as those places were situated opposite Etruria, and served as barriers, or gates, as it were on that side, that people, on the one hand, whenever any new enterprise was undertaken, were ever anxious to get possession of them; and the Romans on the other to recover and secure them. The senate therefore resolved, that application should be made to Camillus, to drop the design against Antium, and undertake the Etrurian war. The city legions, which had been under the command of Quintius, were decreed to him:

although he would have preferred the army which was in the country of the Volscians, of which he had made trials, and which was accustomed to his command, yet he offered no objections; he only insisted on Valerius being associated with him in command. Accordingly Quintus and Horatius were sent to succeed Valerius, in the country of the Volscians. Camillus and Valerius marching from the city to Sutrium, found one part of the town already taken by the Etrurians; and, in the other part, the passages to which were barricaded, the townsmen with great difficulty repelling the assault of the enemy. The approach of aid from Rome, together with the name of Camillus, universally celebrated among friends and foes, not only gave them respite for the present from the ruin which impended, but also afforded an opportunity of effectuating their relief. Camillus then, dividing his army into two parts, ordered his colleague to lead round his division, to that side which was in possession of the enemy, and to make an assault on the walls; not so much in expectation that the city should be taken by scalade, as that, whilst the enemy should be diverted to that side, the townsmen, now fatigued with fighting, might gain some relaxation, and also that he himself might have an opportunity of entering the city without a dispute: both which consequences taking place, at the same time, and terrifying the Etrurians by the double danger to which they stood exposed, when they saw the walls of one part assailed with the greatest fury, and the enemy within the walls of the other, they were struck with such consternation, that they threw themselves out, in one body, by a gate which alone happened to be unguarded. Great numbers were slain in their flight, both in the city and in the fields: the greatest execution done by the soldiers of Camillus was within the walls: those of Valerius were more alert in the pursuit; nor did they desist from the slaughter, until it was so dark that they could see no longer. Sutrium being thus recovered, and restored to the allies, the army was conducted to Nepete, of which the Etrurians had now the entire possession, having received it by capitulation.

X. It was expected, that the recovery of this city would have been attended with greater difficulty; not only because the whole of it was possessed by the enemy, but also, because it was in consequence of a party of the Nepesinians

betraying the public, that the surrender had been made. However, it was thought proper that a message should be sent to their principal men, to separate themselves from the Etrurians, and show on their own part the same faithful attachment, which they had implored from the Romans. But their answer importing, that there was nothing in their power, for that the Etrurians held possession of the walls and the guards of the gates, a trial was first made to terrify the townsmen, by laying waste their lands. But when they were found to adhere more religiously to the terms of the capitulation, than to those of the alliance, the army was led up to the walls, with fascines, made of bushes, collected in the country, with which the ditches being filled, the scaling ladders were raised, and the town taken at the first attack. Proclamation was then made that the Nepesinians should lay down their arms, and that the unarmed should be spared. The Etrurians, armed and unarmed, were put to the sword without distinction: of the Nepesinians likewise, the authors of the surrender were beheaded. To the guiltless multitude their effects were restored, and a garrison was left in the town. Having thus recovered two allied cities from the enemy, the tribunes, with great glory, led home the victorious army. During this year, satisfaction was demanded from the Latines and Hernicians, and the reason required, of their not having for some years past, sent the supplies of soldiers stipulated by treaty. An answer was given in full assembly by both nations, that "there was neither design nor blame to be imputed to the public, because some of their young men carried arms in the service of the Volscians. That these, however, had suffered the penalty of their improper conduct; not one of them having returned home. As to the supplies of soldiers, the reason of their not sending them was, their continual apprehensions from the Volscians, that pest still clinging to their side, which so many successive wars had not been able to exhaust." Which answer being reported to the senate, they were of opinion, that a declaration of war, in consequence of it, would rather be unseasonable than ill-grounded.

XI. In the following year, [Y. R. 370. B. C. 382.] Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quintii Capitolini, Lucius Papirius Cursor a second time, and Caius Sergius a second time, being military tri-



bunes, with consular power, a grievous war broke out abroad, and a more grievous sedition at home : the war was set on foot by the Volscians, assisted by a revolt of the Latines and Hernicians : the sedition, by one, from whom it could, least of all, have been apprehended ; a man of patrician birth, and of illustrious character, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus ; who, being of a temper too aspiring, while he looked with contempt on the other men of chief distinction, burned with envy of one, who was most eminently distinguished, at the same time, by honours and by merit, Marcus Furius Camillus. It gave him great uneasiness, that " he should be the only man considered among the magistrates, the only man at the head of the armies ; that he was now exalted to such eminence, that the persons elected under the same auspices with himself, he used, not as colleagues, but as subordinate officers ; while, at the same time, if a just estimate were made, it would have been impossible for Camillus to have recovered their native city from the Gauls who besieged it, if he himself had not first saved the capitol and citadel. The other indeed attacked the Gauls when, between the receiving of the gold and the expectation of peace, they were off their guard : but he had beaten them off, when armed for fight, and taking possession of the citadel. In the other's glory, as far as bravery was concerned, every soldier who conquered along with him had a right to share ; in his own victory, no man living could claim a part." Puffed up with such notions as these, and being, besides, of a vicious disposition, vehement and headstrong, when he perceived that his interest had not that prevailing influence among the patricians which he thought his due, he, the first of all the patricians, became a partizan of the plebeians ; formed schemes in conjunction with the magistrates of the commons, and, while he criminated the patricians, and allured the commons to his side, he came to be actuated by ambition for popular applause, not by prudence, and to prefer a great to a good character. Not content with agrarian laws, which had ever served the plebeian tribunes as matter of sedition, he attempted to undermine public credit : for debt, he knew, supplied sharper incentives, as it not only threatened poverty and ignominy, but menaced personal freedom with stocks and chains ; and the amount of the debts which the people had contracted by building, an undertaking most dis-

treassing to the circumstances even of the rich, was immense. The Volscian war, therefore, heavy in itself, and charged with additional weight by the defection of the Latines and Hernicians, was held out as a colourable pretext for having recourse to a higher authority ; while, in fact, they were the reforming plans of Manlius which obliged the senate to create a dictator. Aulus Cornelius Cossus being created, he nominated Titus Quintius Capitolinus master of the horse.

XII. The dictator, although he perceived that he should have a greater struggle to maintain at home than in the field ; yet, either because the war required despatch, or because he thought that, by a victory and triumph, he might add to the power of the dictatorship itself, as soon as the levies were completed, proceeded to the Pomptine territory ; where he was informed, the Volscians had appointed the assembling of their army. To persons reading in so many former books, of wars continually waged with the Volscians, I doubt not that, besides satiety, this difficulty also will occur, whence the Volscians and Æquans, so often vanquished, could procure supplies of soldiers ? which having been passed over in silence by the ancient writers, what can I possibly advance, but opinion ? and that every one, indeed, can form for himself. It seems probable, however, either that they employed, according to the present practice in the Roman levies, the several different generations of their young men successively, as they sprung up, during the intervals between wars ; or, that the troops were not always enlisted out of the states of the nation making war ; or, that there was an innumerable multitude of freemen in those places, which, at present, were it not for the Roman slaves, would be a desert, and where scarcely the smallest seminary of soldiers remains. Certain it is, all authors agreeing therein, that notwithstanding their strength had lately been greatly reduced under the conduct and auspices of Camillus, yet the forces of the Volscians were exceedingly numerous ; and to them were added the Latines and Hernicians, a number of the Circeians, together with some colonists from Velitræ. The Roman dictator encamped on the first day ; and on the following, having taken the auspices before he made his appearance, and sacrificing a victim, implored the favour of the gods. With joy in his countenance, he presented himself to the soldiers, who were now at day-break

taking arms, according to orders, on the signal for battle being displayed, and said, "Soldiers, victory is ours, if the gods and their prophets know aught of futurity. Therefore, as becomes men full of well-grounded hopes, and about to engage with their inferiors, let us, fixing our spears at our feet, bear no other arms than our swords. I do not wish that any should even push forward beyond the line; but that standing firm ye receive the enemy's onset in a steady posture. When they shall have discharged their ineffectual weapons, and, breaking their order, rush against you as ye stand, then let your swords glitter in their eyes, and let every one recollect, that there are gods who support the Roman cause; gods, who have sent us to battle with favourable omens. Do you, Titus Quintius, keep back the cavalry, watching attentively the beginning of the conflict: as soon as you shall see the armies closed foot to foot, then, while their fears are employed on some other object, strike dismay into them with your horsemen; and, by a brisk charge, disperse the ranks that dispute the victory." As he had ordered, so did the cavalry, so did the infantry manage the fight. Nor did either the general deceive the legions, or fortune the general.

XIII. The enemy, grounding their confidence on no other circumstance than their number, and measuring both armies merely by the eye, entered on the battle inconsiderately, and inconsiderately gave it over. Fierce, only in their shout, and the discharge of their missive weapons at the first onset, they were unable to withstand the swords, the close engagement foot to foot, and the looks of the Romans darting fire through their ardour for the fight. Their first line was driven from its ground; the confusion spread to the troops in reserve; and the charge of the cavalry increasing the disorder, the ranks were quickly broken, so as to resemble the waves of the sea. Thus the foremost fell, and as each saw death approaching, they quickly turned their backs. The Romans followed close, and as long as the enemy retreated in bodies, the trouble of the pursuit fell to the share of the infantry; but when it was perceived, that they every where threw away their arms, and were scattered over the country, then squadrons of horse were sent out, with instructions that they should not, by spending time in attacking single persons, give the multitude an opportunity of escaping: that it would be sufficient if their speed were re-

tarded, and their forces kept employed by frequent skirmishes, until the infantry might overtake them, and complete their destruction. The flight and pursuit did not cease until night came on. The camp of the Volscians was also taken the same day, and plundered, and the whole booty, except the persons of free condition, bestowed on the soldiers. The greatest number of the prisoners were Latines and Hernicians, and these not men of plebeian station, who could be supposed to have served for hire, but many young men of the first rank were found amongst them; an evident proof, that aid had been given to the Volscians by public authority. Several of the Circeians were likewise found there, with colonists from Velitræ, and being all sent to Rome, on being examined by the principal senators, they made a plain discovery, as they had done to the dictator, of the defection of their respective states.

XIV. The dictator kept his army encamped in one post, not doubting that the senate would order war to be made on those states; when more momentous business, arising at home, made it necessary that he should be called back to Rome; this was the sedition which ripened daily, and which was become more than commonly alarming, on account of the person who fomented it. It was now easy to perceive from what motive proceeded the discourses of Manlius, disguised under the veil of popular zeal, but pregnant with mischief. On seeing a centurion, who was highly distinguished for his behaviour in the army, led to prison, in consequence of a judgment given against him for debt, he ran up, with his band of attendants, into the middle of the forum, and laid hands on him, exclaiming against the tyranny of the patricians, the cruelty of the usurers, the miseries of the commons, and the merits and hard fortune of the man. "Then, indeed, it was in vain," said he, "that with this right hand I saved the capitol and citadel, if I must see my fellow-citizen and fellow-soldier, as if a prisoner to the victorious Gauls, dragged into slavery." He then paid the debt to the creditor in the view of the people, and gave the man his liberty, after purchasing him, in the regular form, with the scales and brass, whilst the latter besought both gods and men to grant a recompense to his deliverer, Marcus Manlius, the parent of the Roman commons; and being instantly received into the tumultuous crowd, he himself increased the tumult, showing the



scars of the wounds which he had received in the Veientian, Gallic, and other succeeding wars; telling them, that "his services in the army, and the rebuilding his ruined dwelling, had been the means of overwhelming him with accumulated interest of a debt; the interest always precluding the possibility of discharging the principal, though he had already paid the amount of the first sum many times over. That it was owing to the generosity of Marcus Manlius that he now beheld the light of day, the forum, and the faces of his fellow-citizens. Every obligation, due to parents, he owed to him; to him, therefore, he devoted whatever remained of his person, his life, and his blood; whatever ties should bind him to his country, to public or private guardian deities, by all these united he was bound to that one man." While the commons were deeply affected by these expressions, another scheme was introduced, of still greater efficacy, towards promoting a general commotion. A piece of ground in the country of the Veintians, the principal part of Manlius's patrimony, he ordered to be sold by auction; adding, that "I will not suffer one of you, my fellow-citizens, while I have any property remaining, to have judgments given against him, and to be ordered into custody of a creditor." This, above all, inflamed their minds to such a degree, that they seemed ready to follow the asserter of their liberty, through every measure, whether right or wrong. Besides this, he made speeches at his own house, as if he were haranguing an assembly of the people, full of imputations against the patricians, in which he threw out, among the rest, without regarding any distinction between truth and falsehood, that "treasure, consisting of the gold rescued from the Gauls, was concealed by the patricians; that they were not content, now, with keeping possession of the public lands, unless they converted the public money likewise to their own use; and that if this were brought to light, it would be sufficient to clear the commons of their debts." On this prospect being presented to them, they at once conceived it to be a scandalous proceeding, that when gold was to be procured for the ransom of the city from the Gauls, the collection had been made by a general contribution, and that the same gold, when taken from the enemy, should become the prey of a few. The next step, therefore, was, to inquire in what place a treasure of such magnitude was kept

concealed: to this, he declined giving an answer at present, saying, he would explain that point in due time; on which all other concerns were neglected, and the attention of every man directed solely to this: and it was easy to foresee, that neither people's gratitude, in case the information were well founded, nor their displeasure, should it prove false, would be confined within the bounds of moderation.

XV. While things were in this state, the dictator, being called home from the army, came into the city. Next day he called a meeting of the senate: when, having made sufficient trial of the people's inclinations, he forbade the senate to depart from him, and being attended by the whole body, he fixed his throne in the Comitium, and sent a serjeant to Marcus Manlius; who, on being summoned by order of the dictator, after giving the signal to his party, that a contest was at hand, came to the tribunal surrounded by a very numerous band. On one side stood the senate, on the other the commons, as if in order of battle, watching attentively each their own leader. Then silence being made, the dictator said, "I wish that I, and the Roman patricians may agree with the commons on every other subject, as I am very confident we shall with respect to you, and the business on which I am to interrogate you. I understand that expectations have been raised by you, in the minds of the citizens, that, without injury to credit, their debts may be discharged by means of the Gallic gold secreted by the principal patricians. To which proceeding, so far am I from giving any obstruction, that, on the contrary, I exhort you, Marcus Manlius, to deliver the Roman commons from the burthen of interest, and to tumble from off these heaps of peculated wealth, those men who lie brooding over it. But if you refuse to perform this, either because you wish to be yourself a sharer in the speculation, or because your information is groundless, I shall order you to be led to prison; nor will I suffer the multitude to be any longer disquieted by you with fallacious hopes." To this Manlius answered, that "it had not escaped his observation that Cornelius was created dictator, not for the purpose of acting against the Volscians, who were enemies as often as it answered any purpose to the patricians, nor against the Latines and Hernicians, whom they were driving into hostilities by false imputations, but against himself and the Roman com-

mons. And now, the war which had been feigned to subsist, being dropped, an assault was made upon him: now the dictator acted as the professed patron of usury against the commons. Now the favour of the multitude towards him was made a handle for criminal charges, and for effecting his destruction. The crowd that attends my person," said he, "offends you, Aulus Cornelius, and you, conscript fathers. Why then do ye not draw it away from me by doing acts of kindness? by becoming surety, by delivering your countrymen from the stocks? by hindering them, when cast in suits and ordered into custody of creditors, to be carried to prison? by relieving the necessities of others out of your own superfluities? But why do I exhort you to expend your property? Only fix a new capital, deduct from the principal what has been paid as interest, and then the crowd about me will not be more remarkable than about any other. But why do I, alone, interest myself for my fellow-citizens? To this, I have no other answer to make, than if you should ask why I, alone, saved the capitol and the citadel? I then gave every aid in my power to the whole community, and will do so still to each individual. Now, as to the Gallic treasures, the manner in which I am questioned causes difficulty in a matter, which, in itself, has none. Why do ye ask, what ye already know? Why do ye order others to shake out what lies in your own laps, rather than lay it down yourselves, unless to conceal some treacherous scheme? The more earnestness ye show for inquiry, the more I fear, lest ye should be able to blind the eyes of the observers. Wherefore compulsion ought not to be used to make me discover your hoard, but to yourselves, to make you produce it to the public."

XVI. The dictator ordered him to lay aside all evasion, and insisted on his either proving the truth of his information, or acknowledging himself guilty of having charged the senate falsely of a fraudulent concealment; and on his declaring that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, ordered him to be led to prison. Being arrested by the serjeant, he exclaimed, "O Jupiter, supremely good and great, imperial Juno, Minerva, and all ye gods and goddesses who inhabit the capitol and citadel, do ye suffer your soldier and guardian to be harassed in this manner. Shall this hand, with which I beat off the Gauls from your

temples, be now loaded with chains?" Neither the eyes nor ears of any present could well endure the indignity offered to him: but the people of this state had taught themselves to consider the authority of certain magistrates as indisputable; nor dared either the plebeian tribunes, or the commons themselves, to open their lips, or lift up their eyes, against the dictatorial power. On Manlius being thrown into prison, it appears, that a great part of the commons put on mourning; and that great numbers of the people, neglecting their hair and beard, dejectedly flocked about its gates. The dictator had triumphed over the Volscians; and by that triumph had attracted a greater share of ill-will than of glory: for it was a general murmur, that "he had acquired it at home, not in war; and that it was a victory over a citizen, not over an enemy; that only one thing was wanting to complete his arrogance, that Marcus Manlius should be led before his chariot." And now the affair fell little short of open sedition; when, for the purpose of softening it, the senate, without any solicitation, became suddenly bountiful, ordering a colony of two thousand Roman citizens to be conducted to Sutrium, and two acres and a half of land to be assigned to each; which being represented as trifling in itself, conferred on a few, and that too as a bribe for betraying Marcus Manlius, the sedition was irritated by the intended remedy. The crowd of Manlius's followers was now become more remarkable by their mourning dress, and the frequent appearance of persons under prosecution: while the dread of the dictator's power was removed by his resignation; it had set men's tongues and thoughts at liberty.

XVII. Many were heard, therefore, to speak out freely in public, upbraiding the multitude, that "they always continued their attachment to their defenders, until they raised them to the top of a precipice; and then, in the hour of danger, deserted them. Thus had Spurius Cassius been undone, while he was inviting the citizens to the possession of lands. Thus Spurius Maelius; when by the expenditure of his own property, he warded off famine: and thus was Marcus Manlius betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and while drawing forth to liberty and light one half of the state, sunk and buried under usury. That the commons fattened their favourites, in order that they



might be slaughtered. Was such a punishment as this to be endured, because a man of consular dignity did not answer at the nod of a dictator? Admitting that what he said before was false, and therefore he had no answer to make, what slave was ever punished with imprisonment for a lie? Had they no recollection of that night, which had so nearly proved fatal, for ever, to the Roman name? None, of the band of Gauls, climbing up the Tarpeian rock? None, of Marcus Manlius himself, such as they had seen him in arms, covered with sweat and blood, after rescuing, in a manner, Jove himself, out of the enemy's hands? Had recompense been made to the saviour of their country by their half pounds of bread? And would they suffer a person, whom they had almost deified; whom, at least with respect to the surname of Capitulinus, they had set on an almost equal footing with Jupiter, to waste his life in chains, in prison, in darkness, subjected to the will of an executioner? That all had found such effectual support from a single person, and now that single person found no support at all from such great numbers." The crowd did not, even during the night, disperse from the spot; and they threatened to break open the prison, when, conceding what would have been taken by force, the senate, by a decree, discharged Manlius from confinement. But this proceeding, instead of putting an end to the sedition, supplied it with a leader. About the same time the Latines and Hernicians, and also the colonists of the Circei and Velitræ, endeavouring to clear themselves of the charge of being concerned in the Volscian war, and re-demanding the prisoners, in order to punish them according to their own laws, met with severe replies; the colonists with the severer, because, being Roman citizens, they had framed the abominable design of attacking their own country. They were, therefore, not only refused with respect to the prisoners, but had notice given them, in the name of the senate (who, however, did not proceed to such a length with regard to the allies,) to depart instantly from the city, from the presence and the sight of the Roman people; lest the privilege of ambassadors, instituted for the benefit of foreigners, not of fellow-citizens, should afford them no protection.

XVIII. [Y. R. 371. B. C. 381.] The sedition, headed by Manlius, re-assumed its former violence, and on the expiration of the

year the election was held, when military tribunes, with consular power, were elected out of the patricians; these were Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a third time, Publius Valerius Potitus a second time, Marcus Furius Camillus a sixth time, Servius Sulpicius Rufus a second time, Caius Papirius Crassus, and Titus Quintius Cincinnatus a second time. Peace being established with foreign nations, in the beginning of this year, was highly agreeable to both patricians and plebeians; to the latter, because, as they were not called to serve in the army, and had such a powerful leader at their head, they conceived hopes of being able to abolish usury; to the former, because their thoughts would not be drawn away, by any dangers abroad, from applying remedies to the evils subsisting at home. Both parties, therefore, exerting themselves much more strenuously than ever, a decisive contest approached apace. Manlius, on his part, calling together the commons at his house, held consultations, night and day, with the principal persons amongst them, on the methods of affecting a revolution in affairs, being filled with a much higher degree both of courage and resentment, than he had possessed before. The ignominy, recently thrown on him, operating on a mind unaccustomed to affronts, had inflamed his resentment; his courage was augmented by the consideration, that Cossus had not ventured to proceed in the same manner toward him, as Quintius Cincinnatus had done towards Spurius Mælius; and that, besides, not only the dictator had endeavoured, by abdicating his office, to avoid the general odium excited by his imprisonment, but even the senate itself had not been able to withstand it. Elated with these reflections, and exasperated at the same time, he laboured to inflame the spirits of the commons, which, of themselves, were sufficiently heated. "How long," said he, "will ye continue ignorant of your own strength, a knowledge which nature has not denied even to brutes? Only calculate your numbers, and those of your adversaries. But supposing that, in attacking them, each of you were to meet an antagonist, yet I should imagine, that ye would contend more vigorously in behalf of liberty, than they in behalf of tyranny. For whatever number of clients ye compose round your several respective patrons, so many of you will there be against each single foe. Only make a show of war, and ye

shall have peace. Let them see you ready to make use of force, and they will voluntarily relax their pretensions. All must concur in some effort, or separately submit to every kind of ill-treatment. How long will ye look to me for aid? I certainly will not be wanting to any of you; it is your part to take care that sufficient aid be not wanting to me. Even I, your champion, when my enemies thought proper, was at once reduced to nothing; and ye, all together, beheld the person thrown into chains, who had warded off chains from each individual of you. What am I to hope, if my enemies should attempt something more grievous against me? The fate of Cassius and Mælius? Ye act right, in showing yourselves shocked even at the mention of this: may the gods avert it. But they will never come down from heaven on my behalf; they must inspire you with proper sentiments, that ye may avert it; as they inspired me, in arms and in peace, to defend you, both from barbarous foes and from tyrannical fellow-citizens. Has so great a people a spirit so mean as to be always satisfied with being protected against its enemies? And are ye never to know any dispute with the patricians, except about the degree of tyranny which ye are to allow them to exercise over you? Yet this temper is not implanted in you by nature; ye are become their property through habit. For what is the reason, that towards foreigners ye show such vigour of mind, as to think yourselves entitled to bear rule over them? Because ye have been accustomed to vie with them for empire. But against the others ye are content to make a few feeble essays towards obtaining liberty, rather than, by manly exertions, to maintain it. Nevertheless, whatever sort of leaders ye have had, and whatever has been your own conduct, ye have hitherto, either by force or good fortune, carried every point, of what magnitude soever, which ye have attempted. It is now time to aim at higher objects. Only make trial of your own good fortune, and of me, whom ye have already tried, I hope to your advantage. Ye will, with less difficulty, raise up one to rule the patricians, than ye have raised up others to oppose their rule. Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled to the ground, that the Roman commons may raise up their heads. Give me, therefore, your support; stop all judicial proceedings respecting money. I profess myself the patron of the commons—a title which I am authorized to

assume, both by my zeal and my fidelity. If on your part, ye choose to dignify your leader with any more distinguishing appellation of honour or command, ye will render him the better able to accomplish the objects of your wishes." This, we are told, was the first introduction of his scheme for attaining regal power; but we have no clear account who were his accomplices, nor to what length the design was carried.

XIX. On the other side, the senate were seen deliberating on the secession of the commons to one particular house, and that, as it happened, standing in the citadel; and on the important danger which threatened the liberty of the public. Great numbers exclaimed that they wanted a Servilius Ahala, who would not irritate a public enemy, by ordering Manlius to be led to prison, but would finish an intestine war with the loss of one citizen. A resolution was at length adopted, comprised in milder terms, but comprehending the same force: that "the magistrates should take care that the commonwealth received no detriment from the pernicious designs of Marcus Manlius." On this, the consular and plebeian tribunes consulted together on the measures necessary to be pursued in the present exigency; for even these latter magistrates, seeing that their own power must come to an end, as also the liberty of the public, had put themselves under the direction of the senate. And now no other expedient occurring but that of force, and the shedding of blood, Marcus Mænius and Quintus Publius, plebeian tribunes, spoke to this effect:—"Why do we make that a contest between the patricians and plebeians, which ought to be between the state and one pestilent citizen? Why do we attack the commons in conjunction with him, whom we could attack, with more safety, through the means of those very commons; so that he should sink under the weight of his own strength? Our recommendation is, to institute a legal prosecution against him. Nothing is less popular than regal power: as soon as the multitude shall perceive that the contest is not with them; and that instead of advocates, they are to be judges; and shall behold the prosecutors, plebeians; the accused a patrician; and that the charge is, that of aiming at regal power; they will show more zeal in defence of their own liberty, than they will attachment to any person whatever.



XX. The proposal meeting universal approbation, a prosecution was commenced against Manlius. At first it raised a great ferment among the commons; more especially when they saw the accused in a mourning habit, unaccompanied, not only by any of the patricians, but by those who were connected with him by blood or affinity; nay, even deserted by his own brothers, Aulus and Titus Manlius: and indeed it had never before occurred, on an occasion of such danger, that a man's nearest relations did not put on a dress of sorrow. It was mentioned, that when Appius Claudius was thrown into prison, Caius Claudius, who was at enmity with him, and the whole Claudian family, appeared in mourning: that a conspiracy was now formed to destroy this favourite of the people, because he was the first who had come over from the patricians to the commons. On the day of trial, I do not find, in any author, what matters were objected to the accused by the prosecutors, tending properly to prove the charge of his aspiring to kingly authority, except this: his assembling the multitude, his seditious expressions, his largesses, and pretended discovery of fraudulent practices: but I have no doubt that they were of importance; since not the merits of the cause, but the place, was what prevented his being immediately condemned by the commons. This I have thought proper to remark, in order to show that even such great and glorious achievements as those of this man, were not only stripped of all their merit, but even rendered matter of detestation, by his depraved ambition for regal power. It is said, that he produced near four hundred persons, to whom he had lent money without interest; whose goods he had prevented being sold, or whose persons he had redeemed from confinement, after they had been adjudged to creditors. That, besides this, he not only enumerated the military rewards which he had obtained, but also produced them to view: spoils of enemies slain, to the number of thirty; presents from generals, to the amount of forty; among which were particularly remarkable, two mural, and eight civic crowns.<sup>1</sup> That he produced also the citizens

whose lives he had saved in battle; and mentioned among them Caius Servilius, when he was master of the horse, now absent. Then, after recounting his exploits in war, in a manner suited to the dignity of the subject, displaying, in a pompous discourse, eloquence equal to the bravery of his actions, he uncovered his breast, marked with an uncommon number of scars from wounds received in battle; and frequently turning his eyes from the capitol, called down Jupiter, and the other gods, to aid him in his present unhappy situation; and prayed, that the same sentiments with which they had inspired him, while he stood in defence of the fortress, for the preservation of the Roman people, they would now, in the crisis of his fate, infuse into the breasts of that same Roman people; and he besought each person present, in particular, and the whole assembly, that, with their eyes fixed on the capitol and citadel, and their faces turned to the immortal gods, they would form their judgment concerning him. As the people were summoned by centuries in the field of Mars, and as the accused stretched out his hands to the capitol, and instead of addressing his entreaties to men, directed them to the gods, the tribunes saw plainly, that unless they removed the multitude from a situation where even their eyes must remind them of such an honourable exploit, the best-founded charge would never gain belief in minds so influenced: wherefore, adjourning the trial, they summoned a meeting in the Feteline grove, on the outside of the Nomentan gate, from whence there was no view of the capitol: there the charge was established; and people's minds being unmoved by any foreign or adventitious circumstance, a severe sentence, and which excited horror even in the breasts of his judges, was passed on him. Some authors say, that he was condemned by two commissioners appointed to take cognizance of matters of treason. The tribunes cast him down from the Tarpeian rock: thus the same spot, in the case of one man, became a monument of distinguished glory, and of the cruelest punishment. After his death, marks of infamy were fixed on him: for his house having stood where the temple of Moneta and the mint-office

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mounted the rampart of an enemy's camp. The obsidional crown, *corona obsidionalis*, was composed of grass, and presented, by the troops relieved from a siege, to the commander who succoured them.

<sup>1</sup> The mural crown was made of gold, and presented to those who, in assaults, were the first that forced their way into the towns. The civic crown was composed of oak leaves, and bestowed on him who had saved the life of a citizen. The camp crown, *corona vallaris*, or *castrensis*, was of gold, and given to the man who first

now stand, an order was made by the people, that no patrician should dwell in the citadel or capitol: a decree at the same time being passed, to prohibit any of the Manlian family from ever after bearing the name of Marcus Manlius. Such was the end of a man, who, had he not been born in a free state, would have merited the esteem of posterity. A short time after, the people, recollecting only his virtues, were filled with deep regret for his loss. A pestilence, too, which presently followed, without any apparent cause of so great a malady, was attributed, by most men, to the punishment inflicted on Manlius. "The capitol," they observed, "had been polluted with the blood of its preserver; and it had given displeasure to the gods, that the person by whom their temples had been rescued out of the hands of the enemy should be brought before their eyes, in a manner, to suffer punishment."

XXI. The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of the fruits of the earth; [Y. R. 372. B. C. 380.] and the report of both calamities spreading abroad, a variety of wars ensued in the following year, in which Lucius Valerius a fourth time, Aulus Manlius a third time, Servius Sulpicius a third time, Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Æmilius a third time, and Marcus Trebonius, were military tribunes, with consular power. Besides the Volscians, destined by some fatality to give perpetual employment to the Roman soldiery, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, long meditating a revolt, and Latium, whose conduct gave room for suspicion, a new enemy suddenly sprung up in the people of Lanuvium, a city whose fidelity had hitherto been remarkably steady. The senate, judging that this arose from contemptuous notions entertained by that nation, on seeing that the revolt of the people of Velitræ, members of the Roman state, remained so long unpunished, decreed, that an assembly should be held as soon as possible, concerning a declaration of war against that colony: and to induce the commons to engage in that service with the greater readiness, they appointed five commissioners to make a distribution of the Pomptine lands, and three to conduct a colony to Nepete. Then it was proposed to the people, that they should order the declaration of war; and the plebeian tribunes in vain endeavouring to dissuade them, the tribes unanimously passed it. During that year, preparations were made for hostilities, but on account of the pestilence, the

troops were not led into the field. This delay afforded sufficient time to the colonists, to take measures to appease the anger of the senate; and the greater part of their people were inclined to send a suppliant embassy to Rome; which would have taken place, had not, as is often the case, the interest of the public been involved with the danger of individuals; and had not the authors of the revolt, dreading lest themselves only might be considered as answerable for the guilt, and be delivered up as victims to the resentment of the Romans, infused into the colonists an aversion from peaceful councils. They therefore found means, not only to obstruct the proposed embassy in the senate, but to excite a great part of the commons to make predatory excursions into the Roman territory, which new injury broke off all hopes of peace. This year also, a report was first propagated of the Prænestians having revolted; and when the people of Tusculum, and Gabii, and Lavici, on whose lands they had made incursions, brought the charge against them, the senate, in their answer, showed so little resentment, as made it evident, that they gave the less credit to the charges, because they wished them not to be true.

XXII. In the following year, [Y. R. 373. B. C. 379.] the two Papirii, Spurius and Lucius, new military tribunes, with consular power, led the legions to Velitræ, leaving their four colleagues in the tribuneship, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a fourth time, Quintus Servilius, Servius Sulpicius, and Lucius Æmilius a fourth time, to secure the safety of the city, and to be in readiness, in case intelligence of any new commotion should arrive from Etruria; for now every thing was apprehended from that quarter. At Velitræ, they fought a battle with success, in which they were opposed by a number of Prænestine auxiliaries, rather greater than that of the colonists: and here the city being so near, was the reason of the enemy quitting the field the sooner, as it was their only refuge after their flight. The tribunes did not proceed to lay siege to the town, because the issue was uncertain; and besides, they did not think that they ought to push the war to the utter destruction of the colony. The letters sent to Rome to the senate, with news of the victory, expressed greater animosity against the Prænestine enemy, than against those of Velitræ. In consequence of which, by decree of the senate, and order of the people, war was declared against the Prænestians. These, the next



year, in conjunction with the Volscians, took Satricum, a colony of the Roman people, by storm, after an obstinate defence made by the colonists, and in their treatment of the prisoners made a barbarous use of their victory. [Y. R. 374. B. C. 378.] Incensed thereat, the Romans elected Marcus Furius Camillus a seventh time, military tribune; the colleagues joined with him were the two Postumii Regillenses, Aulus and Lucius, and Lucius Furius, with Lucius Lucretius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. The war with the Volscians was decreed to Camillus out of the ordinary course. Lucius Furius was chosen by lot, from among the rest of the tribunes, his assistant, an appointment which proved not so advantageous to the public, as productive of honour to Camillus, in every branch of his conduct: in that which respected the public, as he restored their cause, when nearly ruined by the temerity of Furius; and in that which concerned themselves in particular, as, from the error of that man, he sought the means of engaging his gratitude rather than of augmenting his own glory. Camillus was now far in the decline of life, and had intended at the election to take the usual oath, in order to be excused, on account of his health, but was prevented by the unanimous desire of the people. He retained all his faculties entire; his vigorous genius still bloomed and flourished, in a breast which glowed with youthful ardour; and though he took little share in civil affairs, yet the business of war roused his spirit. Enlisting four legions, of four thousand men each, and ordering the troops to assemble next day at the Esquiline gate, he marched towards Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony waited for him nowise dismayed, confiding in their number of men, in which they had considerably the advantage: and when they understood that the Romans were approaching, marched out immediately to the field, determined without any delay to put all on the hazard of one decisive effort: which manner of proceeding, they thought, would put it out of the power of the enemy to compensate for the smallness of their number by the skill of their great commander, on which they placed their sole reliance.

XXIII. The same ardour prevailed likewise in the troops of the Romans, and in one of their generals; nor was there any thing which prevented them from hazarding an immediate engagement, but the wisdom and authority of that

general, who sought, by protracting the war, to find some opportunity wherein their strength might receive aid from skill. The more on that account did the enemy urge them, and now, not only drew out their troops in order of battle before their own camp, but advanced into the middle of the plain, and throwing up trenches near the Roman battalions, made ostentatious show of boldness derived from their strength. The soldiers were highly provoked at this, and much more highly Lucius Furius, the other military tribune; who, besides a naturally sanguine temper, and his vigorous time of life, was elated with the hopes which he saw possess the multitude, who are ever apt to assume confidence from causes the worst founded. The soldiery, of themselves full of impatience, he instigated still farther, by depreciating his colleague's judgment on account of his great age, the only point on which he could possibly impeach it, saying, "that war was the province of youth, and that men's minds flourished, and withered, together with their bodies; that he, who certainly had been a most active warrior, was become a mere drone; and, though it had been his custom, immediately on coming up with an enemy, to snatch from them the possession of their camps and cities at the first onset; yet now he wasted time, lying inactive within the trenches. And what accession to his own strength, or diminution of that of the enemy, did he hope for? What opportunity, what season, what place for practising stratagem? The old man's schemes were too cold and languid. Camillus, for his own part, had enjoyed a sufficient share both of life and of glory; but where was the propriety of suffering the strength of the state, which ought to be immortal, to sink into the debility of old age, together with one mortal body?" By such discourses he had drawn to himself the attention of the whole camp; and when, in every quarter, they called for battle, he said to his colleague, "Camillus, we cannot withstand the violence of the soldiers; and the enemy, whose courage we have increased by our delays, insults us with arrogance absolutely intolerable. Give up your single judgment to the general one, and suffer yourself to be overcome in counsel, that you may the sooner overcome in battle." To which Camillus replied, that, "in all the wars which, to that day, had been waged under his single auspices, neither himself nor the Roman people had found reason to be

displeased, either with his conduct or his fortune: at present, he was sensible that he had a colleague, in command and authority, equal to himself; in vigour of age, superior: as to what regarded the troops, he had ever hitherto been accustomed to rule, not to be ruled; but his colleague's right of command he could not call in question. Let him do, with the favour of the gods, what he thought the interest of the commonwealth required. He would even request so much indulgence to his age, as that he should not be in the front line. That whatever duties in war an old man was qualified for, in these he would not be deficient; and that he besought the immortal gods, that no misfortune might give them reason to think his plan the wiser one." Neither was his salutary advice listened to by men, nor such pious prayers by the gods: the adviser of the fight drew up the first line; Camillus formed the reserve, and posted a strong guard in front of the camp; then, taking his own station on an eminence, as a spectator, he anxiously watched the issue of the other's plan.

XXIV. As soon as the clash of arms was heard in the first encounter, the enemy through stratagem, not through fear, began to retire. There was a gentle acclivity in their rear between the army and their camp; and as they had plenty of men, they had left in their camp several strong cohorts, armed and ready for action, who were to sally forth after the battle should begin, and when the enemy approached the rampart. The Romans, eagerly following the retreating army, were drawn into disadvantageous ground, where this sally could be made on them with effect: terror thus reverting on the conqueror, from this new force, the declivity of the ground obliged the Roman line to give way. The Volscians, who had come fresh from their tents to the attack pressed them close; and those, too, who had counterfeited retreat, now returned to the fight. The Roman soldiers no longer retired in order, but forgetting their late presumption and their former renown, everywhere turned their backs, and, with the utmost speed, ran towards their camp: when Camillus being lifted on his horse by his attendants, and hastily opposing the reserved troops in their way, called out, "Is this, soldiers, the fight that ye demanded? What man, what god can ye blame? The former temerity was all your own; your own this present cowardice. As ye have followed ano-

ther leader, follow now Camillus; and as ye are accustomed to do, under my conduct, conquer. Why do ye look towards the rampart and camp? Not a man of you, unless victorious, shall find admittance there," Shame, at first stopped their precipitate flight: then, when they saw the standards wheel about, and a line formed to front the enemy; when a leader, who, besides being distinguished by so many triumphs, was venerable even on account of his age, exposed himself in the front of the battalions, where there was the greatest share both of labour and danger; every one began to upbraid both himself and others, and mutual exhortation spread, in a brisk shout, through the whole length of the line. Nor was the other tribune deficient in activity. Being sent to the cavalry by his colleague, while he was reforming the line of infantry, he did not offer to rebuke them; for the share which he had in their fault had rendered any thing he could say of little weight. Instead of command, therefore, he had recourse entirely to intreaties; beseeching each, and all together, to "redeem him from misconduct, who was answerable for the events of that day. In spite," said he, "of the advice and endeavours of my colleague, I have associated myself in the rashness of the many, rather than listened to the prudence of one. Camillus sees matter of glory to himself, on either side to which your fortune may incline; but I, unless the fight is restored, shall feel the evil, in common with you all, and shall alone experience all the infamy; the most wretched lot that could befall me." It was thought best, while the line was still unsteady, that the cavalry should dismount, and charge the enemy on foot. Accordingly, distinguished beyond others by their arms and their spirit, they advanced on the part where they saw the infantry most pressed; nor was there one among them, whether officer or soldier, who did not display the utmost efforts of courage: the aid, therefore, which their vigorous exertions of bravery supplied, soon determined the event. The Volscians were driven headlong in real flight over the same ground, where they had just before retired with counterfeited fear: great numbers of them were slain, both in the battle, and afterwards in the pursuit: of the rest however, who were found in the camp, which the enemy took before they halted, more were made prisoners than put to death.



XXV. Here, in taking an account of the prisoners, several Tusculans being observed, they were separated from the rest, and brought to the tribunes : and, being examined, confessed that they had served in the war under the authority of the state. Hereupon Camillus, alarmed at the apprehension of a war so near home, declared, that he would immediately carry the prisoners to Rome, that the senate might not be ignorant of the revolt of the Tusculans from the confederacy : meanwhile, his colleague, if he thought proper, should command the camp and the army. One day had been sufficient to teach him, not to prefer his own counsels to better. However, neither himself, nor any person in the army supposed, that Camillus would, without marks of displeasure, pass over his misconduct, by which the public had been thrown into such perilous hazard ; and, as well in the army as at Rome, the account uniformly received and universally admitted was, that, with respect to the different degrees of success experienced in the country of the Volscians, the blame of the troops, being worsted in fight, and quitting the field, was to be imputed to Lucius Furius, and that the whole honour of their victory belonged to Camillus. On the prisoners being brought before the senate, it was decreed, that war should be made on the Tusculans, and Camillus was appointed to the command in that expedition : on which, he requested to be allowed one assistant in the business ; and having received permission to name any of his colleagues whom he thought proper, contrary to all men's expectation, he chose Lucius Furius ; by which, he both alleviated the disgrace of his colleague, and, at the same time, acquired great honour to himself. However, there was no war with the Tusculans. By a strict adherence to peaceable measures, they warded off the force of the Romans, which it had been impossible for them to have done by arms : for on entering their territory, no removals were made from the places adjacent to the roads, no interruption in the cultivation of the grounds, the gates of their city stood open, crowds of the inhabitants came forth in their gowns to meet the generals, and provisions for the troops were brought with cheerfulness into the camp, both from the city and the country. Camillus pitched his camp before the gates, and being desirous to know, whether the same appearance of peace prevailed within the walls, which was held out in the

country, went into the city ; and when he saw the doors and the shops open, and all kinds of wares exposed to sale ; tradesmen busy in their respective employments, the schools of learning buzzing with the voices of the scholars, and the streets filled with the populace of every sort, among whom were women and children going different ways, as their several occasions called them, and when, in short, he perceived no circumstance which bore any appearance of fright, or even of surprise, he looked round to find in what manner, and where the preparation for war had been made ; for there was not the least trace of any thing having been either removed, or placed to oppose him in his way : all, indeed, was in a uniform state of peace, so that one could hardly suppose that even the rumour of war had reached them.

XXVI. Overcome, therefore, by the submissive demeanour of the enemy, he ordered their senate to be called, and said to them : " Men of Tusculum ; ye are the only persons who have hitherto discovered the real strength, and the true arms, wherewith ye might secure yourselves from the resentment of the Romans. Go to Rome, to the senate. The fathers will consider whether your former conduct more merited punishment, or your present, forgiveness. I shall not arrogate to myself the gratitude which ye will owe for favour conferred by the public. From me, ye shall have liberty to solicit pardon. The senate will grant such return to your prayers as they shall judge proper." When the Tusculans came to Rome, and the senate of that people, who, very lately were faithful allies, appeared in the porch of the senate-house, with sorrow in their countenances, the senators, moved with compassion, immediately ordered them to be called in, in a manner expressive of hospitality, rather than of enmity. The Tusculan dictator spoke to this effect : " Conscript fathers ; we, against whom ye have proclaimed and were about to wage war, just as ye see us now, standing in the porch of your house, went forth to meet your commanders and your legions. This was our habit, this the habit of our commons ; and ever shall be, unless, at any time, we shall receive arms from you, and in your cause. We return thanks to your generals and your troops for having given credit to their own eyes, rather than to public rumour ; and for committing no hostilities themselves, where they found none subsisting. The peace, by which our conduct has been governed, the

same we request from you. War, we beseech you to avert to that quarter, where, if any where, war subsists. The power of your arms against us, if after submission we are to experience it, we will experience unarmed. This is our determination; may the immortal gods render it as successful as it is dutiful. As to what regards the charges, by which ye were moved to declare war against us, although it is needless to refute with words what has been contradicted by facts, yet, admitting that they were true, after giving such evident proofs of repentance, we should think ourselves safe in pleading guilty before you. Consider us then as guilty towards you, since ye are persons, to whom such satisfaction may be made with propriety." These were nearly the words of the Tuscans. They obtained peace at the present, and not very long after, the freedom of the state also. The legions were then withdrawn from Tusculum.

XXVII. Camillus, after having highly signalized himself by his conduct and bravery in the Volscian war, by his successful management in the Tusculan expedition, and in both, by his singular moderation towards his colleague, went out of office, having elected military tribunes for the ensuing year, [Y. R. 375. B. C. 377.] Lucius and Publius Valerius, Lucius a fifth time, Publius a third, and Caius Sergius a third time, Lucius Menenius a second time, Spurius Papirius, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. Censors became necessary this year, principally on account of the various representations made of the debts: the tribunes of the commons exaggerating the amount of them, with design to increase the general discontent, while it was underrated by those whose interest it was that the difficulty of procuring payment should appear to be owing rather to the want of honesty than of ability in the debtors. The censors appointed were Caius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Spurius Postumius Regillensis: after they had entered on the business, it was interrupted by the death of Postumius, as it was not allowable to employ a substitute as colleague with a censor. Sulpicius therefore, abdicating the office, others were named to it; but some defect being discovered in the manner of their appointment, they were not received; and to appoint a third set was not allowed, as the gods seemed unwilling to admit of censors for that year. The plebeian tribunes now exclaimed, that such

mockery of the commons was not to be endured; that "the senate declined a public inquiry, which would ascertain each man's property, as that would discover that one-half of the commonwealth was held in a state of depression by the other; while, in the meantime, the commons, overwhelmed with debt, were exposed continually to the arms of one enemy after another. Wars were now industriously sought on all sides, without any distinction. From Antium the legions were led to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitæ, from thence to Tusculum. The Latines, the Hernicians, the Prænestians, were now threatened with hostilities; and this, out of hatred to the citizens, rather than for injuries; with design to wear out the commons under arms, not suffering them either to take breath in the city, or to have leisure to reflect on their liberty, or to take their places in an assembly, where they might sometimes hear a tribune's voice, discoursing about the reduction of interest, and the removal of other grievances. But, for their part, if they could find in the commons a spirit capable of emulating the liberty of their fathers, they would neither suffer any Roman citizen to be made over to a creditor for money lent, nor any levy of troops to be made, until the debts being examined, and some method adopted for lessening them, every man should know what was his own, and what another's; whether his person was still to enjoy freedom, or whether that too was due to the stocks." The prize, held out to sedition, quickly excited it; for numbers were continually made over to creditors; and, accounts being received of the Prænestines being in arms, the senate voted new legions to be levied, to both which proceedings obstructions began to be raised, at once by the interposition of the tribunitian power, and the united efforts of the commons. For neither did the tribunes suffer those who were adjudged to their creditors to be carried to prison, nor did the younger citizens give in their names for the war; while the senate were less solicitous at present about enforcing the laws concerning the lending of money, than about effecting the levy; for now they were informed that the enemy had marched from Præneste, and taken post in the Sabine territory. That very intelligence, however, rather irritated the tribunes to persist in the opposition which they had set up, than deterred them: nor was any thing sufficient to alley



the discontents, but the approach of hostilities almost to the very walls.

XXVIII. For the Prænestines, having learned that there was no army levied at Rome, no general fixed on, and that the patricians and commons were taken up with quarrels among themselves, their leaders deemed this a fortunate opportunity for molestation; and, having made a hasty march, ravaging the country all along as they passed, they advanced their standards to the Colline gate. Great was the consternation in the city; the alarm was given through every part; people ran together to the walls and gates, and turning at length their thoughts from sedition to war, they created Titus Quintius Cincinnatus dictator, who nominated Aulus Sempronius Atratinus master of the horse. No sooner was this heard, than the enemy, such was the terror of that office, retired from the walls; while, on the dictator's edict being issued, the Roman youth attended without excuse. During the time that the levy was going on at Rome, the enemy encamped not far from the river Allia, whence they carried their depredations through all the country round, boasting among themselves, that they had chosen a post fatal to the city of Rome, whose troops would be dismayed, and fly from thence, as they had done in the Gallic war. For, "if the Romans were afraid of a day, which was deemed inauspicious, and marked with the name of that place, how much more than the Allian day would they dread the Allia itself, the monument of so great a disaster? The fierce looks of the Gauls, and the sound of their voices, would certainly recur to their eyes and ears." Possessed with these groundless notions of circumstances as groundless, they rested their hopes on the fortune of the place. On the other hand, the Romans considered that "in whatever place their Latine enemies stood, they knew very well that they were the same whom they had utterly vanquished at the lake Regillus, and had held under peaceable subjection for now a hundred years: that the Allia, being that way distinguished, would rather stimulate them to blot out the remembrance of their misfortune, than raise apprehensions of any ground being inauspicious to their success. Were they even to meet the Gauls themselves on that spot, they would fight, as they fought at Rome, for the recovery of their country; as, the day after at Gabii, where they took

effectual care that not a single enemy who had entered the walls of Rome should carry home an account either of their successes or defeats."

XXIX. With these sentiments on each side, they met at the Allia. As soon as the Roman dictator came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up and ready for action, he said, "Aulus Sempronius, do you perceive that those men have taken post at the Allia, relying, no doubt, on the fortune of the place? Nor have the immortal gods afforded them any surer ground of confidence, or any more effectual support. But, do you, relying on arms and courage, make a brisk charge on the middle of their line. When they shall be thrown into disorder, I will bear down on them with the legions. Ye gods! who witnessed the treaty, be favourable to our cause, and exact the penalty due for the affront offered to yourselves, and also for the deception imposed on us, through an appeal to your divinity." The Prænestines were unable to stand against either the cavalry or the infantry: the first shout and charge broke their ranks. In a little time, no part of their line remaining entire, they turned their backs, and fled in such consternation, that they even passed by their own camp, and never relaxed their speed, until Præneste was in view. There, rallying, they took possession of a post, which they fortified after a hasty manner, dreading, lest, if they retreated within the walls, the country should be immediately wasted with fire, and when every other place was desolated, siege should be laid to the city. But no sooner did the victorious Romans approach, after plundering the camp at the Allia, than they abandoned this fortress also, and shut themselves up in the town of Præneste, scarcely thinking the walls a sufficient security. There were eight other towns under the dominion of the Prænestines: these were attacked in succession, and taken without any great difficulty, and the army led to Velitra. That also was taken by storm. They then came to Præneste, the main source of the war, and it fell into their hands, not by force, but capitulation. Titus Quintius having thus gained the victory in one pitched battle, having taken from the enemy, by storm, two camps and nine towns, and Præneste on surrender, returned to Rome; and, in his triumph, carried into the capitol the statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he had brought away from Præneste. It was dedicated between the recesses of Jupi-

ter and Minerva, and on a tablet, fixed under it as a monument of his exploits, were engraved nearly these words : " Jupiter, and all the gods, granted that Titus Quintius, dictator, should take nine towns in nine days." On the twentieth day after his appointment he abdicated the dictatorship.

XXX. An election was then held of military tribunes, with consular power, when equal numbers of patricians and plebeians were chosen. [Y. R. 376. B. C. 376.] The patricians were, Publius and Caius Manlius, with Lucius Julius; the plebeians, Caius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, and Lucius Antistius. To the Manlii, because they were superior to the plebeians in point of descent, and to Julius in interest, the Volscians were assigned as a province, out of the ordinary course, without casting of lots, or mutual agreement: of which step both they themselves, and the senate, who made the disposal, had afterwards reason to repent. Without taking measures to obtain the proper intelligence, they sent out some cohorts to forage. Marching hastily to support these, in consequence of a false report brought to them of their being ensnared, without even retaining the author of the report, and who was not a Roman but a Latine soldier, they themselves fell into an ambuscade; where, whilst they gave and received many wounds, maintaining resistance on disadvantageous ground merely by dint of valour, the enemy, in another quarter, made an assault on the Roman camp, which lay in a low situation. The generals, by their rashness and unskilfulness, had thrown affairs, in both places, into most imminent danger; and that any part of the army was saved was owing to the fortune of the Roman people, and the bravery of the soldiers, capable of acting with steadiness, even without a commander. When an account of these transactions was brought to Rome, it was at first thought necessary that a dictator should be nominated: but intelligence being received from the country of the Volscians that matters were quiet, and it being evident that they knew not how to take advantage of success and opportunity, even the troops and generals which were there were recalled; and a cessation of hostilities continued during the remainder of the year, as far as regarded that people. The only interruption of tranquillity which occurred, and that towards the end of the year, was the revival of hostilities by the Prænestines, who had prevailed on the states of the

Latines to co-operate with them. During this year, new colonists were enrolled for Setia, the colony themselves complaining of a scarcity of men. Internal tranquillity, which was procured by the influence of the plebeian military tribunes, and the respect paid to their dignity by those of their own condition, proved some consolation for the failure of success in war.

XXXI. In the beginning of the next year, [Y. R. 377. B. C. 375.] the flames of sedition blazed out with great violence; the military tribunes, with consular power, being Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius a second time, Caius Licinius, Publius Clælius, Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Geganius. This sedition again arose from the debts; for the purpose of ascertaining which, Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Clælius Sicilius were appointed censors, but were hindered by a war from proceeding in the business: for hasty messengers at first, and then people who fled from the country, brought information that the Volscian legions had entered the borders, and were committing depredations through the Roman territory. Alarming as this intelligence was, so far was their fear of a foreign enemy from restraining the violence of their domestic feuds, that, on the contrary, it gave occasion to the tribunitian power to exert itself with greater vehemence in obstructing the levies, until these conditions were imposed on the senate: that, during the continuance of the war, no one should pay a tax, nor should any judicial process be carried on respecting money due. This relaxation being obtained for the commons, there was no farther delay in the levies. When the new legions were enlisted, it was resolved that they should be divided, and two different armies led into the Volscian territory. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius proceeded to the right, towards Antium and the sea-coast; Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganius to the left, towards Ecetra and the mountains. On neither side did the enemy meet them. Devastations were therefore made, not like those which the Volscians had committed in the manner of banditti, snatching an opportunity, and hurried by their fears, relying on the dissensions among the Romans, and dreading their valour; but with a regular army, and giving full scope to their resentment, more detrimental, too, by reason of their continuance; for the Volscians, dreading lest an army should come out from Rome against



them, had made their incursions only into the skirts of the frontiers; the Romans loitered in their country, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement. Every house, therefore, was burnt, and several villages also; not a fruit-tree was left, nor the seed in the ground to give a prospect of a harvest. All the men and cattle found without the walls were driven off as spoil, and the troops, from both quarters, were led back to Rome.

XXXII. Thus a short interval had been allowed to the debtors; but no sooner was quiet restored abroad, than the courts were filled anew with lawsuits against them: and so distant was every hope of lessening the burden of former debts, that they were obliged to contract new ones, by a tax for building a wall of hewn stone, which the censors had contracted for. To this hardship the commons were necessitated to submit, because there were, at the time, no levies which the tribunes might obstruct; nay, such an ascendancy had the nobility, that they obliged them to choose all the military tribunes out of the patricians, Lucius Æmilius, Publius Valerius a fourth time, Caius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Caius Quintius Cincinnatus. [Y. R. 378. B. C. 374.] By the same influence, a resolution was carried, without opposition, that, to make head against the Latines and Volscians, who, with their forces united, were encamped at Satricum, all the young men should be obliged to take the military oath; and that three armies should be formed; one, for the protection of the city; another, which, in case any disturbance should arise elsewhere, might be sent where the sudden exigencies of war should require. The third, and by far the most powerful, Publius Valerius and Lucius Æmilius led to Satricum; and there, finding the enemy drawn up in order of battle, on level ground, they instantly came to an engagement. But a heavy rain, attended with a violent storm of wind, put a stop to the fight; when, though victory had not declared for them, they yet had a fair prospect of it. Next day the battle was renewed, and for a considerable time, the Latine legions particularly, who, during the long continuance of the confederacy, had learned the Roman discipline, maintained their ground with equal bravery and success. At length, a charge of the cavalry disordered their ranks, and before this could be remedied, the infantry advanced upon them. Wherever

the Roman line attacked, the enemy were pushed from their ground; and when once the advantage turned against them, they found the Roman force irresistible. They were therefore utterly routed; and flying to Satricum, which was two miles distant, had many of their men slain, chiefly by the cavalry. Their camp was taken and plundered. The night after the battle, they went off from Satricum to Antium, in a manner more like a flight than a march: and though the Roman army followed, almost in their steps, yet fear proved fleetier than fury; so that they had got within their walls, before the Romans could harass or impede their rear. Several days were spent in wasting the country; for the Romans were not properly furnished with military engines for attacking walls, nor the others in a condition to hazard a battle.

XXXIII. At this time a dissention arose between the Antians and the Latines: for the Antians, quite reduced by a war which had lasted from their birth, began to think of submission. The Latines, having but lately revolted, after a long enjoyment of peace, and their spirits being still fresh, were, therefore, the more resolutely determined to persevere in the war. Their dispute lasted no longer, than until each party perceived that they might accomplish their own views, without obstruction from the other. The Latines, by leaving the place, freed themselves from the imputation of being concerned in a peace which they deemed dishonourable. The Antians, as soon as those were removed, whose presence impeded their salutary designs, surrendered themselves and their territory to the Romans. The rage of the Latines, on finding that they could neither do any damage to the Romans in war, nor keep the Volscians any longer in arms, vented itself in setting fire to the city of Satricum, which had been their first place of refuge after defeat. Not a building in that city remained; for they threw their firebrands indiscriminately on those that belonged to gods and to men, except the temple of mother Matuta: and from this they were withheld, not by any scruples of their own, or reverence towards the gods, but by a tremendous voice, which issued through the temple, with severe denunciations of vengeance, unless they removed their abominable fires to a distance from the temples. Inflamed with the same rage, they proceeded to Tusculum, in resentment of its having forsaken the general associ-

ation of the Latines, and joined itself to the Romans, not only as an ally, but even as a member of their state. No notice being received there of their intention, they rushed in by the gates, and on the first shout, made themselves masters of the whole town, excepting the citadel. Into this the townsmen had made their escape, with their wives and children, and sent messengers to Rome, to acquaint the senate with their misfortune. With no less expedition than became the honour of the Roman people, an army was despatched to Tusculum, commanded by Lucius Quintus and Servius Sulpicius, military tribunes. They found the gates of Tusculum shut, and the Latines acting the parts both of besiegers and besieged: on one side, defending the walls of the town; on the other, carrying on the attack of the citadel; at once striking terror into others, and feeling it themselves. The approach of the Romans made a great alteration in the minds of both parties: the despondency of the Tusculans it converted into the most joyful alacrity; and the assured confidence entertained by the Latines, that they should quickly become masters of the citadel, as they were already of the town, into an anxiety almost hopeless for their own safety. The shout was now raised by the Tusculans from the citadel, and returned by a much louder one from the Roman army. The Latines were hard pressed on all sides; nor could they either sustain the force of the Tusculans, pouring down on them from the higher ground, or repel the Romans advancing to the walls, and forcing the bars of the gates. The walls first were mastered by scale; the gates were then broke open; and the two enemies, pressing them in front and in rear, no strength being left for fight, no room for escape, they were surrounded and cut to pieces to a man. Tusculum being thus recovered from the enemy, the army returned to Rome.

XXXIV. In proportion to the degree of tranquillity which prevailed this year abroad, in consequence of the successes obtained in war, did the violence of the patricians, and the distresses of the commons, increase daily in the city; the necessity of immediate payment, of itself, impairing the ability to pay: so that having no means left of answering any demands out of their property, they were cast in suits, and ordered into custody. Thus, at the expense of their reputations and persons, they satisfied their creditors; punishment being substituted

in the place of money. In consequence of this, they sunk into such despondency, not only the lowest, but even the principal plebeians, that no man could be found adventurous enough either to stand candidate among patricians for the military tribuneship (a privilege which they had used such mighty efforts to obtain); or even to sue for and undertake the plebeian magistracies: insomuch that it seemed as if the patricians had now recovered, for ever, the possession of that honour; and that it had been only usurped, for a few years, by the commons. The excessive joy which that party would have reaped from this event was prevented by a cause which was but trifling, as is very often the case, in comparison with the important consequences which it produced. Marcus Fabius Ambustus was a man of considerable weight among those of his own rank, and also among the commons, because they considered him as one who was not at all disposed to treat them with contempt: he had two daughters married, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Caius Licinius Stolo, of high reputation, but a plebeian, and the very circumstance of Fabius not having scorned this alliance procured him favour in the minds of the populace. It happened, that while the two sisters were amusing themselves in conversation at the house of Servius Sulpicius, then military tribune, on Sulpicius's return home from the forum, one of his lictors, according to custom, rapped at the door with his rod: the younger Fabia, who was a stranger to the custom, being frightened at this, was laughed at by her sister, who was surprised at her ignorance of the matter. That laugh, however, left a sting in the other's breast; as the merest trifles will often affect the female mind. The crowd also of attendants, and of people offering their service, I suppose, made her think her sister happy in her marriage, and repine at her own; according to the so generally prevailing foible, for it is certain that scarcely any can bear to be surpassed by those nearest their own level. While she was under great disquietude from this recent mortification, her father happened to see her, and asked, "Is all well?" and though she dissembled, at first, the cause of her uneasiness, because it was neither very consistent with the affection of a sister, nor very honourable to her husband, he, by tender inquiries, at length brought her to confess, that her unhappiness arose from being united to an



inferior, from being married into a house which neither dignities nor honours could enter. Ambustus, then, consoling his daughter, bid her keep up her spirits : for that she should shortly see, in her own house, the same honours which she saw at her sister's. He then, with his son-in-law, began to frame his designs ; and in conjunction with Lucius Sextius, a young man of active talents, to whose hopes there appeared no impediment, except the want of patrician descent.

XXXV. The juncture appeared seasonable for the introduction of innovations, on account of the immense burthen of debt, from which evil the commons could have no hope of relief, except some of their own order were placed in the administration of government. To that point they saw it necessary to direct their most vigorous exertions. The commons, by spirited endeavours and perseverance, had already gained one step towards it ; from whence, if they struggled forward, they might arrive at the summit, and be placed on an equal footing with the patricians, in honour as well as in merit. It was resolved, that at present there should be plebeian tribunes created ; in which office the commons might find the means of opening for themselves a way to the other distinctions. [Y. R. 379. B. C. 373.] Accordingly, Caius Lucinius and Lucius Sextius were elected tribunes, and proposed several new laws, every one of which was injurious to the power of the patricians, and in favour of the interest of the plebeians. One related to debt, enacting, that whatever had been paid as interest, being deducted from the principal, the remainder should be discharged in three years, by so many equal instalments. Another, setting bounds to landed property, enacted, that no one should possess more than five hundred acres of land ; a third, that there should be no election of military tribunes ; and that one of the consuls should, indispensably, be chosen out of the commons : all points of the utmost consequence, and not to be accomplished without powerful struggles. When the patricians were thus challenged to contend, at once, for all those objects which excite the warmest desires in the human heart, they were terrified and dismayed ; nor could they, either in their public or private consultations, devise any other remedy than the one which they had frequently tried before, a protest : accordingly, they engaged some of the tribunes to oppose the proposi-

tions of their colleagues. These, having collected about them a band of patricians for their support, as soon as they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius, to give their suffrages, refused to suffer either the proposition to be read, or any of the usual forms, in taking the votes of the people, to be gone through. After assemblies had been often called to no purpose, and the propositions were now considered as rejected, Sextius said to them, " It is very well ; since it is determined that a protest shall carry such force in it, we will defend the commons with the same weapon. Come, patricians, proclaim an assembly for the election of military tribunes ; I will take care that those words, I FORBID IT, shall not be very pleasing in your ears, though you listen with such delight to our colleagues chaunting them at present." Nor did his threats fall without effect ; except for ædiles and plebeian tribunes, there were no elections held. Licinius and Sextius being re-elected plebeian tribunes, suffered not any curule magistrates to be appointed ; and, during the space of five years, the city was kept without magistrates in those offices, the commons constantly re-electing the two tribunes, and these preventing the election of military tribunes.

XXXVI. There had been a seasonable cessation of wars ; but the colonists of Velitræ, grown wanton through ease, and knowing that there was no army on foot at Rome, made several incursions into the Roman territory, and even laid siege to Tusculum. When, on this event, the Tuscians, their old allies and new fellow-citizens, implored assistance, not only the patricians, but even the commons, were moved, principally by a sense of honour ; and the plebeian tribunes withdrawing their opposition, an election of military tribunes was held by an interrex, when Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, and the two Valerii, Publius and Caius, were chosen into that office. [Y. R. 385. B. C. 367.] These, in raising the levies, found not the same tractable temper in the commons which they had shown in the election : however, having, after very warm disputes, completed the number of troops, they began their march, and compelled the enemy, not only to retire from Tusculum, but to take shelter within their own walls ; and Velitræ was then besieged by a much greater force than had threatened Tuscu-

lum. Yet the commanders, who conducted the siege, were not able to bring it to a conclusion before the new military tribunes were elected: these were, Quintus Servilius, Caius Veturius, a second time, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quintius, and Marcus Fabius. [Y. R. 386. B. C. 366.] Neither did these, in their tribunate, perform any thing memorable at Velitræ. The dangerous state of affairs at home called more powerfully for their attention: for, besides Sextius and Licinius, the proposers of the laws, now re-elected the eighth time to the office of plebeian tribune, Fabius likewise, the military tribune, father-in-law of Stolo, without disguise, professed himself a supporter of those laws of which he had been an adviser: and whereas there had been, at first, among the plebeian tribunes, eight protesters against the laws, there were now only five; and these, as usual with men who desert their party, were embarrassed and perplexed. In expressions borrowed from others, they alleged, as a pretext for their protesting, merely what they had been privately instructed to say, that "a large share of the commons were absent in the army at Velitræ; that the assembly ought to be deferred until the soldiers returned, in order that the entire body of the commons might have an opportunity of giving their votes, in matters wherein they were so deeply interested." Sextius and Licinius, in conjunction with the other part of their colleagues, and Fabius, one of the military tribunes, having, from the experience of so many years, acquired the art of managing the minds of the commons, called on the principal patricians, and teased them with interrogatories on each of the subjects proposed to the people: "Were they so shameless as to require, that when the proportion of the plebeian was only two acres of land, they should be allowed to possess above five hundred acres each? That a single man should enjoy the share of near three hundred citizens; while a plebeian had scarcely an extent of land sufficient for a stinted habitation, or a place of burial? Did they think it reasonable, that the commons, inextricably embarrassed by the accumulation of interest, should surrender their persons to the stocks, and to the harsh treatment of creditors, rather than that they should be allowed a discharge of the debt, on paying off the principal? That men should daily be driven in flocks from the forum, after being made over to their creditors? That the houses

of the nobility should be filled with such prisoners? And that, in the habitation of every patrician, there should be a private prison?"

XXXVII. After painting those matters in the most invidious and pitiable colours, to an audience, whereof each individual was in dread that the case might become his own, and exciting, in the hearers, even greater indignation than they felt themselves, they went on to insist, that "there never could be any stop put to the patricians engrossing the lands to themselves, and crushing the commons under the weight of interest, unless the latter should constitute one of the consuls out of their own body, to be a guardian of their liberty. That the tribunes of the commons were now despised, because those invested with that power, by the present practice of protests, rendered its own strength inefficacious. It was impossible to deal on equal terms, while the others held in their hands the power of command, and they only that of giving protection. Unless admitted to a share in the government, the commons could never enjoy an equal portion in the commonwealth. Nor ought it to be thought sufficient that plebeians should be allowed to stand candidates at the election of consuls; none of them would ever be elected, unless it were made an indispensable rule that one consul must, necessarily, be taken from among the commons. Had they now forgotten, that though the practice of electing military tribunes, rather than consuls, had been instituted for the very purpose of opening the highest honours to the plebeians, yet, during a space of forty-four years, not one plebeian had been elected into that office? How then could they believe, that when there were but two places to be filled, those men would voluntarily bestow a share of the honour on the commons, who were accustomed to monopolize the whole eight places at the election of military tribunes? That they would suffer a passage to be laid open to the consulship, who, for such a length of time, had kept the tribuneship so closely fenced up? They must acquire by a law, what they could not accomplish by influence at elections; and one consul's place must be set apart, beyond the reach of contest, to which the commons may have access: since as long as it is left subject to dispute, it will ever become the prize of the more powerful. Nor could the nobles now pretend to say, what formerly they had been fond of asserting, that there were not to be



found, among the plebeians, men qualified for the curule offices. For, was the administration of government conducted with less diligence and vigour since the tribunate of Publius Lucinius Calvus, the first plebeian elected, than during those years in which none but patricians were military tribunes? Nay, on the contrary, several patricians, on the expiration of their office, had been condemned for misconduct, but never one plebeian. Quæstors too, in like manner as military tribunes, began, a few years before, to be elected out of the commons: nor had the Roman people seen reason to be displeased with any one of them. The consulship now remained to be attained by the plebeians; that was the bulwark, that the basis of their liberty. Could they once arrive at that, then indeed, the Roman people would be satisfied that kings were really banished from the city, and liberty settled on a sure foundation. For, from that day, every advantage, in which the patricians now surpassed them, would come into the possession of the commons; command and honour, military glory, birth, nobility, all highly valuable to themselves in the present enjoyment, and which they could leave, with an increase of value to their children." Finding such discourses favourably attended to, they published another proposition: that instead of two commissioners for performing religious rites, ten should be appointed, half of whom should be plebeians, half patricians; and they deferred the meeting, which was to decide on all these matters, until the troops, then engaged in the siege of Velitræ, should return.

XXXVIII. The year expired before the legions were brought home from Velitræ; [Y. R. 387. B. C. 365.] and consequently, the affair of the laws remained suspended, and was handed over to the new military tribunes: for as to the plebeian tribunes, the commons re-elected the same; particularly the two who had proposed the laws. The military tribunes elected were Titus Quintius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, and Lucius Veturius. Immediately on the commencement of the new year, the contest about the laws was pushed to extremity; and when, on the tribes being assembled, the proposers of the laws persisted in their proceedings, in spite of the protests of their colleagues, the patricians were so alarmed that they recurred for aid to their last resource, an office superior to all others in power, and a

citizen superior to all others in reputation. It was resolved that a dictator should be appointed. Accordingly Marcus Furius Camillus was nominated, and he chose Lucius Æmilius master of the horse. On the other side, the proposers of the laws, in opposition to this great effort of their adversaries, with determined resolution, collected every means of strength, in aid of the plebeian cause; and, summoning an assembly of the people, cited the tribes to give their votes. The dictator, attended by a band of patricians, having taken his seat, with many angry and menacing expressions, the business, at first, produced the usual contest among the plebeian tribunes; some of them supporting the law, and others protesting against it. But their protest, which by right ought to have prevailed, being nevertheless overpowered by the people's warm attachment to the laws themselves, and to the promoters of them; and, the first tribes having pronounced, "Be it as you propose;" Camillus said, "Roman citizens, since the headstrong passions of your tribunes, not their legal authority, rule your proceedings; and since, after having at the expense of a secession, procured the privilege of protesting, ye now yourselves invalidate it, by the same violence through which ye obtained it; I, as dictator, out of regard, as well to your particular interest, as to the general interest of the commonwealth, will support the right of protesting: and, by the power of my authority, will defend your rights of protection, which ye endeavour to betray. Wherefore, if Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextus will give way to the protest of their colleagues, I shall be far from introducing the authority of a patrician magistrate into an assembly of the commons. But if, in opposition to the protest, they persist in their attempt to impose laws on the state, as if it were under captivity to them, I will not suffer the tribunitian power to be brought to dissolution by its own act." The tribunes, in contempt of this declaration, still proceeding in the business with unabated activity, Camillus was so highly provoked, that he sent his lictors to disperse the commons; adding threats, that "if they persisted, he would compel every one of the younger men to take the military oath, and would instantly lead an army out of the city." This struck great terror into the populace; but the opposition served rather to inflame than lessen the resolution of their leaders. However, before

the dispute was brought to any decision, the dictator abdicated his office; either, because some informality was discovered in his appointment, as some writers have said; or because the plebeian tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons passed it into an order, that if Marcus Furius Camillus performed an act as dictator he should be fined five hundred thousand asses.<sup>1</sup> But the following considerations induce me to believe, that he was deterred from acting rather by a defect in the auspices, than by such an unprecedented order: first, the temper of the man himself; then Publius Manlius being immediately substituted in his room. What end could it answer, to appoint him for managing a dispute in which Camillus had been worsted? Besides, the year following, the same Camillus was created dictator, and he certainly could not, without shame, have resumed an authority, which had been foiled in his hands the year before. At the time, too, when the proposition about fining him is reported to have been published, he must either have had power sufficient to have prevented the passing of this order, by which he saw himself degraded, or else he could not have been able to oppose the others, on account of which this was introduced; for through the whole course of the various disputes, in regard to the authority of the tribunes, and that of the consuls even down to our memory, the dictatorship ever held a decided pre-eminence over both.

XXXIX. During the interval between the abdication of the former dictator, and the new one, Manlius, entering into office, as if it were an interregnum, the tribunes summoned an assembly of the people; and it was there discovered, which of the laws proposed were favourites of the public, and which of the proposers. For the commons passed those which respected interest of money, and the lands, and rejected the one respecting a plebeian consul; both which decisions would have been carried into effect, had not the tribunes insisted, that they had put the question to the assembly, on the whole of the laws collectively. Publius Manlius then turned the advantage to the side of the commons, by nominating as his master of the horse a plebeian, Caius Licinius, who had been military tribune. This, we are informed, gave much displeasure to the patri-

cians, to whom the dictator apologized for his conduct, alleging the near relationship between him and Licinius; at the same time asserting, that the post of master of the horse was no way superior to that of consular tribune. When the assembly for electing plebeian tribunes was proclaimed, Licinius and Sextius conducted themselves in such a manner, that, while they professed an unwillingness any longer to be continued in office, they applied to the commons the most powerful incentives, towards the effectuating of that purpose, which, from their dissimulation in the above particular, they seemed little desirous to promote. Telling them, that "they were now standing the ninth year, as it were in battle array against the nobility, with the greatest danger to their own particular interests, and without any advantage to the public. That, as they were now grown old, so, together with them, both the propositions which they had published, and the whole tribunitian power, were fallen into a state of languor. At first, the attack was carried on, against their propositions, by the protest of their colleagues; then, by banishing the younger citizens to the war of Velitræ; at last the dictatorial thunder had been levelled against themselves. At present, neither colleagues, nor war, nor dictator stood in their way: for the latter had even, by nominating a plebeian master of the horse, given them an omen of a plebeian consul. The commons were the only obstruction to themselves, and to their own interests. They could, if they chose it, immediately have the city and the forum free from creditors, and the lands free from unjust occupiers. And when would they ever consider these kindnesses with proper gratitude, if at the very time when they were receiving plans for their own advantage they precluded the authors of them from all hope of distinction? It was not suitable with the candour of the Roman people, to require that the burthen of interest money should be taken off from them, and that they should be introduced into the possession of the lands unjustly occupied by the powerful, and at the same time leave the persons, through whose means they acquired those lands, to grow old in the quality of tribunitians; not only without honours, but even without hope of them. Wherefore, let them, first, determine in their own minds what choice they would make, and then notify that choice, in the elec-



tion of their tribunes. If they chose that the propositions published by them should be passed collectively, then there would be some reason for re-electing the same tribunes; for they would carry into effect their own wishes. But, if they chose that nothing more should pass, than what each found necessary to his private affairs, there would then be no occasion for the invidious mode of re-election; and, as they would fail of obtaining the tribuneship, so would the people of obtaining the matters proposed to them."

XL. On hearing such peremptory language from the tribunes, and whilst amazement, at the insolence of their behaviour, held the rest of the patricians motionless and silent, Appius Claudius Crassus, grandson of the decemvir, is said to have stood forth to combat their argument; and, prompted rather by hatred and anger than by hope of success, to have spoken to this effect: "Roman citizens, to me it would be neither new nor surprising, if I should hear applied to myself, on the present occasion, the same charge, which has always been objected, by seditious tribunes, to our family; that the Claudian race, even from the very beginning, has shown a more zealous attachment to the dignity of the patricians, than to any other object in the state; and that they have constantly opposed the interests of the commons. One of these assertions, neither I, nor any of the Claudii, will deny; that, from the time when we were first adopted, and admitted into the order of the patricians, we have earnestly endeavoured that the dignity of those families, among which ye were pleased to place us, might truly be said to have been augmented, rather than diminished, through our means. As to the other declaration, I can take upon me to insist and maintain, in behalf of myself and of my ancestors, that, unless we are to suppose that actions, which tend to the general good of the state, are injurious to the commons, as if they were inhabitants of another city, we never either in our private capacity, or in office, proceeded knowingly, in any instance, to the detriment of those commons: and that there cannot, consistently with truth, be mentioned any one act, or word, of ours, contrary to your interest; though some indeed there may have been contrary to your inclinations. But even were I not of the Claudian family, nor sprung from patrician blood, but an individual in the general mass of citizens, only

supposing me sensible that I was descended from free-born parents, and that I lived in a free state, could I keep silence in such a case as this; when Lucius Sextius, and Caius Licinius, perpetual tribunes, as it seems, have during the nine years in which they have reigned, acquired such a degree of arrogance, as to declare, that they will not allow you freedom of suffrage, either in elections or in enacting laws? On a certain condition, one of them says, ye shall re-elect us tribunes, a tenth time. What else is this, than if he said, what others court, we disdain, so far, that without a valuable consideration, we will not accept of it? And now I pray you, what is that consideration, for which we may have you perpetually tribunes of the commons? Why, he tells you it is, that ye admit all our propositions collectively, be they pleasing or displeasing, profitable or unprofitable. Let me intreat you, ye Tarquinius, who are tribunes of the commons, to suppose that I, one of the citizens, called out in reply to you from the middle of the assembly: with your good leave, let us be permitted to choose, out of these propositions, such as we judge salutary to ourselves, and to reject others. No, says he, ye shall have no such permission. Must ye enact, concerning interest of money and lands, which tends to the good of every one of yourselves, and must not the prodigy of seeing Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius consuls take place in the city of Rome, because ye view it with scorn and abhorrence? Either admit all, or I propose nothing. Just as if, before a person pressed with hunger, one were to lay food and poison together, and then to order him either to abstain from what would minister to life, or to mix along with it what would cause death. If then this state were really free, would not the whole assembly have replied to you thus; begone with your tribuneships and your propositions. What! If you do not propose that which is advantageous to the people to admit, can there be no other found to procure them advantages? If any patrician (or what they wish to be thought more invidious) if a Claudian should say, either admit all, or I propose nothing; what man among you, citizens, would endure it? Will ye never learn to attend to facts, rather than persons? For ever listen with partial ears to every thing uttered by men of their office, and with prejudice to what is said by any of us? But surely, their language

is very different from what becomes members of a republic : and what shall we say of their proposal, which they are so incensed at your rejecting? It is exactly of a piece, citizens, with their language. He says, I desire it may be enacted, that it shall not be lawful for you to elect into the consulship such persons as ye may approve : for can he mean otherwise who orders that one consul must necessarily be taken from the plebeians, and does not allow you the power of electing two patricians? If wars were to be waged now, such as the Etrurian for instance, when Porsena lay on the Janiculum ; or, as the Gallic lately, when, except the capitol and citadel, all places were in possession of the enemy, and that Lucius Sextius stood candidate for the consulship with Camillus, would ye be able to bear, that Sextius should, without any competition, be made consul, while Camillus would be obliged to struggle against the danger of a repulse? Is this to introduce a community of honours? to make it lawful for two plebeians, but unlawful for two patricians, to be chosen consuls. To make it necessary to elect one plebeian, but allowable to pass by all the patricians ; what sort of fellowship, what sort of confederacy is this? Are you not satisfied with obtaining a part of that in which hitherto you have had no concern ; must you be laying violent hands on the whole? I fear, says Sextius, that if ye are at liberty to elect two patricians, ye will elect no plebeian. What is this but to say, because ye would not, of your own choice, elect unworthy persons, I will impose on you a necessity of admitting them without choice? What follows, but that, if one plebeian be named, together with two patricians, he is not even under an obligation to the people, and may say, that he was appointed by the law, and not elected by their suffrages?

XLI. " The power of extorting, not of suing for honours, is what they aim at ; and to attain the most exalted without incurring the obligations even of the lowest : they choose also to make their way to them by means of accidental successes, rather than by merit. Is there any man who can think it an affront to have his character inspected and estimated? Who can deem it reasonable, that he alone, amidst struggling competitors, should have a certainty of obtaining honours? Who would exempt himself from your judgment? Who would render your suffrages necessary (if suf-

frages I must say) instead of voluntary ; servile instead of free? Not to mention Livinius and Sextius, the years of whose perpetuated power, as if they were kings, ye number in the capitol ; what man is there this day, in the state, so mean, that he might not, by the opportunities created by this law, make his way to the consulship, with greater ease, than we or our children? Since, in some cases, it will not be in your power to elect us, though ye wish it, and ye will be under a necessity of electing them, though against your will. Of the injury offered to merit, I shall say no more, for merit regards only the human race. But what shall I say, with respect to religion, and the auspices ; the affront and injury offered to which, reflect immediately on the immortal gods? That this city was founded under auspices ; that all business, civil and military, foreign and domestic, is conducted under them, who can be ignorant? In whom therefore is the privilege of auspices vested according to the constitution of our forefathers? In the patricians undoubtedly. For no plebeian magistrate is even so elected. So peculiar to us are the auspices, that the patrician magistrates, whom the people may approve, can be in no other manner elected ; while we ourselves, without the suffrages of the people, create an interrex, under auspices ; and, in private stations also hold such privilege, which they do not, even when in office. Does not he then, in effect, abolish the auspices, who by creating plebeian consuls, takes them out of the hands of the patricians, the only persons capable of holding them? They may now mock at religion, and say, where is the great matter, if the chickens do not feed? If they come out too slowly from the coop? If a bird chaunt an ominous note? These are trivial matters : but by not disregarding these trivial matters, our ancestors raised this state to the highest eminence. In the present times, as if we stood in no need of the favour of the gods, we violate all religious institutions. Let therefore pontiffs, augurs, kings of the sacrifices, be chosen at random. Let us place the tiara of Jupiter's flamen on any one that offers, provided he be a man. Let us commit the Ancilia, the shrines, the gods, and the charge of their worship, to persons to whom they cannot, without impiety, be intrusted. Let neither laws be enacted, nor magistrates elected under auspices. Let not the approbation of the senate be requisite,



either to the assemblies of the centuries, or of the *Curias*. Let *Sextius* and *Licinius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius*, reign in the city of Rome, in return for their generosity in plundering from other men's fortunes: in giving away other men's money and lands, does it not occur to you, that by one of these laws, great part of the possessions must be converted into desolate wilds, in consequence of the owners being expelled from them: by the other, that credit would be annihilated, by which all human society must be at an end. For every reason, then, I am of opinion, that ye ought to reject those propositions altogether. Whatever is your determination, may the gods grant it a happy issue."

XLII. The speech of *Appius* produced no other effect, than the putting off the decision on the propositions to another time. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, being again re-elected tribunes, the tenth time, procured a law to be enacted, that, of the *decemvirs*, for superintending religious matters, half should be chosen from among the commons. Accordingly, five patricians were elected, and five plebeians. Which step being gained, the way seemed open to the consulship. Satisfied with this victory, the commons conceded so far to the patricians, that, no mention being made of consuls for the present, military tribunes should be elected. [Y. R. 388. B. C. 364.] The election fell on *Aulus* and *Marcus Cornelius* a second time, *Marcus Geganius*, *Publius Manlius*, *Lucius Veturius*, and *Publius Valerius* a sixth time. Except the siege of *Velitræ*, an affair of which the issue was rather tedious than doubtful, the Romans were undisturbed by any foreign concerns; when a sudden report of the Gauls approaching in arms, occasioned so great an alarm that *Marcus Furius Camillus* was appointed dictator the fifth time, and he nominated *Titus Quintius Pennus* master of horse. *Claudius* asserts, that a battle was fought with the Gauls this year, on the banks of the river *Anio*, and that, at this time, happened the famous combat on the bridge, in which *Titus Manlius*, engaging with a Gaul who had challenged him, slew him in the sight of the two armies, and spoiled him of a chain. But I am led, by the authority of many writers to believe, that these events happened at least ten years later; and that a pitched battle was now fought with the Gauls by the dictator *Camillus*, in the territory of *Alba*. The

victory was neither doubtful, nor obtained with difficulty by the Romans; although, from people's recollection of former misfortunes, the coming of the Gauls had diffused very great terror. Many thousands of the barbarians were slain in the field, and great numbers in the storming of their camp. The rest dispersing, mostly towards *Apulia*, escaped, partly, by continuing their flight to a great distance; and partly, by being, through dismay and terror, scattered widely, in different quarters. The dictator had a triumph decreed him, with the concurrence of the senate and commons. Scarcely, however, had he got rid of the business of this war, than he found employment, from a more violent commotion at home: and the issue of an obstinate struggle was, that the dictator and senate were overpowered, and the proposition of the tribunes admitted. In consequence, an election of consuls was held, in spite of the opposition of the nobility, in which *Lucius Sextius* was made consul, the first of plebeian rank. Nor did the disputes end even here. The patricians refusing to give their approbation, the affair was likely to produce a secession of the commons, with dreadful consequences; when their dissensions were accommodated on terms, by the interposition of the dictator. The nobility made concessions to the commons, with respect to the plebeian consul, and the commons to the nobility with respect to one prætor to be elected out of the patricians, to administer justice in the city. Concord being, by these means, restored between the orders, after such a long continuance of mutual animosity, the senate were of opinion, that such an event deserved to be signalized by an exhibition of the most magnificent games, and by the addition of another day, to the usual three, of the *Latine* festival; expecting on this occasion, if on any whatever, to find a general willingness to show that testimony of gratitude to the immortal gods. But the plebeian ædiles refused to undertake the business: on which the younger patricians, with one accord, cried out, that out of their desire of paying due honour to the deities, they would with pleasure perform it, provided they were appointed ædiles. Their offer was accepted, with universal thanks, and the senate decreed, that the dictator should propose to the people, to appoint two of the patricians to the office of ædiles; and that the senate would give their approbation to all the elections made in that year.

## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK VII.

The offices of prætor and curule ædile instituted. A pestilential disorder rages in the city ; of which dies the celebrated *Furius Camillus*. Scenic representations first introduced. *Curtius*, armed, on horseback leaps into a gulf in the forum. *Titus Manlius*, having slain in single combat a Gaul, who challenged any of the Roman soldiers to fight, takes from him a golden chain which he wears, and is, from thence, called *Torquatus*. Two new tribes added, called the *Pomptine* and *Publian*. *Licinius Stolo* is found guilty, upon a law carried by himself, of possessing more than five hundred acres of land. *Marcus Valerius*, surnamed *Corvinus*, from having, with the aid of a crow, killed a Gaul, who challenged him, is next year elected consul, though but twenty-three years old. A treaty of friendship made with the *Carthaginians*. The *Campanians*, overpowered by the *Samnites*, surrender themselves to the Roman people, who declare war against the *Samnites*. *P. Decius Mus* saves the Roman army, brought into extreme danger by the consul *A. Cornelius*. Conspiracy and revolt of the Roman soldiers in the garrison of *Capua*. They are brought to a sense of duty, and restored to their country, by *Marcus Valerius Corvus*, dictator. Successful operations against the *Hernicians*, *Gauls*, *Tiburians*, *Prævernians*, *Tarquiniens*, *Samnites*, and *Volscians*.

I. THIS year [Y. R. 389. B. C. 363.] will ever be remarkable for the consulship of a man of no ancestry ; and remarkable also, for the institution of two new public offices, the prætorship and the curule ædileship. These honours the patricians claimed to themselves, as a compensation for their concession of one consul's place to the plebeians. The commons gave the consulship to *Lucius Sextius*, the introducer of the law by which it was obtained. The patricians, by their influence among the people, gained the prætorship for *Spurius Furius Camillus* son of *Marcus* ; and the ædileship, for *Cneius Quintus Capitolinus* and *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, men of their own rank. The patrician colleague, given to *Lucius Sextius*, was *Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus*. In the beginning of the year, rumours were spread concerning the *Gauls*, who, after having been dispersed over *Apulia*, were now said to be collecting themselves into a body ; and also concerning a revolt of the *Hernicians*. But all kinds of business were purposely deferred, lest the plebeian consul should have an opportunity of performing any service, and silence was as much observed on every subject, as though it had been proclaimed. The tribunes, however,

did not suffer it to pass unnoticed, that the patricians, by way of requital for one plebeian consulship, had assumed to themselves three patrician magistrates, sitting in curule chairs, and clad in robes of state like consuls ; the prætor even administering justice, as a colleague to the consuls, and elected under the same auspices. In consequence of this, the senate were afterwards ashamed to order, that the curule ædiles should be chosen from among the patricians. It was at first agreed that plebeians should be appointed every second year, but in after time the choice was left open. In the consulate of *Lucius Genucius* and *Quintus Servilius*, [Y. R. 390. B. C. 362.] who immediately succeeded, though affairs were tranquil both at home and abroad, yet, as if at no time there could be an exemption from danger and alarm, a pestilence broke out with great violence ; a censor, a curule ædile, and three plebeian tribunes, are said to have fallen victims to it, while its ravages among the populace were proportionably numerous ; but this calamity was rendered memorable chiefly by the death of *Marcus Furius Camillus*, whose loss, though at an advanced period of life, was much to be regretted : he was, in truth,



a man singularly eminent in every change of fortune; before he went into banishment, the first person in the state, as well in civil as military departments; in exile, still more illustrious, whether we consider the disaster by which the nation was induced to supplicate his return; or his own successful conduct, by which, on being restored to his country, he effected that country's liberation, and justified his own fair claim to celebrity. He then, through a course of twenty-five years after, uniformly maintained a character equal to this high rank of glory, allowed on all hands as deserving of being reckoned, next to Romulus, a second founder of the city of Rome.

II. The pestilence continuing during both this and the following year, [Y. R. 391. B. C. 361.] in which Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Caius Licinius Stolo were consuls; nothing memorable was transacted, only that, for the purpose of soliciting the favour of the gods, the Lectisternium was performed the third time since the building of the city. But the disorder receiving no alleviation, either from human wisdom or divine aid, the strength of the people's minds became almost overpowered by superstition, and it is said, that, on this occasion, among other devices for appeasing the wrath of heaven, scenic plays were introduced; a new thing to a warlike people; for hitherto there had been only the shows of the circus. However, this kind of performance was, as in general all beginnings are, but a trifling matter, and even that borrowed from abroad. Actors were sent for from Etruria, who, though without any poetical language, or any gestures correspondent to such language, yet regulating their motions by the measures of the music, exhibited, in the Tuscan manner, something far from ungraceful. The younger citizens soon began to imitate these; throwing out, at the same time, among each other, ludicrous expressions in coarse verses, and with gestures adapted to the words: this kind of performance then being received with approbation, in the course of frequent practice gained much improvement. The native performers were called *Histriones*, from the Tuscan word *Hister*, signifying a player; and they did not, as formerly, pronounce alternately, without regard to order, verses like the *Fescennine*, artless and unpolished, but represented comic medleys,<sup>1</sup> composed in regular

metre, with the several parts of the performance properly adjusted to the music; the delivery of the words and the gesticulation being performed in concert with the music. Several years after this, Livius, who was the first that ventured to lay aside medleys, and to digest a story into a regular plot, being also, as all were at that time, the actor of his own pieces; and, having broken his voice by being obliged to repeat them too often, after requesting the indulgence of the public, placed a boy before the musician, to chaunt,<sup>2</sup> while he himself performed the gesticulations. And this he executed with much freer action, because disengaged from attention to the management of his voice. Hence originated the practice of the chaunting being performed by another to the gesticulation of the actors, whose voices were eased of all but the dialogue. When, by this regulation, the scenic business was directed to other objects than laughter and intemperate mirth, and the amusement was by degrees converted into an art, the younger citizens, leaving to professed actors the exhibition of plays, began, according to the ancient practice, to throw out alternately ludicrous jests, comprised in verse, which thence got the name of *exodia*, or interludes, and were collected principally out of the *Atellan farces*.<sup>3</sup> This kind of entertainment, thus borrowed from *Oscia*, these younger citizens kept in their own hands, not suffering it to be debased by professed players. For this reason the rule was established, which is still observed, that the actors of these *Atellan farces* are not degraded from their tribe, and are capable of serving in the army, as if no way concerned in the business of the stage. Among the trifling beginnings of other matters, I thought it not amiss to give a view of the origin of theatrical exhibitions also, in order to show, from a moderate setting out, to what an intolerable extravagance they have proceeded; such extravagance, indeed, as scarcely to be supported by opulent kingdoms.

and other kinds of food, offered to Ceres, at the time of her festival, and was used to denote a poetic medley, comprising a variety of topics and matter. Livius Andronicus, a freed man of Marcus Livius Salinator, began to write about the year of Rome 512.

<sup>2</sup> It was customary at the end of every act to chaunt a set of verses, accompanied by the music, and with correspondent gesticulations.

<sup>3</sup> The *Atellan farces* were borrowed from *Atella*, a town in *Oscia*, which was a district of Campania, comprehending the two states of the *Auruncians* and *Sidicini*.

<sup>1</sup> *Satura* signified a dish filled with a variety of fruits,

III. However, this introduction of stage plays, intended as a pious expiation, neither relieved men's minds from religious dread, nor their bodies from the disorder : so far otherwise, that an inundation of the Tiber happening to overflow the circus, and to interrupt a play in the middle of the performance, that incident excited the utmost degree of terror, as it was deemed a token of the displeasure of the gods, and that they disdained the atonements offered to their wrath. Wherefore, in the next consulate, of Cneius Genucius, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus a second time, [Y. R. 392. B. C. 360.] people's minds being more harassed in searching for expiations, than their bodies by the sickness, it was collected, from the memory of some of the more aged, that a pestilence had formerly ceased, on the nail being driven by a dictator. The senate were so superstitious on the occasion, as to order a dictator to be appointed, for the purpose of driving the nail : Lucius Manlius Imperiosus was accordingly nominated, and he appointed Lucius Pinarius master of the horse. There is an obsolete law, written in antique letters and words, that whoever is supreme officer, should drive a nail on the ides of September. It used to be driven into the right side of the temple of Jupiter, supremely great and good, in that part where the statue of Minerva stands. This nail, it is said, served as a mark of the number of years elapsed, the use of letters being rare in those times ; and the law directed the ceremony to the temple of Minerva, because the use of numbers was an invention of that goddess. Cincius, a diligent inquirer into such monuments of antiquity, assures us, that there were to be seen, among the Volscians also, nails fixed in the temple of the Tuscan goddess Nortia, by which they kept account of the number of years. Marcus Horatius, being then consul, first performed this ceremony in obedience to the law, at the temple of Jupiter, supremely good and great, in the year after the expulsion of the kings. Afterwards, the solemnity of driving the nail was transferred from the consuls to a dictator, because this was a superior office : the custom was dropped in after times, but it was now deemed an affair of sufficient importance in itself, to require the nomination of a chief. Manlius, who was appointed for the purpose, as if he had been commissioned to manage the affairs of the state in general, and not merely to ac-

quit it of a religious duty, being ambitious of commanding an army against the Hernicians, harassed the youth by a rigorous severity in levying troops, until at length all the plebeian tribunes united to oppose him : and then overcome, either by force or shame, he resigned the dictatorship.

IV. Notwithstanding which, in the beginning of the next year, [Y. R. 393. B. C. 359.] Quintus Servilius Ahala, and Lucius Genucius a second time, being consuls, a criminal prosecution was commenced against Manlius, by Marcus Pomponius, a plebeian tribune. His rigour in the levies, which he had carried, not only to the fining of the citizens, but even to the wounding of their persons, (those who refused to answer to their names being some beaten with rods, others loaded with chains,) had excited a general hatred against him ; but more obnoxious than all were his impetuous temper, and the surname of Imperiosus, which he had assumed out of an ostentation of severity, a quality which appeared not more conspicuously in his behaviour to strangers, than to the persons most closely connected with him, and to those of his own blood.—One of the charges brought against him by the tribune, was, that “he had banished his son, a youth convicted of no dishonourable act, from the city, from his house, from his tutelar gods, from the forum ; prohibited him the enjoyment of the light, and of the conversation of his equals ; having reduced him to work like a slave, in a kind of prison or work-house, and thus had one of most distinguished birth, of dictatorian rank, learned, from his daily sufferings, that he was born of a father really imperious. And for what fault ? Because he was not endowed with eloquence, nor ready in discourse. And whether ought the father, if he had a particle of humanity in him, to apply gentle remedies to a natural defect, or to attempt to correct it by punishment, and cause it to be more noticed by a course of harsh treatment ? Even beasts, if any of their offspring chance to be unhappily formed, are nevertheless careful in nourishing and cherishing it. But Manlius aggravated the misfortune of his son, and clogged the slowness of his capacity with additional impediments ; and whatever spark of natural ability he possessed, took the method to extinguish it by accustoming him to a rustic life and clownish manners, keeping him among his cattle.”

V. By these charges every one was highly



incensed against Manlius, except the young man himself; on the contrary, grieving that he should be the cause of hatred and accusations against his parent, in order to demonstrate to gods and men that he wished support to his father, rather than to his enemies, he formed a design, which though not reconcilable to the rules of civil society, was yet commendable in its principle of filial duty. Having provided himself with a dagger, he came to the city, without the knowledge of any one, early in the morning, and proceeding directly to the house of Marcus Pomponius the tribune, told the porter that he wanted to see his master immediately, and desired him to acquaint him that Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius, was there. He was immediately introduced: for the other hoped that he came inflamed with resentment against his father, and had brought either some new matter for accusation, or some scheme for accomplishing the design. Manlius then, after mutual salutations, told him that he wished to confer with him, on some business, in private. All who were present being ordered to withdraw to a distance from the apartment, he drew his dagger, and standing over the couch with the weapon ready to strike, threatened to stab him that moment, if he did not swear, in the words which he should dictate, that he "never would hold a meeting of the commons for the purpose of prosecuting his father." The tribune, affrighted at seeing the steel glittering before his eyes, himself alone and unarmed, the other a young man, his superior in strength, and what was no less terrifying, full of savage ferocity from consciousness of his strength, swore in the terms enjoined him: and afterwards alleged this sorry proceeding, as his reason for desisting from his undertaking. Nor did the people conceive any displeasure at so bold an attempt of a son in behalf of his parent, although they would have been much better pleased to have had an opportunity of passing sentence on a culprit of such a cruel and tyrannical disposition; and it was thought the more commendable in him, that the excessive rigour of his father had not erased from his mind the love of him. Wherefore, besides the father being excused from standing a trial, that very affair was also productive of honours to the son; and on its being determined that year, for the first time, that the tribunes of the soldiers for the legions should be appointed by vote of the people, (for until then, the commanders used to

appoint them of their own authority, as they do at present those termed *Ruffuli*;) he obtained the second place among six, though not recommended to public favour by any merit, either in a civil or military line, having spent his youth in the country, and out of the way of any intercourse with the world.

VI. In the same year, we are told, the earth, near the middle of the forum, in consequence either of an earthquake, or some other violent cause, sunk down to an immense depth, forming a vast aperture; nor could the gulf be filled up by all the earth which they could throw into it, though every one exerted himself in bringing it thither, until, pursuant to advice of the gods, they set about inquiring what it was which constituted the principal strength of the Roman people; for, according to the responses of the soothsayers, that must be devoted to this place, if they wished that the Roman commonwealth should be everlasting. Then they tell us, that Marcus Curtius, a youth highly distinguished by his military exploits, reproved them for deliberating whether Rome was possessed of any greater good than arms and valour; and, on this, silence being made, throwing his eyes round to the temples of the gods within view of the forum, and to the capitol, and extending his hands, at one time towards heaven, at another, towards the infernal gods, through the gaping aperture of the earth he devoted himself as a victim. Then, having dressed himself in complete armour, and mounted a horse accoutred with the most gorgeous furniture which could be procured, he plunged into the opening, and the multitude, men and women, threw in over him their offerings, and quantities of the fruits of the earth; and thus it is said the lake received its name, and not, as is supposed by some, from Mettius Curtius, the ancient soldier of Titus Tatius. If there were any way of coming at the truth, no diligence should be wanting, on my part, in the pursuit of it: but now, when the distance of time precludes all certain evidence, we must abide by the reports of tradition, and account for the name of the lake from this latter fable. This great prodigy being expiated, the senate, during the same year, taking the affair of the Hernicians into consideration, voted, (after sending heralds to demand satisfaction, without effect) that on the first proper day, the sense of the people should be taken on the subject of a declaration of war against them; and the people,

in full assembly, ordered it. That province fell, by lot, to the consul Lucius Genucius: and now the whole state was in anxious suspense; because, being the first plebeian who, in quality of consul, was to wage war under his own auspices, the issue of the expedition would furnish an opportunity of judging of the wisdom or imprudence of introducing a community of honours. Fortune so ordered it, that Genucius marching against the enemy with a powerful force, fell into an ambush, where the legions being seized with a sudden panic, and routed, the consul was surrounded and slain by persons, who knew not at the time who they had killed. When the news of this was brought to Rome, the patricians, who were not so much grieved at the calamity of the public, as they were elated at the ill success attending the command of a plebeian consul, every where exclaimed, "Let them go now, and elect plebeian consuls; yet transfer the auspices, they could not without impiety. The patricians might indeed, by a vote of the people, be driven from the possession of their own peculiar honours; but had this inauspicious law been able to prevail likewise against the immortal gods? These had interposed to vindicate their own authority, their own auspices: for no sooner had these been defiled by a person prohibited by divine and human laws, than the destruction of their army, together with their commander, had given them warning, not to conduct elections in such a manner hereafter, as to confound the rights of birth." The senate-house and the forum resounded with such expressions. Appius Claudius, who had argued against the law, and therefore, with greater authority, blamed the people now for the issue of a scheme, of which he had manifested his disapprobation, was, at the general desire of the patricians, nominated dictator by the consul Servilius, and proclamation was issued for a levy and a cessation of business.

VII. Before the arrival of the dictator, and the new legions, at the place where the Hernicians lay, Caius Sulpicius, the lieutenant-general, who held the command, making use of an opportunity which offered, fought the enemy with brilliant success. After the death of the consul, the Hernicians had advanced towards the Roman camp, in a contemptuous manner, confident, beyond doubt, of becoming masters of it; on which, the soldiers, burning with rage and indignation, and encouraged by

the lieutenant-general, sallied out upon them. The Hernicians were so widely disappointed in their hopes of approaching the rampart, that they were obliged to retire in great confusion. Soon after, by the arrival of the dictator, the new army was joined to the old, and the forces doubled. The dictator, by bestowing commendations, in a public speech, on the lieutenant-general and the soldiers, by whose bravery the camp had been defended, animated still farther the courage of those, who heard their own praises justly set forth, and stimulated the rest to emulation of their merit. Nor were the preparations for action less vigorous on the side of the enemy; mindful of the honour which they had before acquired, and not ignorant of the addition to the strength of the Romans, they applied themselves to augment their own likewise. The whole Hernician race, every man of military age, was called out. Eight cohorts were formed, consisting each of four hundred men, the ablest which could be chosen out of all their number. This select body, the flower of their youth, they also filled with hope and spirits by a decree, that they should receive double pay: they were, besides, excused from military works, in order that, being reserved entirely for the single labour of fighting, they might be sensible that they ought to make exertions beyond what was expected from the generality of men: even an extraordinary post in the field was allotted them, that their valour might be the more conspicuous. A plain of two miles in breadth separated the Roman camp from that of the Hernicians; in the middle of this, the spaces being nearly equal on both sides, they came to an engagement. The fight was maintained, for some time, without any apparent advantage, the Roman cavalry making many fruitless attempts to disorder the enemy's line by their charge: but when they found that, acting as cavalry, they could produce no effect in proportion to their efforts, the horsemen, after first consulting the dictator, and obtaining his permission, dismounted from their horses, rushed forward, with a loud shout, before the line, and recommenced the fight in a new mode. Nor could they have been resisted, had not the extraordinary cohorts, their equals in vigour both of body and mind, thrown themselves in their way.

VIII. The contest then lay between the nobility of the two nations. Whatever the



common chance of war carried off from the one side or the other, was a loss to be estimated on a much higher scale than that of the numbers. The rest, an armed populace, as if they had delegated the fight to their nobles, rested the issue of their own cause on the bravery of the others. Many fell on both sides; more were wounded. At length the horsemen, chiding each other, began to ask, "In what manner they were to act next? since, neither on horseback had they made an impression on the enemy, nor on foot were performing any service of consequence? What other method of fighting did they wait for? To what purpose was their rushing forward so fiercely before the line, and their combating in a post which did not belong to them?" Animated by these mutual reproaches, they raised the shout anew, pressed forward, and compelled the enemy, first to shrink, then to give way, and at last fairly drove them off the field. It is not here easy to say what circumstance turned the advantage against strength so equally matched with their own; unless it were, that the fortune, which continually attended each nation, had power both to exalt and to depress courage. The Romans pursued the flying Hernicians to their camp; but they did not choose to attack it, because it was then late in the day. Some delay in finishing the sacrifices with success had detained the dictator, so that he could not give the signal before noon, and, in consequence, the battle had lasted until night. Next day, the camp of the Hernicians was found deserted, and many of their wounded left behind. Their main body, as they fled, was attacked by the Signians, who observing, as they passed by their walls, that their standards were but thinly attended, routed and dispersed them through the country in precipitate flight. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without bloodshed; a fourth part of their soldiers perished, and, what was a loss of no less importance, several of the Roman horsemen fell.

IX. In the year following, [Y. R. 394. B. C. 358.] the consuls, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Licinius Calvus, led an army against the Hernicians, and, not finding the enemy in the field, took Ferentinum, one of their cities, by storm; when, on their return from thence, the Tiburtians shut their gates against them. This behaviour finally determined the Romans, many complaints having been made on both sides, before this, to declare war against the people

of Tibur, after demanding satisfaction by heralds. We learn, from very good authority, that Titus Quintius Pennus was dictator this year, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis master of the horse. Macer Licinius writes, that he was nominated by the consul Licinius, for the purpose of holding the elections; because, observing that his colleague hastened the elections, in order to have them over before the commencement of the campaign, with design to procure his own re-election to the consulship, he judged it necessary to thwart his ambitious designs. This account, being calculated to enhance the honour of his own family, renders the authority of Licinius of the less weight; as I find no mention of that circumstance in the earlier annals, I am inclined to think, that the dictator was appointed rather on account of the Gallic war. There is no doubt that, in that year, the Gauls were encamped at the third stone on the Salarian road, at the farther side of the bridge of the Anio. The dictator having, in consequence of the alarm of a Gallic tumult, proclaimed a cessation of civil business, obliged all the younger citizens to take the military oath; and marching out of the city with a very powerful army, encamped on the hither bank of the Anio. The bridge lay between the armies, neither party choosing to break it down, lest it should be construed as an indication of fear. Frequent skirmishes were fought for the possession of the bridge, but so indecisive, that it could not be clearly discovered to which party it belonged. While affairs were in this posture, a Gaul, of a stature remarkably large, advanced on the bridge, then unoccupied; and, with a loud voice, called out, "Let the bravest man that Rome can produce, come forth here to battle, that the event of a combat between us two may determine which of the nations is to be held superior in war."

X. The young Roman nobility were for a long time silent, ashamed to refuse the challenge, yet unwilling to claim the first post of danger. Then Titus Manlius, son of Lucius, the same who had freed his father from the persecution of the tribune, advancing from his station to the dictator, said, "General, I would on no account leave my post to fight without your orders, not though I should see a certain prospect of victory: but if you permit me, I wish to show that brute, who makes such an insolent parade in the front of the enemy's army, that I am sprung from that family which

beat down an army of Gauls from the Tarpeian rock." The dictator answered, "Titus Manlius, I honour your bravery, and your dutiful regard to your father, and to your country; go, and with the help of the gods, show the Roman name invincible." The youth was then armed by his companions, took a footman's shield, and girded on a Spanish sword, adapted to close fight. As soon as they had fitted on his armour and ornaments, they conducted him out towards the Gaul, who showed a savage joy, and (the ancients have thought that circumstance also worth mention) even thrust out his tongue in derision. They then retired to their posts, and the two champions were left in the middle space, in the manner of a spectacle, rather than according to the rules of combat, very unequally matched, in the eyes of such as judged by sight and appearance. The one had a body of enormous size, glittering in a vest of various colours, having armour painted and inlaid with gold: the other was of the middle stature among soldiers, and his mien devoid of ostentation, in arms calculated for ready use more than for show. On his side there was no song of defiance, no capering, or vain flourishing of arms, but his breast, replete with resolution and silent rage, reserved all its fierceness for the decision of the contest. They took their ground between the two armies, while the minds of such great numbers of men on both sides, were suspended between hope and fear. The Gaul, like some huge mass, ready to crush the other under it, stretching forward his shield with his left hand, discharged an ineffectual blow on the edge of his sword, with great noise, on the armour of Manlius, as he approached; while the Roman pushing aside the lower part of his antagonist's shield with his own, and, insinuating himself between that and his body, closed in with him in such a manner, as to be in no danger of a wound. He then raised the point of his sword, and with one, and then a second thrust, piercing the belly and groin of his foe, laid him prostrate on the ground, of which he covered a vast extent. The body, without offering it any other indignity, he despoiled of a chain only, which, bloody as it was, he threw round his own neck. Astonishment and dismay held the Gauls motionless. The Romans, in rapture, advanced from their posts to meet their champion, and with congratulations and praises conducted him to the dictator. Among the unpolished jests which they threw out, according to the

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soldier's custom, composed in a manner somewhat resembling verses, the appellation *Torquatus* was heard joined with his name; which, being generally adopted, has since done honour to the descendants of that whole line. The dictator also presented him with a golden crown, and, in a public speech, extolled the action in the highest terms.

XI. In fact, that combat was of so great consequence with respect to the general issue of the campaign, that on the night following the army of the Gauls, abandoning their camp in hurry and confusion, removed into the territory of Tibur; and from thence, soon after, into Campania, having first concluded an alliance with the Tiburtians, for the purpose of carrying on the war, and received from them liberal supplies of provisions. This was the reason, that in the next year [Y. R. 395. B. C. 357.] Caius Pœtelius Balbus, consul, notwithstanding that province of the Hernicians had fallen to the lot of his colleague Marcus Fabius Ambustus, led an army, by order of the people, against the Tiburtians, to whose assistance the Gauls came back from Campania, and dreadful ravages were committed in the territories of Lavici, Tusculum, and Alba, in which the Tiburtians openly took the lead. Though the state had been content with a consul at the head of the army, against such an enemy as the Tiburtians, the alarm of a Gallic war made it requisite, that a dictator should be created. Quintus Servilius Ahala being accordingly appointed, he nominated Titus Quintius master of the horse; and, by direction of the senate, vowed to celebrate the great games, if in that war he should be crowned with success. The dictator then, ordering the consular army to remain where it was, in order to keep the Tiburtians at home, by obliging them to employ their arms in their own defence, enlisted all the younger citizens, none declining the service. A battle was fought with the enemy at no great distance from the Colline gate, in which the entire strength of the city was employed, in the sight of their parents, wives, and children. Such incitements to courage as the preservation of their dearest relatives, which operate powerfully even when those relatives are absent, being now placed before their eyes, roused every sentiment of honour and every feeling of affection. After great slaughter on both sides, the army of the Gauls was at length defeated. They directed their flight

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towards Tibur, which the Gauls considered as the grand stay of the war; but being met in disorder, not far from that city, by the consul Pœtelius and the Tiburtians marching out to their aid, they were all driven within the gates. Thus both the dictator and the consul conducted their operations most successfully. Fabius likewise, the other consul, at first, in slight skirmishes, and at last, in one remarkable engagement, wherein the Hernicians attacked him with their whole force, entirely defeated them. The dictator, after passing magnificent encomiums on the consuls, and declining in their favour the honours due to his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorship. Pœtelius enjoyed a double triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtians. Fabius was contented with entering the city in ovation. The Tiburtians treated the triumph of Pœtelius with derision; for, "where" they asked, "had he tried their strength in the field? a few of their people, who had gone out at the gates, as spectators of the flight and confusion of the Gauls, on finding themselves also attacked, and that every one who came in the way was slain without distinction, had retired into the city. Did the Romans deem this a matter worthy of a triumph? They had thought it a great and marvellous exploit to raise a tumult at an enemy's gates, but they should soon experience greater trepidation round their own walls."

XII. Accordingly in the year following, [Y. R. 396. B. C. 356.] when Marcus Popilius Lænas, and Cneius Manlius, were consuls, setting out from Tibur in the dead of the night, with forces prepared for action, they came to the city of Rome, where the people, being roused hastily from sleep, were filled with consternation, by the suddenness of the affair, and the alarm happening in the night, great numbers also being ignorant who were the enemy or whence they came. However, they quickly ran to arms, posted guards at the gates, and manned the walls; and when day-break showed no other enemy before the city but the Tiburtians, and those not very considerable, the consuls marching out by two different gates, attacked their army on both flanks as they were just advancing to the walls. It then appeared, that they had come with greater reliance on the opportunity for a surprise, than on their own valour; for they scarcely withstood the first onset of the Romans. Their coming proved, in the event, even fortunate to the Romans, a dissension

which was on the point of breaking out between the patricians and plebeians being suppressed by their apprehensions from a war so near at home. Another irruption into their territory, and by another enemy, succeeded this; more terrible, however, to the country, than to the city. The Tarquinians overran the Roman frontiers, committing depredations, principally, on the side contiguous to Etruria: and, after restitution had been demanded in vain, the new consuls, Caius Fabius, and Caius Plautius, by order of the people, declared war against them: that province fell to Fabius, the Hernicians to Plautius. [Y. R. 397. B. C. 355.] A rumour of a Gallic war also prevailed. But amid these causes of apprehension, they derived some consolation in a peace with the Latines, granted at their own request, and also from a large supply of soldiers sent by that nation in compliance with an ancient treaty, the terms of which had been disregarded for many years past. This addition of strength was such an effectual support to the cause of the Romans, that they heard with the less concern, soon after, that the Gauls had come to Preneste, and afterwards, that they were encamped near Pedum. It was determined that Caius Sulpicius should be created dictator; he was accordingly nominated by the consul, Caius Plautius, who was called home for the purpose; and Marcus Valerius was appointed master of the horse. These led against the Gauls the ablest of the soldiers, chosen out of the two consular armies. This war proved much more tedious than was suitable to the views of either party. At first, the Gauls only were in haste to come to an engagement; but, in a little time, the Roman soldiery far surpassed them in their eagerness for the fight. The dictator thought it highly improper, when no urgent occasion required it, to hazard a battle against an enemy, whose strength time and an incommodious situation would daily impair, while they lay there inactive, without either a magazine of provisions, or a fortification, of any strength; and who were, besides, of such a constitution, both of body and mind, that their whole force consisted in brisk exertions, but flagged on a short delay. On these considerations, the dictator protracted the war, and denounced a severe punishment if any should engage without orders. With this the soldiers were highly displeased, censuring, in their private conversations, sometimes the dictator, and sometimes the senate in

general, for not having ordered the war to be conducted by the consuls. "An excellent general," they said, "had been chosen, an extraordinary commander, who expected, that, without any effort, victory would fly down from heaven into his lap." Afterwards, they began openly in the day to utter the same expressions, and others still more outrageous, saying, that, "without regarding the general's orders, they would either fight the enemy, or go in a body to Rome." The centurions, too, mixed themselves with the soldiers; nor did they confine their murmurs to their own circles, but at length, in the head quarters, and about the general's tent, uttered their sentiments in one general confused clamour: until, the crowd increasing to the size of a general assembly, it was at last shouted from every side, that they should go that instant to the dictator, and that Sextus Tullius should speak in behalf of the army, in such manner as became his courage.

XIII. Tullius was now, the seventh time, in the post of first centurion of a legion; nor was there a man in the army, at least among the infantry, more eminently distinguished by his behaviour. At the head of the body of the soldiery, he proceeded to the tribunal, and whilst Sulpicius wondered not more at the crowd, than at Tullius, a soldier most remarkable for obedience to command, being the leader of that crowd, he addressed him thus:—"Dictator, permit me to inform you, that the whole army, thinking themselves condemned, in your judgment, as cowards, and kept without arms, almost as if they had been sentenced to ignominy, have entreated me to plead their cause before you. In truth, could it even be objected to us, that, on any occasion, we had deserted our post, turned our backs to an enemy, or shamefully lost our standards, I think we might, notwithstanding, reasonably expect to obtain so much favour from you, as that you would allow us by our bravery to atone for our fault; and by a new acquisition of glory, to blot out the memory of our disgrace. Even the legions, defeated at the Allia, marching out afterwards from Veii, recovered by their valour the country which they had lost through cowardice. We, by the blessing of the gods, your good fortune, and that of the Roman people, have both our cause and our glory unimpaired; although I scarcely dare to mention glory, whilst the enemy scoff at us with every kind of in-

sult, as hiding ourselves, like women, behind a rampart. And what grieves us still more, is, that you, our general, should entertain so mean an opinion of your army, as to suppose us without spirit, without arms, without hands; and that, before you have made any trial of our strength, you should despair of us, as if you considered yourself the commander of a set of maimed and disabled men. For what else can we believe to be the reason, that you, a general of long experience, remarkable for spirit in war, sit, as the saying is, with folded hands? But however this may be, it is fitter that you should doubt our courage than we yours. If, however, this plan be not your own; if it be enjoined by public authority; and if some scheme concerted among the patricians, and not the Gallic war, detains us in banishment from the city, and from our homes, I beseech you, that what I say on this head, you will not consider as spoken by soldiers to their general, but to the patricians by the commons, who declare, that as ye have your separate plans, so will they have theirs. In such case, who can blame us, if we look on ourselves as your soldiers, not as your slaves; as men sent to war, not into exile; as men who, if any one were to give the signal and lead them to the field, would fight as becomes Romans; but who, if there were no occasion for their arms, would rather pass a time of peace at Rome, than in a camp? Let this be deemed as addressed to the patricians. Of you, general, we, your soldiers, entreat that you will give us an opportunity of fighting. We wish to conquer, and under your command; to present you with distinguished laurels; to enter the city with you in triumph, and following your chariot with congratulations and rejoicings, to approach the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great." The speech of Tullius was followed by the entreaties of the multitude, who, from every side, loudly requested that he would give the signal, that he would order them to take arms.

XIV. This proceeding, however laudable in its principle, was yet conducted in a manner which the dictator could by no means approve. He yet undertook to comply with the wishes of the soldiers; and, inquired of Tullius in private, what sort of transaction this was, and on what precedent they had acted? Tullius earnestly besought Sulpicius to believe that he had not forgotten either his duty as a soldier, or the



high respect due to his general : assuring him that " his reason for not declining to put himself at the head of the incensed soldiery, who were all actuated by the same spirit, was, lest some other might stand forth, and such as a multitude in commotion generally appoint. That, as to himself, most certainly, he would do nothing without the direction of the general ; on whom, nevertheless, it was highly incumbent to use every precaution on his part, for retaining the army in obedience to command. That minds so exasperated would not brook delay, and that they would themselves choose a time and place for fighting, if not granted to them by the general." While they were talking in this manner, it happened that as a Gaul was attempting to drive off some cattle that were feeding on the outside of the rampart, two Roman soldiers took them from him. Stones were thrown by the Gauls, then a shout was raised at the next Roman post, and several ran out from both sides. The affair was now likely to end in a general battle, had not the contest been quickly stopped by the centurions. This accident, however, served to confirm the testimony of Tullius in the judgment of the dictator : and the matter admitting no farther delay, notice was given that they were to fight on the day following. The dictator, however, as he was going out to the field, confiding in the courage more than in the numbers of his men, began to look about and study how he might, by some artifice, strike terror into the enemy. His sagacious mind struck out a new device, which many commanders, both of our own and foreign nations, have since practised, some even in our times. He ordered the panniers to be taken off from the mules, two side-cloths only being left on each, and on these he mounted the muleteers dressed up in arms, of which some had been taken from the enemy, the rest belonged to the sick. Having thus equipped about one thousand of these, he mixed with them an hundred horsemen, and ordered them to go up during the night, into the mountains above the camp, to conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence, until they should receive a signal from him. As soon as day appeared, he began to extend his line along the bottom of the mountain, with the purpose of making the enemy draw up with their faces towards the ascent : he thus completed his preparatory measures for infusing terror, which terror, groundless as it was, proved rather more serviceable to him,

than his real strength. The leaders of the Gauls at first believed that the Romans would not come down to the plain : afterwards, when they saw them begin on a sudden to descend, they also, on their part, eager for the contest, rushed on to battle, and the fight began before the signal had been given by the generals.

XV. The Gauls made their fiercest attack on the right wing, which would not have been able to withstand them, had not the dictator happened to be on the spot, who reproached Sextus Tullius by name, and asked him, " Was that the manner in which he had engaged that the soldiers should fight ? Where were those shouts, with which they had demanded arms ? Where their threats that they would engage without the general's orders ? Behold their general now, calling them with a loud voice to battle, and advancing in arms before the front of the line. Would any of those follow him, who just now were to have led the way ; fierce in the camp, but dastardly in the field ?" These reproaches were just ; the men were, therefore, so deeply stung with shame, that, totally regardless of danger, they rushed against the weapons of their adversaries. This onset, made with a degree of madness, first disordered the enemy ; and the cavalry charging them while in disorder, forced them to give way. Sulpicius, when he saw their line wavering on that side, went round with some troops to the left wing, where he observed them collected in a close body, and gave the signal agreed on to those who were stationed on the mountains ; whereupon a new shout was raised on that quarter also, and they were seen coming down the mountain in an oblique direction towards the camp of the Gauls ; these, then, dreading lest they should be cut off from their camp, ceased fighting, and ran towards it with precipitation ; but being met in the way by Marcus Valerius, the master of the horse, who, after having routed their left wing, was pushing forward to the intrenchment, they turned their flight towards the mountains and woods. Here the greater part of them were intercepted by the muleteers, who personated horsemen ; and of those, whose fears had carried them into the woods, a terrible slaughter was made, after the battle was ended. Nor did any one, since Camillus, obtain a more complete triumph over the Gauls than Caius Sulpicius. From the spoils he consecrated a very large quantity of gold, in the capitol, inclosing it within a wall of hewn stone. The same

year, the consuls also engaged with the enemy, but with different success; for the Hernicians were entirely defeated, and subdued by Caius Plautius: whereas Fabius, his colleague, came to an engagement with the Tarquinians without caution or prudence. Nor was the loss sustained in the field, on the occasion, so much to be regretted, as that the Tarquinians put to death three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, their prisoners; by which barbarity the disgrace of the Roman people was rendered the more conspicuous. To this disaster were added devastations of the Roman territories, made, in sudden incursions, by the Privernatians, and afterwards, by the people of Velitræ. This year two tribes, the Pomptine and Publilian, were added to the others. The votive games vowed by Marcus Furius Camillus, in his dictatorship, were performed. And a law was now first proposed to the people by Caius Pætilius, plebeian tribune, in pursuance of the directions of the senate, concerning the corrupting of voters at elections, by the passing of which they thought a sufficient restraint was laid on the vicious practices of new men particularly, who had been accustomed to frequent the markets, and other places of meeting, for that purpose.

XVI. Nor equally pleasing to the patricians was a law, carried in the year following, [Y. R. 398. B. C. 354.] when Caius Marcius and Cneius Manlius were consuls, by Marcus Duilius, and Lucius Mænius, plebeian tribunes, fixing the interest of money at the rate of twelve for each hundred by the year, and which the commons admitted, and passed with much the greater eagerness. In addition to the wars determined on in the foregoing year, a new one arose with the Faliscians; against whom, two charges were made: first, that their youth had fought in conjunction with the Tarquinians; the second, that they had refused, on the demand of the Roman heralds, to restore these soldiers, who, after the defeat, had escaped to Falerii. That province fell to Cneis Manlius. Marcius led an army into the territory of Privernum, which was in a flourishing state, and abounding in plenty, through a long continuance of peace; and there he enriched his soldiers with abundance of spoil. To the great quantity of effects, he added an act of munificence; for, by sequestering no part for the use of the public, he favoured the soldier in the acquisition of private property. The Privernians having

taken post in a strongly fortified camp under their walls, he called the soldiers to an assembly, and said to them, "I now bestow upon you the spoil of the camp and city of the enemy, provided ye promise me, that ye will exert yourselves with bravery in the field, and show that ye are not better disposed to plunder than to fight." They called for the signal with loud shouts; and, full of spirits and with the utmost confidence, advanced to battle. There Sextus Tullius, whom we mentioned above, called out in the front of the line, "General, behold how your troops perform their promises to you." Then, laying aside his javelin, he rushed forward with his drawn sword. The whole van followed Tullius, and, by their first onset, overthrew the enemy, thence pursuing them as they fled to the town; and, when they were just raising the scaling ladders to the walls, the city surrendered. A triumph was performed over the Privernians. By the other consul nothing memorable was done, only that, holding an assembly of the tribes in the camp at Sutrium, a proceeding unprecedented, he procured a law to be passed concerning the twentieth of the value of persons set free by manumission. As this law produced no small increase of revenue to the treasury, which was very low, the senate gave it their approbation. However, the plebeian tribunes, not so much displeased with the rule as with the precedent, had a law enacted, by which it was made a capital offence for any person in future, to hold an assembly of the people, at a distance from the city: for they said, "if that were allowed, there was nothing, how prejudicial soever to the community, which might not be passed into a law by soldiers sworn to obey their consuls." This year, Caius Licinius Stolo, being prosecuted on his own law, by Marcus Popillius Lænas, was fined ten thousand *asses*,<sup>1</sup> for holding in partnership with his son a thousand acres of land, and for attempting, by emancipating his son, to elude the law.

1 32l. 5s. 10d.

2 The method of emancipating a son was this: the father made a fictitious sale of his son to a person, who then manumitted, i. e. gave him his freedom in due form; and this process, being performed thrice, released the son from the jurisdiction of the father. It has been already mentioned, that fathers had an entire property in, and jurisdiction, even to life and death, over their sons, who were in a condition little, if at all, better than that of slaves. One sale and manumission released a daughter, or a grandchild.



XVII. The new consuls who succeeded, [Y. R. 399. B. C. 353.] Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popillius Lænas, both a second time, had two wars on their hands, one with the Tiburtians of no great difficulty, in which Lænas commanded, who, after forcing the enemy to take shelter in their town, laid waste their country: the other consul was routed, in the beginning of the fight, by the Faliscians and Tarquinians. These contrived to excite the greatest terrors by means of their priests, who, carrying lighted torches and the figures of serpents, and advancing with the gestures of furies, utterly disconcerted the Roman soldiers by their extraordinary appearance; so that they ran back to their entrenchments, in all the hurry of dismay, like men seized with frenzy or thunder-struck. Afterwards when the consuls, lieutenant-generals, and tribunes, began to ridicule and upbraid them for being frightened like children at strange sights, which could do them no injury, shame wrought such a sudden change in their minds, that they rushed, as if blindfold, on those very objects from which they had fled. Having quickly dispersed those insignificant instruments of the enemy, and fallen in with those who were in arms, they drove their whole line from the field, and before the day was at an end, getting possession of their camp, where they found an immense booty, returned to their own with victory, uttering ludicrous reflections, in the military style, both on the stratagem of the enemy and their own fright. The whole Etrurian nation then rose up in arms, and, headed by the Tarquinians and Faliscians, advanced as far as Salinæ. To make head against such an alarming force, Caius Marcius Rutilus was nominated dictator, the first plebeian who held that office, and he chose, for his master of the horse, Caius Plutius, a plebeian likewise. It excited great indignation in the minds of the patricians, that the dictatorship, along with the other offices, should now become common, and they laboured, with all their might, to prevent any thing requisite to the war from being decreed or prepared for the dictator; for which reason the people ordered, with the greater readiness, every thing which the dictator proposed. Marching his forces from the city on both sides of the Tiber, and transporting his troops on rafts, occasionally, as his intelligence of the enemy required, he surprised many of their straggling parties, scattered over the

country in search of plunder: attacking their camp also by surprise, he made himself master of it; and eight thousand of the enemy being made prisoners, and the rest either slain or driven out of the Roman territory, he triumphed by order of the people, contrary to the approbation of the senate. The nobility, being unwilling that the election of consuls should be held either by a plebeian dictator or consul, and the other consul, Fabius, being detained abroad by the war, an interregnum took place. There were then interreges, in succession, Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius, Cneius Manlius, Caius Fabius, Caius Sulpicius, Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. In the second interregnum, a contention arose on account of two patricians being elected consuls; and on the tribunes protesting, the interrex Fabius said, that "was set down in the twelve tables, that whatever the people ordered last, that should be law, and in force; and that the people's votes were their orders." The tribunes not being able, by their protest, to obtain any other advantage, than that of putting off the election, two patricians were at length chosen consuls, [Y. R. 400. B. C. 352.] Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola, and on the same day entered into office.

XVIII. In the four hundredth year from the building of the city of Rome, and the thirty-fifth since its recovery from the Gauls, the consulship was taken out of the hands of the commons, at the end of eleven years; and consuls, who were both patricians, the interregnum ceasing, entered on their office, Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola. During this year, Emulum was taken from the Tiburtians without much difficulty; but whether this was owing, as some writers assert, to the war being waged there under the auspices of both consuls; or, whether it arose from the lands of the Tarquinians being wasted by the consul Sulpicius, at the same time that Valerius led his legions against the Tiburtians, is uncertain. The consuls, however, had a more difficult contest to maintain at home against the commons and tribunes. As they were both patricians, they thought themselves bound, as well in regard to their honour as to their resolution, to deliver the consulships over to two patricians likewise: for that if the consulship were now made a plebeian magistracy, they must yield it for ever.

They therefore held it proper to retain entire a right, which they had received entire from their fathers. The commons, on the other hand, made loud remonstrances; "Why did they live? Why were they reckoned in the number of citizens, if they could not maintain by their united efforts, what had been procured by the firmness of two men, Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius? It were better to endure kings or decemvirs, or, if such there were, any title of government still more obnoxious, than to have both their consuls of the patrician order, and not to be allowed to command and obey in turn. Shall one half of the citizens be placed in perpetual command, and think the commons born for no other purpose than to be their slaves?" The tribunes were not remiss in fomenting these disorders; but all were in such a ferment, that hardly were any distinguished particularly as leaders. After they had several times gone down to the field of election to no purpose, and after many days of meeting had been wasted in debates, the commons, being at last overcome by the perseverance of the consuls, took this method of venting their resentment at the disappointment: the tribunes exclaimed, that there was an end of liberty, and that now they ought to leave not only the field, but the city also, since it was held under captivity and oppression by the arbitrary power of the patricians; and then they were followed by the plebeians in a melancholy crowd. The consuls, though deserted by a part of the people, yet, nevertheless, with the small number who remained, finished the election. [Y. R. 401. B. C. 351.] Both the consuls appointed were patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a third time, and Titus Quintius. In some annals I find, instead of Titus Quintius, Marcus Popillius consul.

XIX. Two wars were carried on this year with success. The Tiburtians were reduced by force of arms to submission; the city of Sassula was taken from them; and the rest of their towns would have shared the same fate, had not the whole nation laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves to the consul. He triumphed over the Tiburtians. In other respects, the victory was used with much moderation: but the Tarquinians were treated with rigorous severity. After a great slaughter had been made of them in the field, there were chosen out of the vast number of prisoners, three hundred and fifty-eight of the most dis-

tinguished birth, to be sent to Rome: the rest of the multitude were put to the sword; nor were the people more merciful to those who were sent to Rome: they were all beaten with rods, and beheaded in the middle of the forum. Such was the punishment retaliated on the enemy, in return for their murdering the Romans in the forum of Tarquinii. These successes in war induced the Samnites to solicit their friendship: their ambassadors received a courteous answer, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with them. The Roman commons did not experience the same prosperity at home as in war; for although the burthen of interest-money had been lightened, by fixing the rate at one for the hundred, the poor were unequal to the discharge of the principal alone, and were put in confinement by their creditors. The thoughts of the commons, therefore, were so much engrossed by their private distresses, as to exclude all solicitude about both the consuls being patricians, or the business of elections, or any party concerns. [Y. R. 402. B. C. 350.] The consulate therefore remained with the patricians, and Caius Sulpicius Peticus a fourth time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola a second time, were elected. While the state was occupied with the Etrurian war, entered on in consequence of a report prevailing that the people of Cære, out of compassion to their relations, had joined the Tarquinians; ambassadors from the Latines diverted their attention to the Volscians, bringing information that these had enlisted and armed a number of troops, with which they threatened to invade their borders, whence they would certainly carry forward their depredations into the Roman territories. The senate therefore determined not to neglect either affair; they ordered legions to be enlisted for both purposes, and the consuls to cast lots for their provinces. The greater share of their attention was afterwards directed to the Etrurian war, when it was discovered, from the letters of the consul Sulpicius, to whose lot Tarquinii had fallen as his province, that the country round the Roman Salinæ had been laid waste; that part of the plunder had been conveyed into the country of the Cæritians; and that the young men of that nation were certainly among the plunderers. Wherefore, recalling the consul Valerius, who had been sent to oppose the Volscians, and was then encamped on the frontiers of Tusculum, the senate ordered him to nominate a dic-



tator. He nominated Titus Manlius, son of Lucius, who, having appointed Aulus Cornelius Cossus his master of the horse, and thinking the consular army sufficient, with the approbation of the senate, and by order of the people, declared war against the Cæritians.

XX. These were then first seized with real dread of a war, not considering that the Romans were provoked to it by the ravages committed on their territory. They perceived how unequal their own strength was to such a contest, repented heartily of their depredations, and cursed the Tarquinians, the advisers of their revolt. Nor did any entertain a thought of arms and hostilities, but every one earnestly recommended that ambassadors should be sent to solicit pardon of their error. Their ambassadors having applied to the senate, and being by them referred to the people, implored the gods, whose sacred property they had taken into their care in the Gallic war, and treated with all due reverence, that the Romans, in their present flourishing state, might feel for them the same commiseration which they had formerly felt for the Roman people in their distress; and, turning to the temple of Vesta, appealed to the bonds of hospitality subsisting between themselves and the priests and vestals, to the forming of which they had contributed on their part with pure and religious zeal: "Could any one believe, that people who had such merits to plead, would, on a sudden, without reason, commence enemies? Or, if they had been guilty of some hostile act, that it was design, and not rather mistake occasioned by frenzy, that could induce them to act in such a manner, as would cancel their ancient kindnesses by recent injuries: especially as those, on whom they were conferred, had shown so grateful a sense of them? Could it be supposed, that they would choose to themselves, as an enemy, the Roman people, while flourishing in prosperity, and most successful in arms, with whom, when oppressed by calamities, they had formed a friendship? Let them not call that a studied matter, which really arose from necessity. The Tarquinians, marching through their territory in hostile array, although they had asked for nothing but a passage, compelled some of their peasants to accompany them in that predatory expedition, the guilt of which was now charged on them. If it were the pleasure of the Romans, that these should be delivered into their hands, they

were ready to deliver them; or, if that they should be punished, they would inflict the punishment. They then entreated, that Cære, the sanctuary of the public worship of the Roman people, the refuge of its priests, and the receptacle of Rome's sacred effects, might, out of regard to the rights of hospitality contracted with the vestals, and to the gods whose worship was there preserved, be left unhurt, and unstained with the imputation of having commenced hostilities." The people were moved, not so much by the merits of the present case, as by their old deserts, to overlook the injury, rather than the kindness. Peace was therefore granted to the people of Cære, and a resolution passed, that it should be referred to the senate to pass a decree, granting them a truce of an hundred years. The force of the war was then meant to be turned against the Faliscians, who were guilty of the same crime; but the enemy were no where to be found. Depredations were made in all parts of their country, but it was not thought proper to besiege the towns; and, the legions being brought home to Rome, the remainder of the year was spent in repairing the walls and the towers: the temple of Apollo was also dedicated.

XXI. In the latter end of the year, a dispute between the patricians and plebeians suspended the election of consuls; for the tribunes declared, that they would not suffer it to be held, unless conformably to the Licinian law, and Manlius was obstinately determined rather to abolish the consulship entirely out of the state, than to lay it open to all promiscuously. The election therefore being frequently adjourned, and the dictator going out of office, the matter ended in an interregnum. The interreges found the commons highly incensed against the patricians, so that the contest between the parties was prolonged to the eleventh interrex. The pretext of the tribunes was, the support of the Licinian law. The commons had a cause of uneasiness in a matter which touched them more nearly, the increasing weight of interest money; and the ill temper, contracted from their private grievances, broke out in the public disputes, of which the patricians became so wearied, that for concord's sake, they ordered the interrex Lucius Cornelius Scipio to conform to the Licinian law in the election of consuls. [Y. R. 403. B. C. 349.] To Publius Valerius Publicola, a plebeian colleague was

assigned, Caius Marcius Rutilus. When a disposition to harmony once began to prevail, the new consuls directed their endeavours to the procuring relief in the affair of interest money also, which seemed the only obstacle in the way of universal quiet; accordingly they made the payment of the debts a public concern, appointing five commissioners for the management thereof, whom, from their dealing out the money, they called bankers. These, by their equity and diligence, rendered themselves deserving of having their names recorded with honour in every history of the times. They were Caius Duilius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius and Titus Æmilius, who went through a business of a most difficult nature, (at first dissatisfactory, in general, to both parties, always certainly to one) with moderation, and, moreover, at the expense of the public rather than of the creditors: for the more tardy debts, and such as were rendered troublesome, rather by unwillingness than want of ability in the debtors to satisfy them, were either discharged by the treasury, on security being first given to the public (tables being placed in the forum with money for the purpose); or were settled by composition, after an equitable valuation of the effects of the debtor. So that not only without injury, but finally without complaint from any party was an immense amount of debts cleared off. After this, a false alarm of an Etrurian war, grounded on a rumour that the twelve states had conspired to that purpose, occasioned the nomination of a dictator. Caius Julius was appointed in the camp, for the decree of senate was sent thither to the consuls, and Lucius Æmilius was joined as master of the horse. However every thing abroad remained in quiet.

XXII. At home, an attempt made by Julius, to procure the election of two patricians to the consulship, brought the government to an interregnum. The two intermediate interreges, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Fabius, effected what the dictator had endeavoured in vain, the election of consuls out of the patricians, the temper of the commons being now appeased by the late kindness shown them in the lightening of their debts. Caius Sulpicius Pæticus himself, who was the first interrex, and now out of office, was chosen with Titus Quintius Pennus. [Y. R. 404. B. C. 348.] Some give the surname of Cælo, others that of Caius, to Quintius. They both marched against the

enemy: Quintius against the Faliscians, Sulpicius against the Tarquinians; and, not meeting either enemy in the field, turned the rage of war on the lands, plundering and burning every thing throughout the country: by which kind of operations, as by a slow consumption, both those states were so enfeebled, that they were obliged to abate of their obstinacy, and send to request a truce; first, from the consuls, and afterwards, with their permission, from the senate: they obtained one for forty years. The public being thus freed from all concern about the two nations which threatened their quiet, it was resolved, that, while they enjoyed some repose from war, a general survey should be made, on account of the many alterations in property, caused by the payment of the debts. But when the assembly was proclaimed for the appointing of censors, Caius Marcius Rutilus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, declaring himself a candidate for the censorship, disturbed the harmony of the public: and this step he seemed to have taken at an unfavourable juncture, because it happened that both the consuls were then patricians, who declared that they would not allow his pretensions. However, he effected his purpose, partly through his own resolute perseverance, and partly through the aid of the tribunes; for they supported him, with their utmost power, in the recovery of a right which they had lost in the election of consuls. Besides, as the worth of the man himself set him on a level with any of the highest honours, so the commons were also desirous that their title to a share in the censorship should be established through the same person who had opened their way to the dictatorship. At the election no dissent was shown to the appointment of Marcius along with Cneius Manlius. There was likewise a dictator appointed this year, Marcus Fabius; not in consequence of any alarm of war, but to prevent the observance of the Licinian law in the choice of consuls. The dictatorship, however, gave no greater efficacy to this scheme of the patricians, as to the election of consuls, than it had in that of censors.

XXIII. Marcus Popillius Lænas was chosen consul on the part of the commons, Lucius Cornelius Scipio on that of the patricians. [Y. R. 405. B. C. 347.] Fortune even threw the greater share of lustre on the plebeian consul: for, on the receipt of intelligence that a vast army of Gauls had pitched their camp in



the Latine territory, Scipio then labouring under a heavy fit of sickness, the Gallic war was given out, of course, to Popillius.—He levied forces with great diligence, ordered the younger citizens to assemble in arms at the temple of Mars, outside the Capuan gate, and the quaestors to carry out the standards from the treasury to the same place; and, having completed four legions, gave the surplus of the men to the prætor Publius Valerius Publicola; recommending it to the senate, to raise another army as a reserve against the uncertain contingencies of war. Then, having completed every necessary preparation and arrangement, he proceeded towards the enemy. In order to acquire a knowledge of their strength, before he should hazard a decisive action, he began to form an intrenchment on a hill, the nearest possible to the camp of the Gauls. These being of a race naturally fierce and eager for fighting, as soon as they saw the Roman standards at a distance, drew out their forces in order for battle, as if they were immediately to engage; but, when the opposite army did not descend to the plain, (the Romans being secure both from the height of the ground, and by intrenchments,) imagining that they were dispirited with fear, and also that they might be attacked with greater advantage, being particularly busy on their fortifications, they advanced with a furious shout. On the side of the Romans, the works suffered no interruption, the veterans being the persons employed therein; but the battle was supported by the younger soldiers and spearmen, who had been formed in front of the others, armed and ready for the fight. Besides their own superior valour, the Romans had the advantage of the higher ground, so that the spears and javelins did not all fall without effect, as is generally the case when thrown on the same level, but flying with the greater force and steadiness, by means of their own weight, almost every one of them took effect; so that the Gauls were weighed down with the weapons with which they either had their bodies transfixed, or their shields rendered too heavy for them to support, from the number sticking in them. Though they had advanced against the steep, almost in full speed at first, yet they became irresolute, and halted. This delay abated their courage, while it augmented that of the opposite party; they were then pushed backwards headlong from the height,

the carnage ensuing in consequence being more horrid than even that made by the enemy; for greater numbers were bruised to death, by falling one on the other with their ponderous shields, than were slain by the sword.

XXIV. But the victory was not yet decided in favour of the Romans. On coming down to the plain, they found another formidable opposition still to be overcome: for the numbers of the Gauls being so great as to prevent them from feeling their loss, they led on fresh troops against the victorious enemy, as if a new army had sprung up from the ruins of the other. The Romans therefore desisted from the pursuit; seeing that after all their fatigue, another laborious contest remained for them to maintain; besides, that the consul having his left shoulder pierced almost through with a javelin, while he exposed himself incautiously in the van, had retired for a short time from the line. They were now letting victory slip out of their hands by delay, when the consul, having got his wound dressed, rode back to the front of the line, and called out, "Soldiers, why do ye thus stand? Ye have not to do with a Latine or Sabine enemy, whom, when ye have conquered him by your arms, ye can, perhaps, make an ally: they are brutes against whom we have drawn the sword; we must destroy them, or they will destroy us. Ye have repulsed them from your camp; ye have driven them headlong down the declivity; ye stand on the prostrated bodies of your enemy; cover, then, the plains with the same carnage, with which ye have covered the mountains; wait not until they fly from you, advance your standards, and charge your enemy." Roused again to action by these exhortations, they drove back the foremost companies of the Gauls, and then, forming in wedges, broke through the centre of their line. The barbarians being thus disunited, and having no regular system of command or subordination of officers, in their confusion destroyed each other as before. After being dispersed over the plains, and carried by the precipitancy of their flight, even beyond their own camp, they bent their way towards the citadel of Alba; which, among the hills nearly equal in height, happened to strike their eyes as the highest eminence. The consul did not continue the pursuit farther than to their camp, being greatly weakened by his wounds, and at the same time unwilling to expose his troops, already fatigued, to new toil;

especially as the high grounds were now occupied by the enemy. Bestowing, therefore, on the soldiers the entire plunder of the camp, he led them back to Rome, exulting in victory, and enriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The consul's wound occasioned a delay of his triumph, and the same cause made the senate wish for a dictator, for both the consuls being sick, a magistrate was wanted to hold the election. Lucius Furius Camillus being nominated accordingly, and Publius Cornelius Scipio appointed his master of horse, he restored to the patricians their original possession of the consulship: in return for which service, being himself elected consul, through the zeal exerted by the patricians, he declared Appius Claudius Crassus his colleague.

XXV. Previous to the new consuls entering into office, the triumph of Popillius over the Gauls was celebrated, with the highest applause from the commons, who, in making their observations among themselves, frequently asked, did any one see reason to be sorry for having a plebeian consul? At the same time they censured the dictator severely, who, they said, had received the consulship as a bribe, for having infringed the Licinian law, in a manner more dishonourable on account of his selfish ambition, than even of the injury offered to the public; as, while he was invested with the office of dictator, he made himself consul. [Y. R. 406. B. C. 346.] This year was rendered remarkable by many and various commotions. The Gauls, unable to endure the severity of the winter, came down from the Alban mountains, and spread themselves over the plains, and the parts near the sea, plundering wherever they came. The sea was infested by fleets of the Grecians, as were the coast of Antium, the Laurentian district, and the mouth of the Tiber: and it so fell out that these pirates even fought an obstinate battle with the plunderers on land; after which they separated, the Gauls to their camp, and the Grecians to their ships, doubtful, on both sides, whether they should consider themselves as victors or vanquished. At the same time, the most alarming apprehensions were excited by assemblies of the Latine states being held at the grove of Ferentina; and by the answer, which they gave in plain terms, to the order of the Romans for a supply of soldiers; "that they should cease to issue orders to people of whose assistance they stood in need; that the La-

tines would take arms, rather in support of their own liberty, than of the dominion of others." The senate being greatly disturbed at this defection of their allies, in addition to the two former wars, which they had already on their hands, and, perceiving the necessity of keeping them under restraint by fear, since the faith of treaties had proved ineffectual, ordered the consul to exert the whole power of his office, to the utmost stretch, in levying troops; observing, that they must now rely for support on an army of their own countrymen, since their allies had deserted them. We are told that, by collecting men from all quarters, (not only the youth of the city, but of the country likewise,) there were ten legions completed, consisting each of four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; such a body of new raised troops, as, in case of danger from a foreign power, the whole world, though directed to one point, could not easily furnish. So true it is, that our improvements have been confined to those particulars, on which alone we bestow our labour and our wealth. Among the melancholy events of this year, one of the consuls, Appius Claudius, died in the midst of the preparations for war, and the whole administration of affairs fell on Camillus; over whom, though standing single in the consulship, the senate did not think it decent that a dictator should be appointed, as well in consideration of the high respectability of his character, which ought to exempt him from being placed in a state of subordination, as of the auspicious omen afforded by his surname with regard to a Gallic war. The consul then stationed two legions to guard the city, divided the other eight with the prætor, Lucius Pinarius, and, emulating his father's bravery, assumed to himself the Gallic war without the decision of lots; ordering the prætor to guard the sea coast, and prevent the landing of the Grecians. When he had marched down into the Pomptine territory, not choosing to come to an engagement on the level grounds, when no circumstance made it necessary, and judging that the enemy would be effectually subdued, by being prevented from the acquisition of plunder, as they had no other resource than what they obtained in that way, he chose out a situation convenient for a fixed encampment.

XXVI. Here, while the men passed the time in quiet in their quarters, a Gaul of extra-



ordinary size, splendidly armed, advanced towards them; and striking his shield with his spear, having caused silence, he challenged, by an interpreter, any one of the Romans to enter the lists with him in arms. There was a tribune of the soldiers called Marcus Valerius, a young man, who, thinking himself not less qualified for an honourable enterprise of the kind than Titus Manlius, after first inquiring whether it would be agreeable to the consul, advanced in armour into the middle space. The contest between these men was the less noticed, because of an interposition of the power of the gods: for just as the Roman began the combat, a crow pitched suddenly on his helmet, looking towards his antagonist, which, as an augury sent from heaven, the tribune at first received with joy, and then prayed that "whatever god or goddess had sent him the auspicious bird would be favourable and propitious to him." What is wonderful to be told, the bird not only kept the seat where it had once pitched, but as often as the rencounter was renewed, raising itself on its wings, attacked the face and eyes of his antagonist, the Gaul, with its beak and talons, who became so much terrified by the sight of such a prodigy, that he was slain by Valerius. The crow then flew upon high towards the east, until it was out of sight. Hitherto the advanced guards on both sides had remained quiet: but when the tribune began to strip the spoils from the body of his fallen enemy, the Gauls no longer confined themselves to their post, and the Romans ran with still greater speed to the conqueror, when a scuffle arising round the body of the prostrate Gaul, a desperate fight ensued. And now the contest was supported, not by the companies from the nearest posts, but by the legions pouring out from both sides. While the Roman soldiers exulted at the victory of the tribune, and likewise at such attention and favour shown them by the gods, Camillus ordered them to march on to battle, and pointing to the tribune decorated with the spoils, "Soldiers, imitate him," said he, "and strew heaps of Gauls round their fallen champion." Both gods and men contributed their aid to insure success in that engagement, and a complete and acknowledged victory was obtained over the Gauls, according to the forebodings entertained by both parties from the issue of the combat. The first party of Gauls maintained the battle with fury; but the remainder, before they came within a weapon's

cast, turned their backs and fled. They were dispersed through the territories of the Volscians, and of Falerii; from thence they made towards Apulia and the upper sea. The consul calling an assembly, besides bestowing praises on the tribune, presented him with ten oxen and a golden crown; and then being ordered by the senate to attend in person to the war on the coast, he joined his camp to that of the prætor. There, as the business did not promise a speedy conclusion, from the dastardly conduct of the Grecians, who would not venture into the field, he, by direction of the senate, nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, for the purpose of the elections. The dictator accordingly, after appointing Aulus Cornelius Cossus master of the horse, held the elections; and with the warmest applause of the people, declared consul, though absent, his rival in his own line of glory, Marcus Valerius Corvus, for that surname was given him from thenceforth; he was then only twenty-three years old. [Y. R. 407. B. C. 345.] The colleague joined with Corvus was a plebeian, Marcus Popillius Lænas, who was now to enjoy that office a fourth time. Between the Grecians and Camillus nothing memorable occurred. The former were not warriors by land, nor the latter by sea. At length the Greeks, not being suffered to leave their ships, and, besides other necessities, their water also failing, withdrew from Italy. To what nation or what state that fleet belonged, there is no certain account. I am most inclined to believe that it was sent by the tyrants of Sicily; for the farther Greece, at that time, besides being weakened by intestine wars, stood much in dread of the power of the Macedonians.

XXVII. After the armies were disbanded, peace prevailed abroad, and concord subsisted between the orders at home; but, lest their happiness should be too great, a pestilence attacked the state, which obliged the senate to order the decemvirs to inspect the Sibylline books; and, by their direction, a lectisternium was performed. This year, a colony was led by the Antians to Satricum; and the city, which the Latines had demolished, rebuilt. There was also a treaty concluded at Rome with ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who had come to solicit friendship and alliance. The same tranquillity continued at home and abroad, during the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Plautius. [Y. R. 408. B. C. 344.]

The only business which occurred out of course was, that the interest of money, instead of twelve, was reduced to six for the hundred; <sup>1</sup> and the payment of the debts adjusted in such a manner, that one-fourth part being paid at the present, the other three parts should be discharged in three years, by so many equal payments. Notwithstanding which, numbers of the commons were still distressed; but the senate paid more regard to public credit, than to the difficulties of particular persons. The greatest relief to their circumstances was the cessation of the taxes and levies. In the third year [Y. R. 409. B. C. 343.] after the rebuilding of Satricum by the Volscians, Marcus Valerius Corvus, being a second time consul, with Caius Pœtelius, on intelligence received from Latium, that ambassadors from Antium were going round the states of the Latines, to excite them to war, he was ordered to march an army against the Volscians, before the enemies should be joined by others; and he proceeded to Satricum with his troops ready for action. To this place the Antians, and other Volscians, had advanced to meet him, with forces which they had, sometime before, got in readiness, to oppose any enterprise which might be undertaken on the side of Rome; and both parties being inflamed with an inveterate hatred, an engagement commenced without delay. The Volscians, a nation who enter into war with more ardour than they support it, being vanquished in the fight, fled precipitately to the walls of Satricum; but not relying, with any great confidence, even on the protection of those walls, and the city being encompassed by a continued line of troops, who were on the point of taking it by scalade, they surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of four thousand, besides the unarmed multitude. The town was burned, the temple of mother Matuta only being exempted from the flames. The entire spoil was given to the soldiers. The four thousand who surrendered were not considered as part of the spoil: these, the consul, in his triumph, drove before his chariot in chains;

<sup>1</sup> In this place, and in the sixteenth chapter, Livy uses the expressions *unciarum*, and *semunciarum fenus*, in a sense very different from the common acceptation. In general, as was considered as the integer, consequently *unciarum* should mean 1-12th per month, one per cent. for the year. But he here considers *uncia* as the integer, meaning one per cent. per month, 12 per cent. by the year.

and from the sale of them afterwards, brought a large sum of money into the treasury. Some writers allege, that this body of prisoners consisted of slaves; and it is more probable that they were so, than that men, who had capitulated, should be set up to sale.

X XVIII. These consuls were succeeded by Marcus Fabius Dorso, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. [Y. R. 410. B. C. 342.] The Auruncians soon after commenced hostilities, by a sudden predatory irruption; and apprehensions being entertained, that this act of one state was part of a scheme formed by the whole Latine nation, Lucius Furius was created dictator, as if all Latium were already in arms. He nominated Cneius Manlius Capitolinus master of the horse: and a cessation of civil business being proclaimed, as usual on alarms of a dangerous nature, and levies being made, without allowing any exemption, the legions were led, with all possible expedition, against the Auruncians, who were found to possess the spirit of freebooters rather than of soldiers; so that they were utterly vanquished in the first engagement. However the dictator, considering that they had brought on hostilities by their incursions, and that they had no apparent desire to decline the fight, wished to engage the aid of the gods in his favour; and in the heat of the battle, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta; and then returning to Rome, under the obligation of this vow, in consequence of his success, he abdicated the dictatorship. The senate ordered two commissioners to be appointed to erect the temple, with a magnificence becoming the Roman people: the site chosen for it was that spot in the citadel, whereon had stood the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. The consuls, making use of the dictator's troops for carrying on the Volscian war, took Sora from the enemy by surprise. [Y. R. 411. B. C. 341.] The temple of Moneta was dedicated in the next year after it had been vowed, Caius Marcus Rutilus a third time, and Titus Manlius Torquatus a second time, being consuls. The dedication was immediately followed by a prodigy, similiar to the ancient one of the Alban lake; for a shower of stones fell, and, during the day, night seemed to cover the sky: the state being filled with pious fears, and the books being inspected, the senate came to a resolution that a dictator should be nominated, for the purpose of directing the religious rites. Publius Valerius Publicola was accordingly



nominated, and Quintus Fabius Ambustus appointed his master of the horse. It was thought proper, that not the tribes only should offer supplications, but even the neighbouring nations; and a regular course was fixed for them, and on what day each should perform that duty. Some severe sentences are recorded, which were passed this year by the people against usurers, on charges brought by the *ædiles*. An interregnum took place in the same year, for which no particular reason has been given. At the conclusion of the interregnum, [Y. R. 412. B. C. 340.] both consuls were elected out of the patricians, Marcus Valerius Corvus a third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus; and this seems to have been the purpose intended by it.

XXIX. Henceforward will be related wars of greater importance, whether we consider the strength of the powers, the length of their continuance, or the distance of the countries in which they were carried on: for in this year, arms were first taken up against the Samnites, a nation powerful in wealth and arms. After the Samnitian war, in which a variety of fortune was experienced, Pyrrhus appeared as an enemy; after Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians. What a series of important events! How often have the extremities of danger been undergone, before the structure of this empire could be raised to its present magnitude, which the world can scarcely endure! The cause of the war with the Samnites originated, with respect to the Romans, in the affairs of others; not immediately between themselves, who had, till then, been united in alliance and friendship. The Samnites had, unjustly, merely because they were superior in strength, made war on the Sidicinians. The weak being obliged to seek assistance, united themselves to the Campanians, who bringing to the support of these their allies rather a nominal than any real strength, enervated as they were by luxury, were defeated in the Sidicinian territory, by men inured to arms. Thus they thenceforth drew on themselves the whole burthen of the war: for the Samnites, neglecting the Sidicinians, turned their arms on the Campanians, as chief of the neighbouring states, from whom they expected to gain victory with equal ease, and a greater share both of spoil and glory. After posting a strong guard on Tifata, a ridge of hills hanging over Capua, they marched down from thence, with their army formed in a

square, ready for action, into the plain which lies between Capua and Tifata. There another battle was fought, in which the Campanians were defeated, and driven into the town; and, seeing no prospect of support at hand, the flower of their youth being greatly reduced in number, they were under a necessity of imploring aid from the Romans.

XXX. Their ambassadors, being introduced to the senate, spoke nearly to this effect: "Conscript Fathers, the Campanian nation has sent us, its ambassadors, to solicit at your hands perpetual friendship and present succour. Had this request been made when our affairs were in a prosperous state, the connection, though it might have been more readily effected, would have been bound by a weaker tie. For, in that case, as we should have been sensible that we met in friendship on terms of equality, though perhaps with as friendly dispositions as at present, yet we might have been less submissive and compliant to your inclinations, in the present case, attached to you in consideration of your compassion towards us, and defended, by your aid, from the perils which surround us, we become bound to show also, in our conduct, a due sense of the benefit received; otherwise we must be deemed ungrateful and unworthy of any assistance either from gods or men. Nor certainly can we suppose, that the circumstance of the Samnites having, first, become friends and allies to you, is of efficacy to preclude our being received into your friendship; or that it gives them any advantage over us, except in point of priority, and order of precedence: for there is no cautionary provision in your treaty with the Samnites, prohibiting your forming other alliances. It has ever indeed been deemed, by you, a sufficient title to your friendship, that the person who sought it, wished to be your friend. Now the Campanians, who, although our present circumstances forbid ostentatious language, yield to no other nation except yourselves, either in the magnificence of our city, or the fertility of our soil, if admitted to your friendship, bring no small accession, we think, to the advantages which ye already enjoy. Whenever the *Æquans* and *Volscians*, the perpetual enemies of this city, shall take arms, we will be on their rear; and what ye shall have performed in behalf of our safety, the same we shall, on every occasion, perform in behalf of your dominion, and your glory. When those nations, which

lie between you and us, shall be subdued, (which period, we may infer, both from your prowess and your good fortune, is not very distant,) ye will then have an uninterrupted extent of dominion reaching to our borders. It is a mortifying and a melancholy truth, which our situation forces us to acknowledge, Conscrip Fathers, that our affairs are in such a state, that we must become the property either of friends or enemies. If ye defend us, yours : if ye abandon us, that of the Samnites. Consider, therefore, whether that Capua, and all Campania, shall become an addition to your strength, or to that of the Samnites. Romans, it is undoubtedly reasonable that your compassion and assistance should lie open, as a resource, to all men ; but still more especially to those, who, by performing the same good offices to others imploring their aid, have, by exertions beyond their strength, brought themselves into such distresses as ours. Although, while we fought, in appearance, for the Sidicinians, we were, in reality, fighting for ourselves : because that nation, which is in our neighbourhood, was plundered by the Samnites in a most cruel manner ; and because we were apprehensive that the flames, after consuming the Sidicinians, would spread from thence to ourselves : for they do not attack us, as feeling themselves aggrieved, but they rejoice at a pretext being afforded them for it. If their object were the gratification of resentment, and not of satiating their ambition, would it not be enough that they cut our legions to pieces, once in the territory of the Sidicinians, and a second time in Campania itself ? What kind of resentment must that be, which could not be satisfied by all the blood spilt in two general engagements ? Add to this the devastation of our country ; men and cattle driven away as spoil ; our country-houses burned or otherwise destroyed ; every thing, in short, nearly annihilated by fire and sword. This, we say, was surely enough to gratify resentment, yet their ambition must be gratified also. It is that which hurries them on to the siege of Capua : they wish either to lay that most beautiful city in ruins, or to hold the possession of it themselves. But make it, Romans, your own, by your generous kindness, nor suffer them thus unjustly to hold it. We speak not to a people disposed to decline just and necessary wars, yet allow us to observe, that, if disposed to assist us, ye will not even have occasion to use your arms. The inso-

lence of the Samnites has reached to our level ; higher it does not soar. So that even the prospect of your assistance will be our security. And whatever, thenceforward, we shall possess, whatever we ourselves shall be, we must ever esteem it all as yours. For you, will the fields of Campania be ploughed ; for you, the city of Capua be stored with inhabitants ; ye will be reckoned by us among our founders, our parents, and our gods. Not one of your own colonies shall surpass us in obsequiousness and fidelity towards you. Grant then, Conscrip Fathers, to the prayers of the Campanians, the nod of favour ; your irresistible, your providential aid : bid us hope that Capua will be saved. Multitudes of every denomination escorted us on our setting out. Full of vows and tears we left every place. Think, then, in what a state of eager expectation are now the senate and people of Campania, our wives and our children. Doubtless, at this moment, they are standing at the gates, watching the road which leads from hence, impatient to know what answer, Conscrip Fathers, ye may order us to bring back to them. One kind of answer brings them safety, life, and liberty : another — there is horror in the thought. Determine then about us, as about people, who are either to be your friends and allies, or not to exist at all."

XXXI. The ambassadors then withdrawing, the senate took the affair into consideration. A great many were of opinion, that their city of Capua, the largest and most opulent in Italy ; and their land, the most fertile, and situated near the sea, would serve the Roman people as a granary, from whence they might be supplied with all the various kinds of provisions, yet they paid greater regard to the faith of their engagements, than to these great advantages ; and the consul, by direction of the senate, gave them this answer : " Campanians, the senate deems you deserving of their assistance. But, in contracting a friendship with you, it is proper to guard against the violation of any prior alliance. The Samnites are associated with us by treaty. We refuse, therefore, to take arms against the Samnites, which would be a breach of duty, first towards the gods, and then towards men. But, as is consistent with both those duties, we will send ambassadors to those our friends and allies, to request that no violence may be offered to you." To this, the chief of the embassy replied, ac-



cording to instructions which they had brought from home. "Though ye do not think proper to defend us and our rights against violence and injustice, ye will surely defend your own. We therefore surrender into your jurisdiction, Conscript Fathers, and that of the Roman people, the inhabitants of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, the temples of the gods, and all things else appertaining to us, divine and human. Whatever sufferings we shall henceforward undergo, will be the sufferings of men who have put themselves under your dominion." Having spoken thus, they all stretched forth their hands towards the consuls, and, with floods of tears, prostrated themselves in the porch of the senate-house. The senate were deeply affected at this instance of the vicissitude of human grandeur; seeing that nation which possessed an exuberance of wealth, and was universally noted for luxury and pride, and to whom, a short time since, the neighbouring states looked up for support, so utterly depressed in spirit, as voluntarily to resign themselves, and all that belonged to them into the power of others. They therefore thought themselves bound in honour not to abandon those who were now become their subjects; and that it would be unjustifiable behaviour in the Samnites, if they persisted in carrying on hostilities against a city and country which, in consequence of the surrender, had become the property of the Roman people. It was in consequence resolved, that ambassadors should be sent immediately to that nation. These were instructed to make known "the request of the Campanians; the answer of the senate, in which due regard was paid to the friendship of the Samnites; and the surrender made in conclusion. To request, that in consideration of the alliance and intercourse subsisting between the states, they would spare their subjects, and not carry arms into a country which now made a part of the Roman state. And, if gentle remonstrances did not produce the desired effect, that they should then denounce to the Samnites, as the will of the senate and people of Rome, that they should retire from the city of Capua, and the Campanian territory." When these things were represented to the ambassadors in the assembly of the Samnites, they not only answered fiercely, that they would continue the war, but their magistrates, going out of the senate-house, while the ambassadors were standing on the spot, called the commanders of their

cohorts, and, with a loud voice, gave them orders to march instantly into the Campanian territory, and plunder it.

XXXII. When the result of this embassy was reported at Rome, the senate, laying aside all other business, despatched heralds to demand satisfaction; which not being complied with, and war being, in consequence, declared in the customary manner, they decreed that the affair should, without loss of time, be submitted to the consideration of the people. This was done accordingly, and, in pursuance of their order, the consuls instantly began their march; Valerius to Campania, Cornelius to Sunium. The former pitched his camp near mount Gaurus, the latter at Saticula. The legions of the Samnites met Valerius first; for they supposed that the whole weight of the war would be directed to that side. They were, at the same time, stimulated by rage against the Campanians, for having shown themselves so ready, at one time to give, at another to call in aid against them. But no sooner did they see the Roman camp, than, with one voice, they furiously demanded the signal from their leaders; maintaining, confidently, that the Romans should meet the same fate, in supporting the Campanians, which had attended the latter, in supporting the Sidicinians. Valerius, after spending a few days in slight skirmishes, for the purpose of making trial of the enemy, displayed the signal for battle, exhorting his men, in few words, not to let the new war and the new enemy dispirit them. "In proportion as they carried their arms to a greater distance from the city, they would, in every stage of their progress, meet nations more and more unwelcome. They ought not to estimate the value of the Samnites by the losses of the Sidicinians and Campanians. Let the combatants be of what kind soever, one side must necessarily be worsted. As to the Campanians, they were undoubtedly vanquished by debility, flowing from excessive luxury, and by their own pusillanimity, rather than by the strength of their enemy. And, after all, of what weight were two successful wars on the side of the Samnites during so many ages, in the balance against the glorious achievements of the Roman people, who reckoned nearly a greater number of triumphs than of years from the foundation of their city, and who had extended the sway of their victorious arms over all around them; the Sabines, Etruria, the Latines, the

Hernicians, the Æquans, the Volscians, the Auruncians? Who, after slaying myriads of Gauls, in so many battles, forced them, at last, to fly to their ships? As every soldier ought to go courageously into the field, animated by the national renown in arms, so ought he, at the same time, to consider the commander, under whose conduct and auspices he is to fight, whether he be one, capable of attracting attention, merely by his pompous exhortations, spirited in words alone, and unqualified for military labours: or one who well knows how to wield arms, to advance before the standards, and to encounter the thickest of the fight. Soldiers," said he, "I wish you to be led by my actions, not by my words; and to take, not only orders, but example also, from me. It was not by intrigues, nor by cabals, usual among the nobles, but by this right hand, that I procured to myself three consulships, and the highest praises of my countrymen. There was a time when it might have been said of me,—You enjoyed these dignities because you were a patrician, and descended from the deliverers of your country; and because your family had the consulship in the same year wherein the city first had a consul.—This might have been said. But at present the consulship lies open to us patricians, and to you plebeians, without distinction; nor is it, as formerly, the prize of birth, but of merit. Look forward, therefore, soldiers, to the very summit of honours. Although ye have given me, among yourselves, and in consequence of the approbation of the gods, the new surname of *Corvus*, the ancient one of our family, the *Publicola*, is not erased from my memory. I do, and ever did, cultivate the favour of the Roman commons, in war and in peace; in a private station, and in public offices, both high and low; in that of tribune, equally as in that of consul; and with the same tenor of conduct through all my several consulships. As to the present business, join your endeavours with mine, to obtain, by the favour of the gods, a new and signal triumph over these Samnites."

XXXIII. Never was there a commander who put himself on a more familiar footing with his soldiers, performing every subaltern duty, without reluctance. In the military sports, wherein it is the custom for equals to vie with equals in speed and strength, he was condescending and affable; success or defeat made no alteration in him, nor did he disdain

any competitor whatever. In his actions, beneficent according to the occasion; in his conversation, as attentive to the ease and freedom of others, as to his own dignity; and what is in the highest degree attractive of public esteem, the same mode of conduct, by which he had gained the magistracy, was pursued by him throughout the whole of his administration. The troops, therefore, universally applauding the exhortations of their commander, marched out of the camp with incredible alacrity. The battle commenced with as equal hopes, and as equal strength, on both sides, as any that ever was fought; each party full of confidence in themselves; without despising their adversary. The Samnites were emboldened by their late exploits, and the having gained two victories within the space of a few days: the Romans, on the other side, by the glorious achievements of four hundred years, and success coeval with the foundation of their city; both parties, however, felt some unusual concern on engaging with a new enemy. The conflict gave proof of the spirit which they possessed; for they maintained it for a considerable time, without either giving way in the least. The consul, since the enemy could not be overpowered by force, endeavoured, by a charge of his cavalry, to disorder their foremost battalions; but when he saw their irregular efforts attended with no success, being obliged to wheel their squadrons in a narrow compass, and that they could not open to themselves a passage, he rode back to the van of the legions, and, leaping from his horse, said to them, "Soldiers, the task belongs to infantry; come on, then; as ye shall see me making way with my sword to the main body of the enemy; so let each, with all his might, beat down those who oppose him. Soon then shall that ground, where their erected spears are now glittering, be effectually cleared by a wide-extended slaughter." By the time he had uttered these words, the cavalry, by his order, turned to the wings, and left the way open for the legions. The consul advanced first, and slew the person whom he happened to engage. Fired at this sight, every one on the right and left of him, assaulted his opposite foe with extraordinary fury. The Samnites, though they received a greater number of wounds than they gave, obstinately stood their ground. The battle had now continued a considerable time, and great slaughter was made round the stan-



dards of the Samnites, yet in no part were any of them seen to fly ; so determined were they to be vanquished by death alone. The Romans, therefore, finding their strength beginning to relax, and that only a small part of the day remained, rushed upon the enemy. Now was the first appearance of the Samnites giving ground, and of the matter being likely to end in their flight ; great numbers were made prisoners or slain ; nor would many of them have survived had not night stopped the pursuit, for it was no longer a battle. On the other side, the Romans acknowledged that they never had fought with a more determined enemy ; and on the other, the Samnites, on being asked what was the cause which first impelled men so firm at the outset to fly, made answer that it was occasioned by the eyes of the Romans, which appeared to flash with fire, together with their desperate looks and furious aspect ; for that in fact they felt more terror from these, than from any other circumstance. And this terror was confirmed, not only in the issue of the battle, but by their marching away during the night. Next day, the Romans took possession of the deserted camp, into which the Campanians poured in a body to congratulate them.

XXXIV. But the joy caused by this event had nearly been allayed by a terrible disaster in Samnium : for the consul Cornelius, departing from Saticula, incautiously led his army into a mountainous tract, passable only through a deep defile, and occupied on all sides by the enemy : nor did he perceive their troops posted over his head, until it was too late for his men to retreat with safety ; while the Samnites waited only until he should bring down the whole of his army into the valley. Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, observed one hill higher than the rest hanging over the enemy's camp, too steep to be climbed by an army encumbered with baggage, but not difficult to troops lightly accoutred. Addressing, therefore, the consul, who was in great perturbation, he said, " Aulus Cornelius, do you see that high point above the enemy ? That is the bulwark of our hopes and safety, if we are expeditious in making ourselves masters of a post, which nothing but blindness could have hindered the enemy from seizing. I ask only the first rank and spearmen of one legion ; when I shall have arrived at the summit with these, then do you proceed forward, free from all apprehension, and preserve yourself and the army. For the enemy will not

have in their power to move without bringing destruction on themselves, as they, from occupying the lower ground, will be exposed to every weapon we throw. As for ourselves, either the fortune of the Roman people, or our own courage, will extricate us." He was highly commended by the consul, and having received the body of troops which he desired, made his way through the mountains by concealed paths ; nor was he noticed by the enemy, until he came near the spot which he wished to gain : they were then universally seized with astonishment and affright ; so that, attracting the eyes of all to himself, he gave time to the consul to lead off his troops to more favourable ground, while he took post himself on the highest summit. The Samnites, marching their forces sometimes towards one side, sometimes towards the other, lost the opportunity of effecting either business ; for they could neither pursue the consul, except through the same defile in which they lately had him under the power of their weapons, nor march up their men against the acclivity, to the eminence occupied by Decius, over their heads. They were enraged principally against those who had snatched from them the opportunity of acting with success, and the nearness of their situation, and the smallness of the party, would have led them to seek for vengeance there : but they could resolve on nothing : at one time it was intended to surround the hill on all sides with troops, and thus cut off Decius from the consul ; at another, to leave open a passage, and then to fall on him, when he should have descended into the defile ; night however came upon them, before they had determined which measure to pursue. Decius, at first entertained hopes that he might engage them advantageously, as they should advance against the steep ; and was afterwards surprised that they did not proceed to attack him, or, if they were deterred by the difficulty of the ground, that they did not surround him with works. At length, calling the centurions to him, he said, " What a want of military skill, and what indolence do they not discover ? How did such men as these gain a victory over the Sidicinians and Campanians ? See how their battalions move to and fro, sometimes collected into one spot, sometimes drawn out for a march : not a man doing any thing, although, by this time, they might have surrounded us with a rampart. As this is the case, we should too much resemble them, if we remained

here longer than is expedient. Come on, then ; follow me, that, while there is yet some little day-light remaining, we may discover in what places they post their guards, and if there is a passage for us left open." Of all these matters he took an accurate view, clad in a soldier's vest ; the centurions, whom he took with him, being also in the dress of common soldiers, lest the enemy should take notice of the commander going the round.

XXXV. Having placed watch-guards in proper places, he commanded notice to be issued, by ticket,<sup>1</sup> to all the rest, that, on the signal being given, by the cornet sounding the second watch, they should come to him silently in arms. When they had assembled there, according to their orders, he addressed them thus : " Soldiers, silence is necessary, ye must therefore listen to me, without testifying your approbation in the usual manner. When I shall have fully explained my sentiments to you, then such of you, as agree in opinion with me, will pass over, without noise to the right ; on which ever side the majority shall be, that judgment shall be followed. Now hear what I have to propose. The enemy have surrounded you ; but not in consequence of your taking refuge here in cowardice. By valour ye seized this spot : by valour ye must make your way from it. By coming hither, ye have saved a most valuable army to the Roman people ; by forcing your passage hence, save yourselves. It becomes your character that, though few in number, ye afford succour to multitudes, while ye yourselves need no aid. The enemy whom ye have to deal with, is the same who, yesterday, stupidly neglected to make use of the opportunity, which fortune had put in their hands, of cutting off our whole army ; who never saw this hill hanging with such advantage over their heads, until they found us in possession of it ; and who, with all the thousands of which their forces consist, neither prevented the ascent of such a small party as ours, nor, when we became masters of the place, surrounded us with entrenchments, though there was so much of the day remaining. Those

whom ye baffled in such a manner, while they were awake, it is your business to elude, when they are buried in sleep. Nay, there is a necessity for it : for in such a situation are our affairs, that my part is rather to point out what necessity enforces, than to offer you counsel. For whether ye are to stay, or to remove from this place, admits not of deliberation. Fortune has left us nothing here, besides our arms and courage to make use of them : and consequently, we must perish through hunger and thirst, if we fear the sword of the enemy, beyond what becomes men and Romans. There is, therefore, but one way to safety ; and that is, to sally forth. This we must do either by day, or by night. But there is another consideration, that cuts off all hesitation ; which is, that if we wait for the light, we can have no hope that the enemy, who, at present, encompass the hill on all sides, as ye see, with their bodies exposed at disadvantage, will not hem us in with a continued rampart and trench. If night then be favourable to a sally, as it appears to be, this certainly is the fittest hour of it. Ye assembled here on the signal of the second watch ; a time in which your foes are sunk in the profoundest sleep. Ye will pass among them, either in silence, entirely escaping their notice, or ready, if they should perceive you, to terrify them with a sudden shout. Only follow me, whom ye have hitherto followed. The same fortune, which conducted us hither, will conduct us home. And now, such of you as are of opinion, that this is a salutary plan, come over with me, to the right."

XXXVI. Every man of them went over, and followed Decius, who bent his way through the spaces which lay open between the guards. They had now passed the middle of the camp, when a soldier, striding over the bodies of the watchmen, who lay asleep on the ground, by striking one of their shields, occasioned a noise ; on which the watchman being roused, stirred the next to him, and each, as he awoke, called up the rest, ignorant whether these were friends or foes, whether the party had sallied from the hill, or the consul had taken their camp. Decius, finding that he was discovered, ordered his men to raise a shout, and thus disheartened them with affright before they had shaken off the heaviness of sleep, perplexing them to such a degree, that they were incapable of taking arms briskly, so as to make head against, or to harass him in pursuit. During this consternation and

1 The common method of communicating the watch-word, and such orders as required expedition, was, to write them on a small tablet or ticket, *testera*, which the tribunes sent to the first centurion, by whom it was sent on to the next ; and thus it passed to all the centurions in order, until it came to the last, who returned it to the tribune.



confusion of the Samnites, the party of Romans, killing such of the guards as fell in their way, made good their passage to the camp of the consul. There was a considerable part of the night yet to come, and they now seemed to be in safety, when Decius said to them, "Roman soldiers, I honour your bravery: ages to come shall extol both your enterprise and your return. But, in order that others may be gratified with a view of such eminent merit, light is requisite: nor is it fitting that you be concealed under darkness and silence, while returning into the camp with such distinguished glory. Here let us wait in quiet for the day." His words were obeyed; and, as soon as morning appeared, a messenger being sent forward into the camp, to the consul, the troops there were roused from sleep to excessive joy; and the news being conveyed round by ticket, that those men were returning, in safety, who had exposed themselves to such imminent danger for the preservation of them all, they poured out in a body eagerly to meet them; praised them, congratulated them, called them each, and all together, their preservers; gave thanks and praises to the gods, and almost worshipped Decius. Thus did the tribune enjoy a kind of triumph in the camp, as he marched through the middle of it, with his party in arms, all men fixing their eyes on, and honouring him, in the same manner as the consul. When they arrived at the general's tent, the consul summoned an assembly by sound of trumpet; but which (after having begun to expatiate on the merits of Decius) he adjourned, on the interposition of Decius himself; who recommended, that every other business should be postponed, while it was in their power to improve the occasion which presented itself. He then advised the consul to attack the enemy while they were under consternation, and scattered round the hill in detached parties: adding, that he even believed that numbers who had been sent out in pursuit of him, were straggling through the forest. The legions were accordingly ordered to take arms, and marching out of camp, the forest being now better known by means of scouts, were led towards the enemy through a more open tract. By sudden and unexpected attacks, the soldiers of the Samnites being dispersed up and down, and most of them unarmed, as was supposed, they first drove them in a panic into the camp, and then, after beating off the guards, took the camp itself. The shout spread quite round the hill,

and put all the parties to flight from their several posts. Thus a great part of them yielded the victory to an enemy whom they did not see. Those, whose fears had driven them within the ramparts, amounting to thirty thousand, were all put to the sword. The camp was plundered.

XXXVII. The business being thus concluded, the consul again called an assembly, and pronounced a panegyric on Decius; representing his actions, not merely as he had begun to recite them, but as consummated since, by a new display of merit; and, besides other military gifts, presented him with a golden crown, and an hundred oxen, one of them white, of extraordinary beauty, richly ornamented, and having gilded horns. To the soldiers, who had been on the party with him, he assigned a double portion of corn for ever, with an ox and two vests to each. Beside the consul's donations, the legions set on Decius's head a crown of grass, denoting deliverance from a blockade, accompanying the present with a military shout of approbation. Another crown, expressive of the same compliment, was put on his head by his own party. Decorated with these honourable emblems, he sacrificed the beautiful white ox to Mars, and bestowed the hundred others on the soldiers, who had accompanied him in the expedition. To the same soldiers the legions made a contribution, each man of a pound of corn, and a pint of wine; all this was performed with an extraordinary degree of cordiality, accompanied with the military shout, a token of universal approbation. The third battle was fought near Suessula, where the army of the Samnites, which had been routed by Marcus Valerius, being joined by all the able young men of their nation, whom they called from home, determined to try their fortune in a final contest. From Suessula hasty messengers came to Capua, and horsemen from thence at full speed to the consul Valerius, to beg for succour. The troops were quickly put in motion, and, leaving a strong guard with the baggage in the camp, proceeded on their march with rapidity. They chose for their camp a very narrow spot, at a small distance from the enemy, as they were not attended by a crowd of servants, and having no other battle than horses. The Samnites, without delay, drew up in order of battle; and when they found that no army was sent to meet them, advanced, in readiness for action, to

the Roman camp. When they saw the soldiers on the rampart, and when the scouts brought accounts from every quarter into how narrow a compass the camp was contracted, they thence inferred that the number of the enemy was but small. The whole army began to exclaim, that they ought to fill up the trenches, tear down the rampart, and break into the camp; and in that rash manner they would have proceeded, had not their leaders restrained their impetuosity. However, as their own great numbers bore hard on their supplies, and as in consequence of their lying so long at Suessula, and of the battle being now deferred, they had a prospect of being shortly in want of every thing, they resolved, that while the enemy remained shut up, and in appearance through fear, their troops should be led out into the country to forage. They had supposed, too, that the Romans, having marched in haste, could have brought no more corn with them than they were able to carry on their shoulders, along with their arms, so that they would, in a little time, be reduced to actual distress. When the consul observed, that the enemy were dispersed over the country, and that the guards which they had left were not numerous, after exhorting his soldiers in few words, he led them to an attack of their camp, and having taken it, (a greater number being slain in their tents than at the gates, or on the rampart,) he ordered the standards taken from them to be collected together. Then, leaving two legions to guard them, with strict injunctions to abstain from plundering until he should return, he set out with his troops in regular order; and sending on the cavalry before him, to drive the scattered Samnites together, as if with hunting toils, made great slaughter of them: for in their fright, they could neither fix on any signal to collect their troops in a body, nor resolve whether they should repair to the camp, or fly to a greater distance. Such was their consternation, and such the precipitancy of their flight, that there were brought to the consul not less than forty thousand shields, though there was nothing like that number of slain; and of military standards, including those which had been taken within their ranks, one hundred and seventy. He then returned to the enemy's camp, the entire spoil of which he gave to the soldiers.

XXXVIII. The event of this engagement obliged the Faliscians, who were under

the terms of a truce, to petition the senate for a treaty of alliance; and induced the Latines, who had their armies already prepared, to turn their operations, from the Romans, against the Pelignians. Nor was the fame of these successes confined within the limits of Italy: the Carthaginians also sent ambassadors to Rome with congratulations, and with a present of a golden crown, weighing twenty-five pounds, to be placed in Jupiter's shrine in the capitol. Both the consuls triumphed over the Samnites, while Decius followed them, highly distinguished by praises and presents; and, in the rough jests of the soldiers, the name of the tribune was heard as frequently as those of the commanders. The embassies of the Campanians and Suessans were then heard; and, in compliance with their petitions, a body of troops was sent thither into winter-quarters, to protect them against the incursions of the Samnites. Capua, even at that time, destructive of military discipline through the allurements of every kind of pleasures, so debauched the minds of the soldiers, as to alienate their affections from their country: and schemes were formed, in their winter-quarters, to take Capua from the Campanians by the same wicked means by which they themselves had taken it from its ancient possessors. "Nor was there any injustice," they said, "in turning their own example on themselves: for why should the Campanians, who were unable to defend either their persons or their property, enjoy the most fertile lands in Italy, and a city proportioned to the goodness of those lands, rather than the victorious army, who, at the expense of their sweat and blood, had driven the Samnites out of it? Was it reasonable that these should have the full enjoyment of such a fruitful and delicious country, while they, after being spent with the fatigues of war, must toil in the unwholesome and parched soil round their own city, or, within the city, endure the oppressive grievance of interest-money daily increasing?" These schemes were agitated in secret cabals, and as yet communicated only to a few, when the new consul, Caius Marcus Rutilus, came among them, the province of Campania having fallen to him by lot, his colleague Quintus Servilius being left in the city. He was a man of good judgment, matured both by age and experience, for he was then in his fourth consulship, and had served the offices of dictator and censor. [Y. R. 413. B. C. 339.] When, therefore,



he was informed by the tribunes of all the circumstances of the affair, he concluded, that the best method of proceeding would be, to frustrate the violent designs of the soldiery, by prolonging the period during which they might hope to be able to execute their design whenever they pleased ; and accordingly, he caused a report to be spread, that the troops were to have their winter quarters, for the next year, in the towns they then occupied : for they had been cantoned in different places of Campania, and the plot had spread from Capua through the whole army. Their eagerness in pursuit of their design being, by these means, relaxed, the mutiny was composed for the present.

XXXIX. The consul, on leading out his troops to the summer campaign, resolved, while he found the Samnites quiet, to purge the army by dismissing the turbulent men ; some he discharged, under the pretence of their having served out their regular time ; others, as being enfeebled by age, or otherwise debilitated : several were sent away on furloughs, at first, singly ; afterwards, even several cohorts, because they had spent the winter at a great distance from home, and from their private concerns : others, too, were despatched to different places, under pretence of the business of the army, by which means a great part of them were removed out of the way. All these the other consul, and the prætor, detained under various pretences, at Rome. At first, the men, not suspecting the artifice practised on them, were not displeased at the thought of revisiting their homes. But when they perceived, that none returned to their standards, and that, moreover, hardly any were dismissed except those who had wintered in Campania ; and, of these, the fomenters of the mutiny in particular ; they at first began to wonder, and afterwards to fear, what seemed beyond a doubt, that their designs had been divulged ; and that they would have to undergo trials, discoveries, secret punishments of individuals, and the cruel and unrestrained tyranny of the consuls and senate. These were the subjects of secret conferences among the troops in the camp, when they observed, that those who were the sinews of the conspiracy had been sent away through the art of the consul. One cohort, coming near Anxur, seated themselves at Lautulæ, in a narrow woody pass, between the sea and the mountains, in order to intercept those who were daily dismissed under various pretexts, as has been men-

tioned. Their body soon grew strong in numbers, nor was any thing now wanting of the form of a regular army, except a leader. Without order, however, and plundering the country in their way, they came into the Alban territory, and, under the hill of Alba Longa, enclosed their camp with a rampart ; where, when the work was finished, they spent the remainder of the day in discussing different opinions respecting the choice of a commander, having no great confidence in the abilities of any who were present. And "on whom," they said, "could they prevail to come out from Rome on their invitation ? What man was there, among the patricians or plebeians, who would, with his eyes open, expose himself to such imminent danger ; or, to whom could the cause of the army, driven to madness by ill treatment, be properly confided ? Next day, while they were employed in deliberating on the same subject, some of the rambling marauders brought intelligence, that Titus Quintius was cultivating his farm in the territory of Tusculum, regardless of the city and of its honours. He was of patrician race, who, being obliged to relinquish the military profession, in which he had acquired great glory, in consequence of one of his feet being lamed by a wound, determined to spend his life in the country, far from ambition and the contentions of the forum. As soon as his name was heard, they immediately recognized the man ; and, with wishes of success to the measure, ordered him to be sent for. But as there was little room to hope that he would voluntarily appear in the cause, it was resolved that both menaces and force should be employed. Accordingly those who were sent for the purpose, entering his house in the dead of night, while he lay composed in sleep, and denouncing, as the only alternative, either honour and command, or, when he made opposition, death, they brought him by force to their camp. Immediately on his arrival, he was saluted General, and while he was terrified at this unaccountable and sudden transaction, they brought to him the ensigns of the office, and insisted on his leading them to the city. Then, with haste dictated by their own unruliness, taking up the standards, they came in hostile array to the eighth stone on the road, which is now the Appian, and would have proceeded directly to the city, had they not been told that an army was coming to meet them ; Marcus Valerius Corvus being nominated dictator, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus master of the horse.

**XL.** As soon as the army sent to oppose them came in sight, and they distinguished the well-known arms and standards, their regard for their country instantly reviving, softened the resentment of every breast. They were not yet hardy enough to shed the blood of their countrymen: they had never yet known any but foreign wars; and secession from their fellow-citizens was deemed the utmost effort of rage. Now, therefore, the leaders, and even the soldiers on both sides, expressed a desire that there should be a meeting held for a negotiation. Accordingly, on one side, Quintius, who would not have borne arms, even in favour of his country, but with extreme reluctance, and of course with much greater against it; and on the other, Corvus, who entertained the warmest affection for every one of his countrymen, particularly the soldiery, and above all others, those who had served under his own banner, advanced to a conference. The instant the latter appeared, the same respectful deference was paid to him by his adversaries, which his own men manifested by their silence: he then addressed them in this manner: "Soldiers, at my departure from the city, I made it my earnest prayer to the immortal gods, whom ye, the public, and myself adore, and humbly implored them of their goodness, to grant me not a victory over you, but the happiness of restoring concord. The time past has afforded, and doubtless the future will afford, occasions enough for the acquisition of military glory. At the present, peace should be the object of our wishes. The request which I urged to the immortal gods, whilst I offered up my vows, it is in your power to fulfil for me, if you will allow yourselves to recollect that your camp stands not in Samnium, nor in the territory of the Volscians, but on Roman ground; that those hills, which ye see, are your native soil; that this army is composed of your countrymen; that I am your own consul, under whose conduct and auspices ye last year twice defeated the legions of the Samnites, and twice took their camp by storm. Soldiers, I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, whose nobility of birth ye have ever felt to be productive of benefits to you, not of ill-treatment. I have been the adviser of no severe law against your interest, of no cruel decree of the senate; in every post of command which I have held, more strict towards myself than you. Yet, if any man might presume upon birth, upon personal merit, upon high dignity, and

upon public honours, I might: for I am descended from ancestors so distinguished, and I have besides given such proof of my own qualifications, that I attained the honour of the consulship when only twenty-three years old: I might then assume a degree of pride not only towards the commons but towards the patricians. But in what instance did ye ever hear that I either acted or spoke with greater harshness, when consul, than when only a tribune? The same has been the constant tenour of my administration, in two successive consulships; the same shall it be, in this uncontrollable office of dictator. So that I shall be found not more gentle to these my own soldiers, and the soldiers of my country, than to you (it shocks me so to call you) its enemies. Ye shall therefore draw the sword against me, before I unsheath it against you: on your side, if a battle must take place, the signal shall be sounded; from your side the shouts and onset shall begin. You must determine, then, to do what neither your grandfathers nor fathers could; neither those who seceded to the sacred mount, nor yet those who afterwards took post on the Aventine. Wait until your wives and mothers come out from the city with dishevelled hair, as formerly to Coriolanus. At that time the legions of the Volscians, because they had a Roman for their leader, ceased from hostilities. And will not ye, an army of Romans, desist from this unnatural war? Titus Quintius, under whatever circumstances you stand on that side, whether voluntarily, or through compulsion, if the business must be decided by arms, do you then retire to the rear. It will be more honourable for you to turn your back and fly, than to fight against your country. You will at present stand with propriety and honour among the foremost for the promoting of peaceful measures, and may you be a salutary agent in this conference. Let your demands and your offers be reasonable; although, indeed, it were better to admit even unreasonable terms, than engage in an unnatural combat with each other."

**XLI.** Titus Quintius then turning to his party, his eyes full of tears, said, "In me too, soldiers, if I am of any use, ye have a better leader to peace than to war. For he who has spoken what ye have just now heard, is not a Volscian nor a Samnite, but a Roman; he, soldiers, is your own consul, your own general; the influence of whose auspices ye



have already experienced operating in your favour. Wish not, then, to try its effects against you. The senate could have employed other commanders, who would fight against you with animosity; but they chose the one who would be most tender of you, who were his own soldiers, and in whom, as your own general, ye could most thoroughly confide. Even those who have conquest in their power wish for peace; what, then, ought to be our wish?

Why do we not, renouncing both anger and hope, those fallacious guides, resign ourselves and all our interests to his well-known honour?" All declaring their approbation by a shout, Titus Quintius advanced before the standards and said, that "the soldiers would be governed by the dictator;" he besought them to "undertake the cause of those his unfortunate countrymen, and support it, under his patronage, with the same honour which had ever marked his administration of the public affairs. That with regard to his own particular case, he stipulated no terms, he wished not to found a hope on aught but innocence. But provision should be made for the safety of the soldiers, as had been formerly practised by the senate, once, in the case of the commons, and a second time in that of the legions, so that no one should suffer for the secession." The dictator, highly commending Quintius, and desiring the others to hope for the best, rode back with speed to the city, and, with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the people assembled in the Peteline grove, that none of the soldiers should be punished on account of the secession; and even made it his request to them, which he hoped they would approve, that no person, either in jest or earnest, should upbraid any of them with that proceeding. A military law was also passed, sanctioned with a devoting clause, that the name of any soldier, once enrolled, should not be erased without his own consent; and it was included in the law, that no person who had been a tribune of the soldiers should afterwards be a centurion. This demand of the conspirators was pointed against Publius Salonijs, who had long been alternately tribune of the soldiers, and first centurion, which they now call *Primpili*. The soldiers were incensed against him, because he had always opposed their licentious proceedings, and, to avoid being concerned therein, had fled from Lautula. This was the only proposal with which the senate refused to comply; on

which Salonijs, earnestly intreating the conscript fathers not to pay greater regard to his promotion than to the public concord, prevailed on them to let that also pass. There was another requisition, equally unreasonable, that a deduction of one-third should be made from the pay of the cavalry, because they had opposed the conspiracy. They at that time received triple the pay of the foot.

XLII. Besides these regulations, I find in some writers, that Lucius Genucius, plebeian tribune, proposed a law to the people, that no one should lend money at interest. Likewise, that, by other orders of the commons, it was enacted, that no person should hold the same public office a second time within ten years, or enjoy two offices in the same year; and that it should be lawful to elect both the consuls from among the plebeians. If all these concessions were really made, it is evident that the revolted possessed no small degree of strength. According to the accounts of other historians, Valerius was not nominated dictator, but the whole business was managed by the consuls; nor was it before they came to Rome, but in the city itself, that the conspirators became so desperate as to have recourse to arms. That the attack by night was not at the country-seat of Titus Quintius, but at the house of Caius Manlius, on whom they laid violent hands, and made him their leader; then, marching out as far as the fourth stone, they took possession of a strong post; also, that no mention of a reconciliation was first made by the commanders, but that after the troops had marched out to battle, mutual salutations suddenly took place; and that the soldiers mixing together, began to shake hands, and embrace each other with tears; and that the consuls, finding the minds of the soldiers averse from fighting, were obliged to make the proposition to the senate, of admitting the revolted to terms. So that in no circumstance do the ancient writers of the history agree, except in relating that there was a mutiny, and that it was composed. The report of this sedition, and the heavy war, undertaken at the same time against the Samnites, induced several nations to forsake the alliance of the Romans; and besides the Latines, who were known, for a long time past, to be in a disposition to break the treaty, the Privernians also, by a sudden incursion, ravaged Norba and Setia, colonies of the Romans, which lay in their neighbourhood.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK VIII.

The Latines, in conjunction with the Campanians, revolt: send ambassadors to Rome, to propose, as the condition of peace, that one of the consuls shall in future be chosen from among them. Their requisition rejected with disdain. Titus Manlius, the consul, puts his own son to death, for fighting, although successfully, contrary to orders. Decius, the other consul, devotes himself for the army. The Latines surrender, Manlius returning to the city, none of the young men go out to meet him. Minutia, a vestal, condemned for incest. Several matrons convicted of poisoning. Laws then first made against that crime. The Ausonians, Privernians, and Palæopolitans subdued. Quintus Publius the first instance of a person continuing in command, after the expiration of his office, and of a triumph decreed to any person not a consul. Law against confinement for debt. Quintus Fabius, master of the horse, fights the Samnites, with success, contrary to the orders of Lucius Papirius, dictator; and, with difficulty, obtains pardon, through the intercession of the people. Successful expedition against the Samnites.

I. [Y. R. 414. B. C. 338.] The new consuls were now in office, Caius Plautius a second time, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus, when messengers from Setia and Norba brought information to Rome of the revolt of the Privernians, with complaints of the damages sustained by those colonies. News also arrived that an army of Volscians, headed by the people of Antium, had taken post at Satricum. Both these wars fell by lot to Plautius, who, marching first to Privernum, came to an immediate engagement. The enemy, after a slight resistance, were entirely defeated, and their town taken, but this was restored to the inhabitants, while first secured by a strong garrison, while two-thirds of their lands were taken from them. From thence the victorious army was led to Satricum against the Antians: there a furious battle was fought, with a great effusion of blood on both sides. A storm separated the combatants, while there was no evident advantage on either part; the Romans, however, nowise disheartened by the fatigue of an engagement so indecisive, prepared for battle against the next day. But the Volscians, when they had reckoned up their loss, found not in themselves the same degree of resolution for making a second trial, and marched off in

the night to Antium, with all the hurry of a defeat, leaving behind their wounded, and part of their baggage. A vast quantity of arms was found, both in the field and in the camp: these the consul declared an offering to Mother Lua,<sup>1</sup> and, entering the enemy's country, laid it all waste as far as the sea-coast. The other consul, Æmilius, on marching into the Sabellan territory, found neither a camp of the Samnites, nor legions to oppose him; but, while he was wasting their country with fire and sword, ambassadors came to him, suing for peace. He referred them to the senate; where, when they were admitted to an audience, laying aside their fierceness of spirit, they requested of the Romans that peace might be restored between the two nations, and that they might be at liberty to carry on war against the Sidicinians: these requests, they alleged, they were the better entitled to make, as "they had united in friendship with the Roman people, at a time when their own affairs were in a flourishing state, not in a season of distress, as the Campanians had done; and because those against whom they wished to take arms were the Sidicinians, who had ever been

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called Ops, Rhea, and Terra, the earth.



enemies to them, and never friends to the Romans; who had neither, as the Samnites, sought their friendship in time of peace; nor, as the Campanians, their assistance in war; nor were connected with them in any way, either of alliance or subjection."

II. The prætor Tiberius Æmilius, having required the opinion of the senate respecting the demands of the Samnites, and the senate having voted a renewal of the treaty with them, gave them this answer, that, "as the Romans had given no cause to hinder the uninterrupted continuance of their friendship, so neither did they now object to its being revived; since the Samnites showed an unwillingness to persevere in a war, which they had brought on themselves through their own fault. That, as to what regarded the Sidicinians, they did not interfere with the liberty of the Samnite nation to determine for themselves with respect to peace and war." The treaty being concluded, and the ambassadors returning home, the Roman army was immediately withdrawn from thence, after receiving a year's pay for the soldiers, and corn for three months; which were the conditions stipulated by the consul, on his granting them a truce until the ambassadors should return. The Samnites marched against the Sidicinians, with the same troops which they had employed in the Roman war, sanguine in their expectation of getting immediate possession of the enemy's capital. On this the Sidicinians proposed, first to the Romans, to put themselves under their dominion; but the senate rejected the proposal, as made too late, and forced from them merely by extreme necessity; then the same offer was made to and accepted by the Latines, who were ready to commence hostilities on their own account. Nor did even the Campanians refrain from taking a part in this quarrel, much stronger impressions being left on their minds by the ill-treatment received from the Samnites, than by the kindness of the Romans. Out of such a number of nations, one vast army was composed, under the direction of the Latines, which, entering the territories of the Samnites, did much greater damage by depredations than by fighting. But although the Latines had the better in the field, yet they were well pleased to retire out of the enemy's country, to avoid the necessity of too frequent engagements. This respite afforded time to the Samnites to send ambassadors to Rome, who, having obtained an audience of the senate,

made heavy complaints, that, though now their confederates, they suffered the same calamities which they had felt when their enemies; and, with the humblest entreaties, requested, that the Romans would "think it enough to have deprived the Samnites of conquest over their enemies, the Campanians and Sidicinians; and that they would not, besides, suffer them to be conquered by such a union of dastardly nations. That they would, by their sovereign authority, oblige the Latines and Campanians, if those people were really under the dominion of the Romans, to forbear from entering the territory of the Samnites, and if they refused obedience, compel them to it by arms." To this the Romans gave an indeterminate answer, because it would have been mortifying to acknowledge that the Latines were not under their power, and they feared, lest, by charging them with misbehaviour they might attempt to free themselves from all subjection: but considered the case of the Campanians as very different, they having come under their protection, not by treaty, but by surrender. They answered, therefore, that "the Campanians, whether willing or not, should be quiet; but, in the treaty with the Latines, there was no article which prohibited their waging war against whom they chose."

III. This answer, as it sent away the Samnites in doubt what opinion to form with respect to the conduct which the Romans intended to pursue, entirely subverted the allegiance of the Campanians by the menaces held out to them; it also increased the presumption of the Latines, as the senate seemed now not disposed, in any respect, to control them. These last, therefore, under the pretext of preparing for war against the Samnites, held frequent meetings, in which their chiefs, concerting matters among themselves, secretly fomented the design of a war with Rome. The Campanians too gave their support to this war, though against their preservers. But, notwithstanding that they took all possible pains to keep their proceedings from being generally known, and though they wished to get rid of the Volscian enemy then at their back, before the Romans should be alarmed; yet by means of persons connected with the latter in hospitality and other private ties, intelligence of the conspiracy was conveyed to Rome. There, the consuls being commanded to abdicate their office, in order that the new ones might be the sooner elected, and have

the more time to prepare for a war of so great importance, it began to be considered as improper that the election should be held by persons not vested with full authority; consequently an interregnum took place, and continued under two interreges, Marcus Valerius and Marcus Fabius. [Y. R. 415. B. C. 337.] The latter elected consuls, Titus Manlius Torquatus a third time, and Publius Decius Mus. It is agreed on all hands, that, in this year, Alexander, king of Epirus, made a descent with a fleet on Italy, in which expedition, had his first attempts been crowned with success, he would, without doubt, have carried his arms against the Romans. This period was also distinguished by the exploits of Alexander the Great, son to the other's sister, who, in another quarter of the globe, after showing himself invincible in war, was doomed by fortune to be cut off by sickness in the prime of life. Now the Romans, although they entertained not a doubt of the revolt of their allies, and of the Latine nation, yet, as if they acted in behalf of the Samnites, not of themselves, summoned ten of the chiefs of the Latines to appear at Rome, and receive their orders. The Latines had, at that time, two prætors, Lucius Annius, a native of Setia, and Lucius Numicius, of Circei, both Roman colonists; through whose means, besides Signia and Velitæ, which belonged to the Romans, the Volseians also had been engaged to join in the war. It was thought proper that these two should be particularly summoned; every one clearly perceived on what account they were sent for: the prætors, therefore, before they set out for Rome, called a general assembly, whom they informed, that they were called to attend the Roman senate, and desired their opinion with respect to the business which they supposed would be the subject of discussion, and to make known to them the answers which they chose should be given on the occasion.

IV. After several different opinions had been advanced, Annius said, "Although I myself proposed the question, of what answer should be made, yet, in my judgment, the general interest requires that ye determine how we are to act, rather than how we are to speak. When your designs shall be clearly unfolded, it will be easy to adapt words to the subject: for if we are still capable of submitting to slavery, under the shadow of a confederacy between equals, what have we more

to do than to abandon the Sidicinians, yield obedience to the commands, not only of the Romans, but of the Samnites, saying in answer to the former, that, whenever they intimate their pleasure, we are ready to lay down our arms? But, on the other hand, if our minds are at length penetrated by an ardent desire of liberty; if there be a confederacy subsisting; if alliance be equality of rights; if the Romans have now reason to glory in a circumstance, of which they were formerly ashamed, our being of the same blood with them; if they have, in our troops, such an army of allies, that, by its junction with their own, they double their strength; such a one, in short, as their consuls, either in commencing, or concluding their own wars, would, very unwillingly, disunite from their party: why is there not a perfect and settled equalization? Why is it not permitted, that one of the consuls should be chosen from among the Latines? and that they, who supply an equal share of strength, should be admitted to an equal share in the government? This, indeed, considered in itself, would not redound to our honour, in any extraordinary degree: as we should still acknowledge Rome to be the metropolis of Latium; but that it may possibly appear to do so, is owing to our tame resignation for such a length of time. But, if ye ever wished to acquire a participation in the government, the opportunity now presents itself, afforded to you by the bounty of the gods, and your own resolution. Ye have tried their patience, by refusing the supply of troops: who can doubt that they were incensed to the highest degree, when we broke through a practice of more than two hundred years' continuance? Yet they thought proper to smother their resentment. We waged war with the Pelignians in our own name: those who formerly would not grant us liberty to defend our own frontiers, interfered not then. They heard that we had received the Sidicinians into our protection; that the Campanians had revolted from them to us; that we were preparing an army to act against the Samnites, their confederates; yet they stirred not a step from their city. What but a knowledge of our strength, and of their own, made them thus moderate? I am informed, from good authority, that, when the Samnites made their complaints of us, the Roman senate answered them in such terms, as plainly evinced that they themselves did not insist on Latium being un-



der the dominion of Rome. Urge, then, your claim, and assume the exercise of that right which they tacitly concede to you. If fear deters you from making this demand, lo! here I pledge myself that I will require, in the hearing, not only of the senate, and people of Rome, but of Jove himself, who resides in the capitol, that, if they wish us to continue in confederacy and alliance with them, they receive from us, one of the consuls, and half of the senate." On his not only recommending this measure with boldness, but undertaking the execution of it, they unanimously, with acclamations of applause, gave him authority to act, and speak, in such manner, as he should judge conducive to the interest of the republic of the Latine nation, and becoming his own honour.

V. When the prætors arrived in Rome, they had audience of the senate in the capitol; and the consul, Titus Manlius, having, by the direction of the senate, required of them that they should not make war on the Samnites, the confederates of the Romans,—Annius, as if he were a conqueror, who had taken the capitol by arms, and not an ambassador, who owed his safety, in speaking, to the law of nations, replied thus: "Titus Manlius, and ye, conscript fathers, it is full time for you to cease to treat us as a people subject to your commands, since ye see the very flourishing state, which, through the bounty of the gods, Latium enjoys at present, both with respect to numbers and strength: the Samnites are conquered by our arms; the Sidicini and Campanians, and now the Volscians also, are united to us in alliance; and even your own colonies prefer the government of Latium to that of Rome. But since ye do not think proper to put an end to your imperious exertions of arbitrary dominion, we, although able, by force of arms, to assert the independency of Latium, will yet pay so much regard to the connection subsisting between us, as to offer an association on terms of equality, as it has pleased the gods that the strength of both should be, as it is, completely balanced. One of the consuls must be chosen out of Latium, the other out of Rome; the senate must consist of an equal number of each nation; we must become one people, one republic; and, in order that both may have the same seat of government, and the same name, as one side or the other must make the concession, let this, to the happiness of

both, have the advantage of being deemed mother country, and let us all be called Romans." The Romans happened to have a consul, (Titus Manlius,) of a temper as vehement as that of Annius, who, so far from restraining his anger, openly declared that if the conscript fathers should be so infatuated, as to receive laws from a man of Setia, he would come to the senate, with his sword in hand, and put to death every Latine that he should find in the house; then turning to the statue of Jupiter, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, hear these impious demands; hear justice and equity. O Jupiter, you as if overpowered and made captive, to hold, in your consecrated temple, a foreign consul, and a foreign senate? Are these, Latins, the treaties which the Roman king, Tullus, made with the Albans your forefathers, or what Lucius Tarquinius afterwards concluded with yourselves? Does not the fight at the lake Regillus recur to your thoughts? Are your calamities of old, and our recent kindness towards you, entirely obliterated from your memories?"

VI. These words of the consul were followed by expressions of indignation from the senators; and it is related, that in reply to their frequent addresses to the gods, whom the consuls often invoked as witnesses to the treaties, Annius was heard to express contempt of the divinity of the Roman Jupiter. However, being inflamed with wrath, and quitting the porch of the temple with hasty steps, he fell down the stairs, and was dashed against a stone at the bottom with such violence, that he received a contusion on his head, which deprived him of sense. As all authors do not concur in mentioning his death to have ensued, I, for my part, must leave that circumstance in doubt; as I shall another, of a violent storm, with dreadful noise in the air, happening while appeals were made to the gods, concerning the infraction of the treaties. For, as these accounts may possibly be founded in fact, so may they likewise have been invented, to express, in a lively manner, an immediate denunciation of the wrath of the gods. Torquatus, being sent by the senate to dismiss the ambassadors, on seeing Annius stretched on the ground, exclaimed, in a voice so loud as to be heard both by the senators and the people, "Ye gods, proceed in so just a war, in which your own rights are concerned; there is a deity in heaven; thou dost exist, great Jupi-

not without reason have we consecrated, in this mansion, as the father of gods and men. Why do ye hesitate, Romans, and ye, script fathers, to take up arms, when the gods thus lead the way? Thus will I throw you, in the dust, the legions of the Latines, ye see their ambassador prostrated." These words of the consul were received by the multitude with applause, and excited such a flame in their breasts, that the ambassadors, at their capture, owed their safety rather to the care of the magistrates, who escorted them, by the consul's order, than to the people's regard to the laws of nations. The senate concurred in voting for the war; and the consuls, after raising two armies, marched through the territories of the Marsians and Pelignians; and, having formed a junction with the army of the Samnites, pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of Capua, where the Latines and their allies had already collected their forces. Here, it is related, there appeared to both the consuls, in their sleep, the same figure of a man, of a form larger, and more majestic, than the human, who said to them, that "of the one party a general, of the other the army, were due as victims to the infernal gods, and to either earth; and that on whichever side a general should devote the legions of his enemy, and himself, together with them, to that party and nation the victory would fall." The consuls having communicated to each other these visions of the night, determined, that victims should be slain to avert the wrath of the gods; and also, that if the portents, appearing in their entrails, concurred with what they had seen in their sleep, one or other of the consuls should fulfil the will of the fates. Finding the answers of the auspices to agree with the awful impressions already made on their minds in private, they then called together the lieutenant-generals and tribunes; and having made known to them all the decrees of the gods, settled between themselves, that, lest the voluntary death of a consul might dishearten the troops in the field, on whichever side the Roman army should begin to give ground, the consul commanding there, should devote himself for the Roman people, and for his country. In this consultation, it was also mentioned, that if ever strictness in command had been enforced in any war, it was then, particularly, requisite that military discipline should be brought back to the ancient model. Their attention was the more strongly

directed to this point, by the consideration, that the enemies, with whom they had to deal, were the Latines; people who used the same language, and who had the same manners, the same kind of arms, and, what was more than all, the same military institutions as themselves: who had been intermixed with them in the same armies, after in the same companies, soldiers with soldiers, centurions with centurions, tribunes with tribunes, as comrades and colleagues. Lest, in consequence of this, the soldiers might be betrayed into any mistake, the consuls issued orders, that no person should fight with any of the enemy, except in his post.

VII. It happened that, among the other commanders of the troops of horsemen which were despatched to every quarter to procure intelligence, Titus Manlius, the consul's son, came, with his troop, to the back of the enemy's camp, so near as to be scarcely distant a dart's throw from the next post, where some horsemen of Tusculum were stationed, under the command of Geminus Metrius, a man highly distinguished amongst his countrymen, both by his birth and conduct. On observing the Roman horsemen, and the consul's son, remarkable above the rest, marching at their head, (for they were all known to each other, particularly men of any note,) he called out, "Romans, do ye intend, with one troop, to wage war against the Latines and their allies? What employment will the two consuls and their armies have in the meantime?" Manlius answered, "They will come in due season, and with them will come one whose power and strength is superior to either, Jupiter himself, the witness of those treaties which ye have violated. If, at the lake of Regillus, we gave you fighting until ye were weary, I will answer for it, that we shall, in this place also, give you such entertainment, that, for the future, it will not be extremely agreeable to you to face us in the field." To this, Geminus, advancing a little from his men, replied, "Do you choose, then, until that day arrives, when, with such great labour ye move your armies, to enter the lists yourself with me, that from the event of a combat between us two, it may immediately be seen how much a Latine horseman surpasses a Roman?" Either anger or shame of declining the contest, or the irresistible power of destiny, urged on the daring spirit of the youth, so that, disregarding his father's commands, and the edict of



the consuls, he rushed précipitately to a contest, in which, whether he was victorious or vanquished, was of no great consequence to himself. The other horsemen removed to some distance, as if to behold a show; and then, in the space of clear ground which lay between, the combatants spurred on their horses against each other, and, on their meeting in fierce encounter, the point of Manlius's spear passed over the helmet of his antagonist, and that of Metrius, across the neck of the other's horse: they then wheeled their horses round, and Manlius having, with the greater quickness, raised himself in his seat, to repeat his stroke, fixed his javelin between the ears of his opponent's horse, the pain of which wound made the animal rear his fore feet on high, and toss his head with such violence, that he shook off his rider, whom, as he endeavoured to raise himself, after the severe fall, by leaning on his javelin and buckler, Manlius pierced through the throat, so that the steel came out between his ribs, and pinned him to the earth. Then collecting the spoils, he rode back to his men, and, together with his troop, who exulted with joy, proceeded to the camp, and so on to his father, without ever reflecting on the nature or the consequences of his conduct, or whether he had merited praise or punishment. "Father," (said he,) "that all men may justly attribute to me the honour of being descended of your blood, having been challenged to combat, I bring these equestrian spoils taken from my antagonist, whom I slew." Which, when the consul heard, turning away instantly from the youth, in an angry manner, he ordered an assembly to be called, by sound of trumpet; and, when the troops had come together in full numbers, he spoke in this manner: "Titus Manlius, for as much as you, in contempt of the consular authority, and of the respect due to a father, have, contrary to our edict, fought with the enemy, out of your post; and, as far as in you lay, subverted the military discipline, by which the power of Rome has to this day been supported; and have brought me under the hard necessity either of overlooking the interests of the public, or my own, and those of my nearest connections; it is fitter that we undergo the penalty of our own transgressions, than that the commonwealth should expiate our offences so injurious to it. We shall afford a melancholy example, but a profitable one, to the youth of all future ages. For my part, I own, both the natural affection of a parent, and the

instance which you have shown of bravery, misguided by a false notion of honour, affect me deeply. But since the authority of a consul's orders must either be established by your death; or, by your escaping with impunity, be annulled for ever; I expect that even you yourself, if you have any of our blood in you, will not refuse to restore, by your punishment, that military discipline which has been subverted by your fault. Go, lictor: bind him to the stake." Shocked to the last degree at such a cruel order, each looking on the axe as if drawn against himself, all were quiet, through fear, rather than discipline. They stood, therefore, for some time motionless and silent; but when the blood spouted from his severed neck, then, their minds emerging, as it were, from the stupefaction in which they had been plunged, they all at once united their voices in free expressions of compassion, refraining not either from lamentations or execrations; and covering the body of the youth with the spoils, they burned it on a pile, erected without the rampart, with every honour which the warm zeal of the soldiers could bestow on a funeral. From thence 'Marlian orders' were not only then considered with horror, but have been transmitted, as a model of austerity, to future times. The harshness of this punishment, however, rendered the soldiery more obedient to their commander; while the guards and watches, and the regulation of the several posts, were thenceforth attended to with greater diligence: this severity was also found useful, when the troops, for the final decision, went into the field of battle.

VIII. A battle between these two nations much resembled that of a civil war; for, except in point of courage, there was a perfect similarity between the Latines and Romans, in every particular. The Romans formerly made use of targets; afterwards when they came to receive pay, they made shields for themselves, instead of the targets; and their army, which before was composed of phalanxes, like those of the Macedonians, began to be formed in a line of distinct companies. At length a farther division was made of these, into centuries; each century containing sixty-two soldiers, one centurion, and a standard-bearer. The spearmen formed the first line in ten companies, with small intervals between them. A company had twenty light armed soldiers, the rest bearing shields; those were called light, who carried only a spear and short iron javelin.

This body, which formed the van in the field of battle, contained the youth in early bloom, who were advancing to the age of service; next to them followed the men of more robust age, in the same number of companies, whom they called *Principes*, all bearing shields, and distinguished by the completest armour. This band of twenty companies they called *Antepilani*, because there were, at the same time, ten others placed behind them with the standards. Of these companies, each was distinguished into three divisions, and the first division of each they called a *Pilus*. Each company had three ensigns, and contained one hundred and eighty-six men. The first ensign was at the head of the *Triarii*, veteran soldiers of approved courage; the second, at the head of the *Rorarii*, men whose age, and course of service, afforded less ability; the third, at that of the *Accensi*, the body in whom they placed the least confidence of all, for which reason also they were thrown back to the last line. An army being marshalled according to this disposition, the spearmen first began the fight: if these were unable to repulse the enemy, they retreated leisurely, and the *principes* received them into the intervals of their ranks. The fight then rested on the *principes*, the spearmen following in their rear. The veterans continued kneeling behind the ensigns, with their left leg extended forward, holding their shields resting on their shoulders, and their spears fixed in the ground, with the points erect; so that their line presented an appearance of strength, like that of a rampart. If the *principes* also failed in making an impression upon the enemy, they fell back slowly, from the front to the veterans. Hence came into use the proverbial expression, denoting a case of difficulty, that the affair had come to the *Triarii*. These then, rising up, received the *principes* and spearmen into the intervals of their ranks, and immediately closing their files, shut up, as it were, every opening, and in one compact body fell upon the enemy; after which, there was no other resource left. This was the most formidable circumstance to the enemy, when, after having pursued them as vanquished, they saw a new line of battle suddenly starting up, with an increase of strength. The number of legions, generally raised, was four, each consisting of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse. To these, an addition, of an equal number, used to be made by levies among the *Latines*, with whom

the Romans were now to contend as enemies, and who practised the same method in drawing up their troops. So that it was well known, that unless the ranks should be put out of their order, they would have to engage, not only ensign against ensign, a body of every description against one exactly similar, but even centurion against centurion. There were among the veterans two first centurions, one in each army; the Roman, deficient in bodily strength, but a man of courage and experience in service: the *Latine*, exceedingly strong, and a first rate warrior. These were perfectly well known to each other, because they had always commanded centuries in equal rank. The Roman, confident of his strength, had, before he left Rome, obtained permission from the consuls, to appoint any one, whom he thought proper, his sub-centurion, to defend him against the one who was destined to be his antagonist; and the youth whom he chose, being opposed to the *Latine* centurion in battle, obtained a victory over him. The armies came to an engagement at a little distance from the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, where the road led to the *Veseris*.

IX. The Roman consuls, before they led out their forces to the field, performed sacrifices. We are told, that the *aruspex* showed to *Decius*, that the head of the liver was wounded on the side which respected himself, in other respects the victim was acceptable to the gods: but *Manlius* found, in his immolation, omens highly favourable. On which *Decius* said, "All is well yet, since my colleague's offering has been accepted." With their troops, arrayed in the order already described, they marched forth to battle. *Manlius* commanded the right wing; *Decius* the left. At the beginning, the conflict was maintained with equal strength on both sides, and with equal courage. Afterwards, the Roman spearmen, on the left wing, unable to withstand the violent push made by the *Latines*, retreated to the *principes*. On this disorder happening, the consul *Decius* called to *Marcus Valerius*, with a loud voice, "*Valerius*, we want the aid of the gods: as public pontiff of the Roman people, dictate to me the words in which I may devote myself for the legions." The pontiff then directed him to take the gown called *Prætexta*, and with his head covered, and his hand thrust up under the gown to his chin, standing upon a spear laid under his feet, to repeat these words: "*O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, ye Lares, ye*



gods Novensiles,<sup>1</sup> ye gods Indigetes, ye divinities, under whose dominion we and our enemies are, and ye gods of the infernal regions, I beseech you, I adore you, I implore of you, that ye may propitiously grant strength and victory to the Roman people, the Quirites; and affect the enemies of the Roman people, the Quirites, with terror, dismay, and death. In such manner as I have expressed in words, so do I devote the legions, and the auxiliaries of our foes, together with myself, to the infernal gods, and to earth, for the republic of the Romans, for the army, legions, and auxiliaries of the Roman people, the Quirites." After he had uttered these solemn words, he ordered his lictors to go to Titus Manlius, and to inform his colleague, without delay, that he had devoted himself for the army. Then girding himself in the Gabinæ cincture, and taking his arms, he leaped on his horse, and plunged into the midst of the enemy. He appeared in the view of both armies, much more majestic than one of the human race, as if sent from heaven, to expiate all the wrath of the gods, to avert destruction from his friends, and transfer it to the side of their enemies: accordingly, all the terror and dismay went along with him; at first, disturbed the battalions of the Latines, and then spread universally over their whole line. This appeared most evidently, in that wherever he was carried by his horse, there they were seized with a panic, as if struck by some pestilent constellation: but where he fell, overwhelmed with darts, manifest consternation took possession of the cohorts of the Latines, so that they fled from the spot, leaving it void to a considerable extent. At the same time, the Romans, their minds being delivered from the dread of the gods, exerted themselves with fresh ardour, as if they were then rushing to the first onset, on receiving the signal. Then even the Rorarii pushed forward among the Antepilani, and added strength to the spearmen and principes, and the veterans, resting on their right knee, waited for the consul's nod to rise up to the fight.

X. Afterwards, in the course of the battle, the Latines had the advantage in some places, on account of their superior numbers. The consul Manlius, who had heard the circumstances

of his colleague's death, and, as was justly due to him, expressed his sentiments of the glorious manner in which he died, both by tears, and by the praises to which it was entitled, hesitated a while whether it were yet time for the veterans to rise: then judging it better to reserve them fresh for the decisive blow, he ordered the Accensi to advance from the rear, before the standards. On their moving forward, the Latines immediately called up their veterans, thinking their adversaries had done the same; and when these by fighting furiously for a considerable time, had fatigued themselves, and either broken off the points of their spears, or blunted them, yet continuing to drive back their opponents, thinking that the fate of the battle was nearly decided, and that they had come to the last line, then the consul called to the veterans, "Now arise, fresh as ye are, against men who are fatigued, and think on your country, your parents, your wives, and children; think on your consul, submitting to death to ensure your success." The veterans rising, with their arms glittering, and receiving the Antepilani into the intervals of their ranks presented a new face which was not foreseen; raising their shout, they broke the first line of the Latines; then after slaying those who constituted the principal strength, forced their way, almost without a wound, through the other companies, as if through an unarmed crowd: and, such havoc did they make in their thickest bands, that they left alive scarce a fourth part of the enemy. The Samnites, who stood in order of battle, at a distance, close to the foot of the mountain, increased the fears of the Latines. But of all, whether citizens, or allies, the principal share of honour was due to the consuls; one of whom drew down, upon his own single person, all the dangers and threats denounced by the deities either of heaven or hell; while the other displayed such a degree both of courage and conduct, that it is universally agreed among all who have transmitted to posterity an account of that battle, both Latines and Romans, that, on whichever side Manlius had held the command, victory must have attended. The Latines fled towards Minturnæ. The body of Decius was not found that day, night putting a stop to the search: on the following, it was discovered pierced with a multitude of darts, amidst vast heaps of slaughtered enemies, and his funeral was solemnized, under the direction of his colleague,

<sup>1</sup> The Novensiles were nine deities brought to Rome by the Sabines: Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Faith, Fortune, Chance, Health.

in a manner suited to his honourable death. It seems proper to mention here, that it is allowable for a consul, dictator, and prætor, when they devote the legions of their enemies, to devote along with them not themselves in particular, but any citizen whom they choose, out of a Roman legion regularly enrolled. "If the person devoted perishes, the performance is deemed complete. If he die not, then an image seven feet high, or more, must be buried in the earth, and a victim sacrificed, as an expiation. Where that image shall be buried, there it shall be unlawful for a Roman magistrate to pass." But if he shall choose to devote himself, as Decius did, then "if he who devotes himself, die not, he shall not be capable of performing, with propriety, any act of worship, in behalf either of himself, or of the public. Let him have a right to devote his arms to Vulcan, or to any other god, he shall do it, either by a victim, or in any other mode. The enemy should, if possible, be hindered from getting possession of the weapon, on which the consul stood when he uttered his imprecation: but if they chance to attain it, an atonement must be made to Mars by the sacrifices called *Suove-taurilia*." Although the memory of every divine and human rite has been obliterated through the preference given to what is new and foreign, above that which is ancient and the growth of our own country, yet I thought it not amiss to recite these particulars, as they have been transmitted to us, and even in the very words in which they were expressed.

XL Several authors relate, that the Samnites having waited to see the issue of the fight, came up, at length, with support to the Romans, after the battle was ended. In like manner, a reinforcement from Lavinium, after wasting time in deliberation, set out to the aid of the Latines, after they had been vanquished; and when the first standards and part of the army had passed the gates, receiving information of the overthrow of the Latines, they faced about, and returned to the city; on which their prætor, named Millionius, is reported to have said, that "a high price must be paid to the Romans for so short a journey." Such of the Latines as survived the fight, after being scattered through different roads, collected themselves in a body, and took refuge in the city of Vescia. There their general Numisius insisted, in their meetings, that "the variable chances of war had ruined both armies, by equal

losses, and that the name only of victory was on the side of the Romans; and that they were, in fact, no better than defeated. The two pavilions of their consuls were polluted; one by the parricide committed on a son; the other, by the death of a devoted consul: every part of their army had suffered great slaughter: their spearmen and their first rank were cut to pieces; and, both before and behind their standards, multitudes were slain, until the veterans at last restored their cause. Now, although the forces of the Latines were reduced in an equal proportion, yet still, for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, either Latium, or the territory of the Volscians, was nearer than Rome. Wherefore, if they approved of it, he would with all speed call out the youth from the states of the Latines and Volscians; would march back to Capua, with an army prepared for action, and while the Romans thought of nothing less than a battle, strike them with dismay by his unexpected arrival." The misrepresentations contained in his letters, which he despatched round Latium and the Volscian nation, were the more easily credited by the people, as they had not been present at the battle, and in consequence, a tumultuary army levied in haste assembled together from all quarters. This body the consul Torquatus met at Trisanum, a place between Sinuessa and Minturnæ. Without waiting to choose ground for camps, both parties threw down their baggage in heaps, and immediately began an engagement, which decided the fate of the war: for the strength of the Latines was so entirely broken, that, on the consul leading his victorious army to ravage their country, they all submitted themselves to his mercy, and their submission was followed by that of the Campanians. A forfeiture of a portion of their territory was exacted from Latium and Capua. The Latine lands, to which the Priverian were added, and also the Falernian, which had belonged to the people of Campania, as far as the river Volturnus, were distributed to the Roman commons. Of two acres, the portion allotted to each, three-fourths were assigned them in the Latine ground, the complement to be made up out of the Priverian. In the Falernian, three acres were given to each, the addition of one being made in consideration of the distance. Of the Latines, the Laurentians were exempted from punishment, as were the Campanian horsemen, because they



had not joined in the revolt. An order was made, that the treaty should be renewed with the Laurentians, and from that time this has been annually done, on the tenth day after the Latine festival. The privileges of citizens were granted to the Campanian horsemen; and as a monument thereof they hung up a tablet in the temple of Castor at Rome. The people of Campania were also enjoined to pay them a yearly stipend of four hundred and fifty denarii<sup>1</sup> each; their number amounted to one thousand six hundred.

XII. The war being thus brought to a conclusion, Titus Manlius, after distributing rewards and punishments, according to the merits and demerits of each, returned to Rome. On his arrival there, it appeared that none but the aged came out to meet him, and that the young, both then and during the whole of his life, detested and cursed him. The Antians, having made inroads on the territories of Ostia, Ardea, and Solonia, the consul Manlius, unable on account of the ill state of his health, to act against them in person, nominated dictator Lucius Papirius Crassus, who happened at the time to be prætor, and he constituted Lucius Papirius Cursor master of the horse. Nothing worth mention was performed against the Antians by the dictator, although he kept his army in a fixed camp, in the territory of Antium, during several months. To this year, which was signalized by conquest over so many, and such powerful nations, and besides, by the glorious death of one of the consuls, and the other's unrelenting severity in command, by which he has been rendered for ever memorable, succeeded, as consuls, Tiberius Æmilius Mamercinus, and Quintus Publilius Philo, [Y. R. 416. B. C. 336.] who found not equal opportunity for the display of abilities; and were, besides, more attentive to their private interests, and the parties which divided the state, than to the public good. The Latines taking arms again, out of resentment for being deprived of their lands, were defeated, and driven out of their camp, in the plains of Ferentinum; and while Publilius, under whose conduct and auspices the battle had been fought, was employed there in receiving the submissions of the Latine states, who had lost the greater part of their young men in the engagement, Æmilius led the army towards Pedom. The people of this city were

supported by the Tiburtine, Prænestine, and Veliternian states: auxiliaries also came to them from Lavinium and Antium. Though the Romans had here the superiority in several engagements, yet the most difficult part of the business remained still to be attempted at the city of Pedom itself, and at the camp of the combined states, which lay close to the walls; when the consul, on hearing that a triumph had been decreed to his colleague, hastily left the war unfinished, and repaired to Rome to demand a triumph for himself, before he had obtained a victory. The senate, offended at his ambitious proceeding, refused to grant it, until Pedom should either surrender or be taken. This so alienated Æmilius from their interests, that he acted, during the remainder of his consulate, like a seditious tribune; for, as long as he continued in office, he never ceased criminalizing the patricians in harangues to the people, which his colleague, who was himself a plebeian, took no pains to prevent. The charges he brought against them were grounded on a scanty distribution of the Latine and Falernian lands: and when the senate, wishing to put an end to the administration of the consuls, ordered a dictator to be nominated, to conduct the war against the Latines, who were again in arms, Æmilius, who was the acting consul at the time, nominated his colleague dictator, who appointed Junius Brutus master of the horse. The dictatorship of Publilius was popular, for his discourses were replete with invectives against the patricians. He at the same time passed three laws, highly advantageous to the commons, and injurious to the nobility: one, that the orders of the commons should bind all the Romans; another, that the senate should, previous to the taking of the suffrages, declare their approbation of all laws which should be passed in the assemblies of the centuries; the third, that one of the censors should, necessarily, be elected out of the commons, as it had been already established that both the consuls might be plebeians. In the judgment of the patricians, the detriment sustained that year, at home, from the behaviour of the consuls and dictator, was more than a counterbalance to the increase of empire, through their conduct and successes in war.

XIII. At the commencement of the next year, [Y. R. 417. B. C. 335.] in which Lucius Furius Camillus, and Caius Mænius, were consuls, the senate, in order to render

<sup>1</sup> Fourteen pounds, ten shillings, and seven-pence halfpenny.

more conspicuous the conduct of Æmilius, in relinquishing the business of the campaign, warmly urged that men, arms, and every kind of force, should be employed to take Penum, and demolish it. The new consuls were of course obliged to postpone every other business, and to set out thither. In Latium, the state of affairs was such, that the people could ill endure either war or peace; their strength was not equal to the support of a war, and peace they disdained, on the humiliating terms of losing their lands. They resolved, therefore, to steer a middle course; to keep within the walls of their towns, so that no provocation should be offered to the Romans, which might serve them as a pretext for hostilities; and in case they should hear of siege being laid to any of their possessions, then, that every one of the estates should be obliged to bring succour to the besieged. Penum, however, received aid from few; the Tiburtians and Prænestians, whose territories lay nearest, arrived there; but the Aricians, Lavinians, and Veliternians, while forming a junction with the Volscians of Antium, at the river Astura, were unexpectedly attacked by Mænius, and routed. The Tiburtians, who were much the strongest body, Camillus fought at Penum; and, though he had greater difficulties to surmount, yet the issue was equally successful. Some confusion happened, occasioned, principally, by a sudden eruption of the townsmen, during the fight: but Camillus, making part of his troops face about, not only drove them within the walls, but, after utterly discomfiting both themselves and their allies, took the city the same day by escalade. It was then resolved, their troops being flushed with victory, that they should proceed until they had made an entire conquest of all Latium. This plan they prosecuted without intermission, making themselves masters of some of the towns by force, and of others by capitulation, reducing the entire country to subjection. Then leaving garrisons in the conquered places, they returned to Rome, to enjoy the triumph, to which all men allowed they were justly entitled. To a triumph was added the honour of having equestrian statues erected to them in the forum, a compliment very rare in that age. Before the assembly for electing consuls was called for the ensuing year, Camillus moved the senate to take into consideration the conduct to be observed towards the states of Latium, and pro-

ceeded in this manner: "Conscript fathers, Whatever was to be effected in Latium, by means of arms and military operations, has now, through the favour of the gods, and the valour of your soldiers, been fully accomplished. The armies of our enemies have been cut to pieces at Penum, and the Astura; all the towns of Latium, and Antium, in the Volscian territory, either taken by storm, or surrendered, are held by your garrisons. It remains then to be considered, since the frequent rebellions of these people are the cause of so much trouble, by what means we may secure their quiet submission, and peaceable behaviour. The attainment of this end, the immortal gods have placed within your reach, insomuch that they have given you the power of determining whether Latium shall longer exist, or not. Ye can therefore ensure to yourselves perpetual peace, as far as regards the Latines, by the means either of severity, or of mercy. Do ye choose to adopt cruel measures against people vanquished, and submitting to your authority? Ye may utterly destroy all Latium, and make a desert of a country, from which, in many and difficult wars, ye have often been supplied with a powerful army of allies. Do ye choose, on the contrary, and in conformity to the practice of your ancestors, to augment the Roman state, by receiving the vanquished into the number of your citizens? Here is a large addition which ye may acquire, by means which will redound most highly to your glory. That government, which the subjects feel happy in obeying, stands certainly on the firmest of all foundations. But whatever your determination may be, it is necessary that it be speedy: as all those states are, at present, suspended between hope and fear. It is therefore of importance that ye should be discharged, as soon as possible, from all solicitude concerning them; and also, that, either by punishment or clemency, an immediate impression be made on their minds, before they recover from the state of insensibility into which the uncertainty of their fate has thrown them. It was our part to bring the business to such an issue, that your deliberations concerning it should be unrestrained in every particular. It is now yours to determine what is most advantageous to yourselves and the commonwealth."

XIV. The principal members of the senate highly approved of the consul's statement of the business, on the whole: but said, that 'as



the states were differently circumstanced, it would conduce to an easy adjustment of the plan, so as that their resolutions should be conformable to the several merits of each, if he put the question, on the case of each state, separately." The question was accordingly put, and a decree past with respect to each singly. The Lanuvians were admitted members of the state; the exercise of their public worship was restored to them, with a provision, that the grove and temple of Juno Sospita should be in common, between the burghers<sup>1</sup> of Lanuvium, and the Roman people. On the same terms with these, the Aricians, Nomentans, and Pedans, were received into the number of citizens. To the Tusculans, the rights of citizens, of which they were already in possession, were continued; and the guilt of the rebellion, instead of being imputed to disaffection in the state, was thrown on a few incendiaries. On the Veliternians, who were Roman citizens of an old standing, in resentment of their having so often arisen in rebellion, severe vengeance was inflicted: their walls were razed, and their senate driven into banishment; they were also enjoined to dwell on the farther side of the Tiber, with a denunciation that if any of them should be caught on the hither side of that river, the fine to be paid for his discharge should be no less than one thousand asses,<sup>2</sup> and that the person apprehending him, should not release him from confinement, until the money should be paid. Into the lands, which had belonged to their senators, colonists were sent, from the addition of whose numbers Velitræ recovered the appearance of its former populousness. To Antium, also, a new colony was sent, permis-

sion being granted, at the same time, to the Antians, of having themselves enrolled therein if they chose it. The ships of war were taken from them, and the people wholly interdicted from meddling with maritime affairs; but the rights of citizens were granted to them. The Tiburtians and Prænestians were amerced in a portion of their lands; not merely on account of their recent crime of rebellion, common to them with the rest of the Latines, but because they had formerly, in disgust at the Roman government, associated in arms with the Gauls, a nation of savages. From the other states they took away the privileges of intermarriage, commerce, and holding assemblies. To the Campanians, in compliment to their horsemen, who had refused to join in rebellion with the Latines, as likewise to the Fundans and Formians, because the troops had always found a safe and quiet passage through their territories, the freedom of the state was granted, without right of suffrage. The states of Cumæ, and Suessula, it was decreed, should be placed on the same footing, and enjoy the same privileges, as Capua. Of the ships of the Antians, some were drawn up into the docks at Rome; the rest were burned, and with the prows of these a pulpit, built in the forum, was ordered to be decorated, hence called Rostra.<sup>3</sup>

XV. During the succeeding consulate of Caius Sulpicius Longus, and Publius Ælius Pætus, [Y. R. 418. B. C. 334.] whilst all the neighbouring states were sincerely disposed, not more through consideration of the power of the Romans, than grateful sentiments inspired by their generous conduct, to cultivate peace with them, a quarrel broke out between the Sidicinians and the Auruncians. The latter, having been formerly, on their submission, admitted into alliance, by Titus Manlius, in his consulate, had ever since demeaned themselves peaceably, for which reason they were more justly entitled to expect assistance from the Romans. But, before the consuls led out the army, (for the senate had ordered the Auruncians to be supported,) intelligence was brought, that these, through fear, had deserted their city, and, removing with their wives and children, had fortified Suessa, which is now called Aurunca, and that their former dwellings and fortifications were demolished by the Sidicinians. The senate, highly displeased with the consuls, in conse-

<sup>1</sup> Municipes, from *mumus*, a right, and *capere*, to possess. Of the conquered countries the Romans constituted some, Municipia, where the people retained their own laws and magistrates, and even honoured with the title, and, some of them, with all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. The people of Cære were the first who were thus indulged with full rights; but, afterwards, having joined some neighbouring states, in a war against Rome, all the privileges of citizens were taken from them, and the title only left. In other countries they planted colonies of their own citizens; by which means they disburthened the city of numbers of useless and poor inhabitants, and, at the same time, formed barriers against the adjoining states. Colonists retained all the rights of citizens, chose their own magistrates, and formed a kind of petty republics, under that of Rome. Other countries were made præfectures, deprived of their own laws and magistrates, and governed by a præfect sent annually from Rome.

<sup>2</sup> 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

<sup>3</sup> From *rostrum*, the beak or prow of a ship.

quence of whose dilatory proceedings their allies had been disappointed of support, ordered a dictator to be nominated. Caius Claudius Regillensis, being accordingly appointed, chose Caius Claudius Hortator master of the horse. A scruple afterwards arose concerning the dictator, and the augurs having declared his creation informal, both he and the master of the horse abdicated their offices. This year, Minucia, a vestal, falling at first under suspicion of incontinence, because of her dressing in a style of elegance beyond what became her situation, and being afterwards prosecuted before the pontiffs, on the testimony of a slave, was, by their decree, ordered to refrain from meddling in sacred rites, and to retain her slaves under her own power.<sup>1</sup> Being afterwards brought to trial, she was buried alive, at the Colline gate, on the right hand of the causeway in the field of wickedness, which was so denominated, I suppose, from her crime. The same year Quintus Publilius Philo was the first plebeian elected prætor. He was opposed by the consul Sulpicius, who refused to admit him as a candidate; but the senate, having failed of carrying their point, with respect to the highest offices, showed the less earnestness about the prætorship.

XVI. The following year, [Y. R. 419. B. C. 333.] wherein Lucius Papirius Crassus, and Cæso Duilius were consuls, was distinguished by a war with the Ausonians, which deserves notice, rather as they were a new enemy, than on account of its importance. This people inhabited the city Cales: they had united their arms with their neighbours the Sidicinians, yet the forces of the two nations were defeated, in a single battle, without any great difficulty. Their cities being near at hand, induced them to quit the field the earlier, and also afforded them shelter after their flight. However, the senate did not, on this, desist from the prosecution of the war, being provoked at the Sidicinians having so often taken arms against them, either as principals or auxiliaries. They therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to raise to the consulship, the fourth time, Marcus Valerius Corvus, the greatest general of that age. [Y. R. 420. B. C. 332.] The colleague joined with him was Marcus Atilius Regulus; and lest chance might frustrate their wishes, a request was made to the

consuls, that, without casting lots, that province might be assigned to Corvus. Receiving the victorious army from the former consuls, he marched directly to Cales, where the war had its rise: and having, at the first onset, routed the enemy, who were disheartened by the recollection of the former engagement, he directed his operations against the town itself. Such was the ardour of the soldiers, that they wanted to proceed directly up to the walls with ladders, asserting, that they would quickly scale them; but that being a hazardous attempt, Corvus chose to effect his purpose by the labour of his men, rather than at the expense of so much danger to them; he therefore formed a rampart, prepared machines, and advanced towers up to the walls. But an opportunity, which accidentally presented itself, prevented his having occasion to use them: for Marcus Fabius, a Roman, who was prisoner there, having broken his chains, while his guards were inattentive on a festival day, by fastening a rope to one of the battlements, let himself down among the Roman works, and persuaded the general to make an assault on the enemy, while, in consequence of feasting and drinking, they were disqualified for action. And thus the Ausonians, together with their city, were captured with as little difficulty as they had been defeated in the field. The booty found there was immense, and the legions, leaving a garrison at Cales, returned to Rome. The consul triumphed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate; and, in order that Atilius should not be without a share of honour, both the consuls were ordered to lead the troops against the Sidicinians. But first, in obedience to the senate, they nominated dictator, for the purpose of holding the elections, Lucius Æmilius Hamercinus, who named Quintus Publilius Philo master of the horse. [Y. R. 421. B. C. 331.] The dictator presiding at the election, Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius were created consuls. Notwithstanding the war with the Sidicinians remained unfinished, yet being desirous to prevent, by an act of generosity, the wishes of the commons, they proposed to the senate the sending a colony to Cales; and a decree being passed that two thousand five hundred men should be enrolled for that purpose, they constituted Cæso Duilius, Titus Quintius, and Marcus Fabius, commissioners for conducting the colony, and distributing the lands.

<sup>1</sup> For, if she had made them free, they could not have been examined by the torture.



XVII. The new consuls, receiving from their predecessors the command of the army, marched into the enemy's country, and carried devastation even to the walls of their capital. There, because it was expected that the Sidi-cinians, who had collected a vast body of forces, would make a vigorous struggle in support of their last hope, and a report also prevailing that Samnium was preparing for hostilities, the consuls, by direction of the senate, nominated dictator, Publius Cornelius Rufinus, who appointed Marcus Antonius his master of the horse. A doubt afterwards arose, with respect to the regularity of their creation, on which they abdicated their offices, and a pestilence ensuing, recourse was had to an interregnum, as if the auspices of every office had been infected by that irregularity. Under Marcus Valerius Corvus, the fifteenth interrex from the commencement of the interregnum, consuls were at last elected, Aulus Cornelius a second time, and Cneius Domitius. [Y. R. 422. B. C. 330.] While things were in a state of tranquillity, a report, which was spread, that the Gauls were in arms, produced the same effect which a war with that people usually did, a resolution to create a dictator: Marcus Papirius Crassus was nominated to that office, and Publius Valerius Publicola to that of master of the horse; and while they were busy in levying troops, with greater diligence than would have been deemed requisite in the case of war with any neighbouring state, intelligence was brought, by scouts despatched for the purpose, that all was quiet among the Gauls. Suspicions were also entertained that Samnium still continued, during this year, in a disposition to raise new disturbances; for which reason, the Roman troops were not withdrawn from the country of the Sidi-cinians. An attack made by Alexander king of Epirus, on the Lucanians, drew the Samnites to that quarter where those two nations fought a pitched battle with the king as he was making a descent on the side of the country adjoining Pæstum. Alexander, having gained the victory, concluded a treaty of amity with the Romans; with what degree of faith he would have observed it, had the rest of his enterprises proved successful, it is hard to say. The census, or general survey, was performed this year, and the new citizens rated; on whose account, two additional tribes were constituted, the Mæcian and Scaptian, by the censors Quintus Publilius Philo, and Spurius Postumius.

The Acerrans were enrolled as Romans, in pursuance of a law introduced by the prætor, Lucius Papirius, which granted them the privileges of citizens, excepting the right of suffrage. Such were the transactions, foreign and domestic, of this year.

XVIII. The following year [Y. R. 423. B. C. 329.] exhibited a shocking scene, whether occasioned by the intemperance of the air, or by the wickedness of the people. The consuls were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Valerius, either Flaccus or Potitus, for I find these different surnames of the consul in the annals; it is, however, a matter of little consequence, which of them be the true one. There is another account, which I could heartily wish were false: that those persons, whose deaths distinguished this year as disastrous, on account of the extraordinary mortality, were cut off by poison. Although this particular be not mentioned by all the historians of this period, yet, that I may not detract from the credit of any writer, I shall relate the matter as it has been handed down to us. While the principal persons of the state died, by disorders of the same kind, and which were attended with the same issue in every case, a certain maid servant undertook, before Quintus Fabius Maximus, curule ædile, to discover the cause of the general malady, provided security were given her on the public faith, that she should not be a sufferer in consequence. Fabius immediately reported the affair to the consuls, and the consuls to the senate, and, by order of that body, the public faith was pledged to the informer. She then stated to them, that the calamity, which afflicted the nation, was caused by the wicked contrivances of certain women; that some matrons were, at the time, preparing drugs for the purpose; and that, if they would be pleased to go along with her without delay, they might detect them in the fact. Accordingly, they followed the informant, and found several women preparing drugs, and also quantities of the same laid up, which being brought into the forum, and the matrons, in whose custody they were found, to the number of twenty, being summoned by a beadle, two of them, Cornelia and Sergia, both of patrician families, asserted that those drugs were wholesome; while the informant maintained the contrary; and insisted on their drinking them, in order to convict her of having invented a falsehood. On this, having taken

time to confer together, and in the open view of all, a space being cleared for them, they drank off the preparation, and all perished by means of their own wicked device. Their attendants, being instantly seized, gave information against a great number of matrons, of whom no less than one hundred and seventy were condemned. Until that day, no person had ever been tried at Rome for poisoning. The affair was deemed a prodigy, and seemed more the result of madness, than of vicious depravity. Wherefore, mention being found in the annals, that formerly, on occasion of the secessions of the commons, (a disastrous time) the ceremony of driving the nail had been performed by a dictator, and that by that expiation, the minds of men, which were distracted by discord, had been restored to their proper state, it was resolved that a dictator should be nominated for the purpose. Cneius Quintus being accordingly created, appointed Lucius Valerius master of the horse, and, as soon as the nail was driven, they abdicated their offices. [Y. R. 424. B. C. 328.]

XIX. Lucius Papirius Crassus, and Lucius Plautius Venno were the consuls for the next year; [Y. R. 425. B. C. 327.] in the beginning of which, ambassadors came to Rome from Fabrateria and Polusca, two Volscian states, praying to be admitted into alliance; and promising, that if they were protected against the arms of the Samnites, they would ever continue faithful and obedient subjects to the government of the Roman people. On this, ambassadors were sent by the senate, to require of the Samnites, that they should offer no violence to the territories of those states; and this embassy produced the desired effect, rather because the Samnites were not yet prepared for war, than that they were desirous of peace. This year, war broke out with the people of Privernum: these were supported by the inhabitants of Fundi, of which country was also the commander-in-chief, Vitruvius Vaccus, a man of considerable note, not only at home, but at Rome also. He had a house on the Palatine hill, on the spot which after the buildings were razed, and the ground thrown open, was called Vaccipræta.<sup>1</sup> He was committing great depredations in the districts of Setia, Norba, and Cora, to oppose him, therefore Lucius Papirius began his march, and took post at a small distance from his camp. Vitruvius neither took the prudent

resolution of remaining within his trenches, in the presence of an enemy, his superior in strength, nor had he the courage to fight at any great distance from them. Without either judgment in forming, or boldness in executing his plan, he entered on an engagement, while the last of his troops had scarcely got out of the gate of the camp, and his men were in a disposition rather to fly back thither, than to face the enemy. After some slight efforts, he was compelled to give up the contest entirely; but, by reason of the shortness of the distance, and the ease with which he could regain his camp, he saved his army, without much difficulty, from any great loss, few falling either in the action or in the retreat. As soon as it grew dark, they removed in haste and disorder to Privernum, choosing to entrust their safety to walls, rather than to a rampart. The other consul, Plautius, after wasting the country on every side, and driving off the spoil, led his army from Privernum into the territory of Fundi. On entering the borders, he was met by the senate of that state, who declared, that "they came not to intercede for Vitruvius, and those who had followed his faction, but for the people of Fundi, who, in the judgment of Vitruvius himself, were clear from all blame of the war, as he showed by repairing for safety, after his defeat, to Privernum, and not to Fundi, his native city. At Privernum, therefore, the enemies of the Roman people were to be sought, and punished; who, regardless of their duty to both countries, had revolted at once from Fundi and from Rome. The Fundians were in a state of peace, their minds were Roman, and impressed with a grateful remembrance of the privilege of citizens imparted to them: they besought the consul that he would not treat as enemies an unoffending people; assuring him, that their lands, their city, and their persons, were, and ever should be, in the disposal of the Roman people." The consul commended their conduct; and, despatching letters to Rome, that the Fundians had preserved their allegiance, turned his march to Privernum. Claudius writes, that he first inflicted punishment on those who had been the principal abettors of the conspiracy; that three hundred and fifty were sent in chains to Rome; but that the senate did not accept their submission, because they thought that the people of Fundi meant, by consigning to punishment these men, who were mean and indigent, to secure impunity to themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Or the field of Vaccus, from *prætium*, a field.



XX. While the two consular armies were employed in the siege of Privernum, one of the consuls was recalled to Rome, to preside at the elections. This year gaols were first erected in the circus. While the attention of the public was still occupied by the Privernian war, it was forcibly attracted by an alarming report of the Gauls being in arms, a matter at no time slighted by the senate. The new consuls, therefore, Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus, and Caius Plautius, on the calends of July, [Y. R. 426. B. C. 326.] the very day on which they entered into office, received orders to settle the provinces immediately between themselves. Mamercinus, to whom the Gallic war fell, was directed to levy troops, without admitting any plea of immunity: nay, it is said, that even the rabble of handicrafts, and those of sedentary trades, of all the worst qualified for military service, were called out; by which means a vast army was collected at Veii, in readiness to meet the Gauls. It was not thought proper to proceed to a greater distance, lest the Gauls might by some other route, arrive at the city without being observed. In the course of a few days it was found, on a careful enquiry, that every thing on that side was quiet at the time; and the whole force, which was to have opposed the Gauls, was then turned against Privernum. Of the issue of the business, there are two different accounts: some say, that the city was taken by storm; and that Vitruvius fell alive into the hands of the conquerors: others, that the townsmen to avoid the extremities of a storm, presented the rod of peace, and surrendered to the consul; and that Vitruvius was delivered up by his troops. The senate, being consulted with respect to Vitruvius and the Privernians, sent directions, that the consul Plautius should demolish the walls of Privernum, and, leaving a strong garrison there, come home to enjoy the honour of a triumph; at the same time ordering that Vitruvius should be kept in prison, until the return of the consul, and that he should then be beaten with rods, and put to death. His house, which stood on the Palatine hill, they commanded to be razed to the ground, and his effects to be devoted to Semo Sancus. With the money produced by the sale of them, brazen globes were formed, and placed in the chapel of Sancus, opposite to the temple of Quirinus. As to the senate of Privernum, it was commanded, that every person who had continued to act as a senator of

Privernum, after the revolt from the Romans, should reside on the farther side of the Tiber, under the same restrictions as those of Velitræ. After the passing of these decrees, there was no farther mention of the Privernians, until Plautius had triumphed. When that ceremony was over, and Vitruvius, with his accomplices, had been put to death, the consul thought that the people's resentment being now fully gratified by the sufferings of the guilty, he might safely introduce the business of the Privernian state, which he did in the following manner: "Conscript fathers, since the authors of the revolt have received, both from the immortal gods and from you, the punishment due to their crime, what do ye judge proper to be done, with respect to the guiltless multitude? For my part, although my duty consists rather in collecting the opinions of others, than in offering my own, yet, when I reflect that the Privernians are situated in the neighbourhood of the Samnites, with whom it is exceedingly uncertain how long we shall be at peace, I cannot help wishing, that as little ground of animosity as possible may be left between them and us."

XXI. The affair naturally admitted of a diversity of opinions, while each agreeably to his particular temper, recommended either severity or lenity; and the debate was still farther perplexed, by the behaviour of one of the Privernian ambassadors, more conformable to the prospects to which he had been born, than to the insuperable exigency of the present juncture: for being asked by one of the advocates for severity, "What punishment he thought the Privernians deserved?" he answered, "Such as those deserve, who deem themselves worthy of liberty." The consul observing, that by this stubborn answer, the adversaries of the cause of the Privernians were the more exasperated against them, and wishing, by a question of favourable import, to draw from him a more conciliating reply, said to him, "What if we remit the punishment, in what manner may we expect that ye will observe the peace which shall be established between us?" He replied, "If the peace which ye grant us be a good one, inviolably and eternally; if bad, for no long continuance." On this, several exclaimed, that the Privernian menaced them, and not in ambiguous terms; and that such expressions were calculated to excite rebellion. But the more reasonable part of the senate interpreted his answers more favourably, and said, that "the words

which they had heard were those of a man, and of one who knew what it was to be free. Could it be believed that any people, or even any individual, would remain, longer than necessity constrained, in a situation which he felt painful? That the terms of a peace were faithfully observed, only when they were voluntarily accepted; but that it was absurd to expect fidelity, when attempts were made to establish slavery." In this opinion they were led to concur, principally, by the consul himself, who frequently observed to the consulars, who had proposed the different resolutions, in such a manner as to be heard by the rest, that "surely those men who thought of nothing but liberty, were worthy of being made Romans." They consequently carried their cause in the senate: and moreover, by direction of that body, a proposal was laid before the people, that the freedom of the state should be granted to the Privernians. This year a colony of three hundred was sent to Anxur, and received two acres of land each.

XXII. The year following, [Y. R. 427. B. C. 325.] in which the consuls were Publius Plautius Proculus, and Publius Cornelius Scapula, was remarkable for no one transaction, civil or military, except the sending of a colony to Fregellæ, a district which had belonged to the Sidicinians, and afterwards to the Volscians; and a distribution of meat to the people, made by Marcus Flavius, on occasion of the funeral of his mother. There were many who represented, that, under the appearance of doing honour to his parent, he was making recompense to the people, for having acquitted him, when prosecuted by the ædiles on a charge of having debauched a married woman. This donative, intended as a return for favours shown on the trial, proved also the means of procuring him the honour of a public office; for, at the next election of plebeian tribunes, though absent, he was preferred before the candidates who solicited in person. The city Palæopolis was situated at no great distance from the spot where Neapolis now stands. The two cities were inhabited by one people: these came from Cumæ, and the Cumans derive their origin from Chalcis in Eubœa. By means of the fleet in which they had been conveyed hither, they possessed great power on the coast of the sea, near which they dwelt. Their first landing was on the islands of Ænaria, and the Pithæusæ: afterwards they ven-

tured to transfer their settlement to the continent. This state, relying on their own strength, and also on the disposition of the Samnites, to come to a rupture with the Romans; or, encouraged by the report of a pestilence, having attacked the city of Rome, committed various acts of hostility against the Romans settled in the Campanian and Falernian territories. Wherefore, in the succeeding consulate of Lucius Cornelius, and Quintus Publilius Philo a second time, [Y. R. 428. B. C. 324.] heralds being sent to Palæopolis to demand satisfaction, and a haughty answer being returned by these Greeks, a race more magnanimous in words than in action, the people, in pursuance of the direction of the senate, ordered war to be declared against them. On settling the provinces between the consuls, the war against the Greeks fell to Publilius. Cornelius, with another army, was appointed to watch the motions of the Samnites: and a report prevailing, of an expected revolt in Campania, in which case they intended to march their troops thither, that was judged the properest station for him.

XXIII. The senate received information, from both the consuls, that there was very little hope of peace with the Samnites. Publilius informed them, that two thousand soldiers from Nolæ, and four thousand of the Samnites, had been received into Palæopolis, a measure rather forced on the Greeks by the Nolans, than agreeable to their inclination. Cornelius wrote, that a levy of troops had been ordered, that all Samnium was in motion, and that the neighbouring states of Privernum, Fundi, and Formiæ, were openly solicited to join them. It was thought proper, that, before hostilities were commenced, ambassadors should be sent to expostulate on these subjects with the Samnites, who answered in a haughty manner; they even went so far as to accuse the Romans of behaving injuriously towards them; but, nevertheless, they took pains to acquit themselves of the charges made against them, asserting, that "their state had not given either counsel or aid to the Greeks, nor used any solicitations, on their behalf, to the Fundians, or Formians: for, if they were disposed to war, they had not the least reason to be diffident of their own strength. However, they could not dissemble, that it gave great offence to the state of the Samnites, that Fregellæ, a town which they had taken



from the Volscians, and demolished, should have been rebuilt by the Romans; and that they should have established a colony within the territory of the Samnites, to which their colonists gave the name of Fregellæ. This injury and affront, if not done away by the authors, they were determined themselves to remove, by the most effectual means in their power." One of the Roman ambassadors proposed to discuss the matter, before their common allies and friends; on which their magistrate said, "Why do we disguise our sentiments? Romans, no conferences of ambassadors, nor arbitration of any person whatever, can terminate our differences; but the plains of Campania, in which we must fight: let our armies, therefore, meet between Capua and Suessula; and there let us decide, whether the Samnite, or the Roman, shall hold the sovereignty of Italy." To this the ambassadors of the Romans replied, that they would go, not whither their enemy called, but whither their commanders should lead." In the meantime, Publius, by seizing an advantageous post between Palæopolis and Neapolis, had cut off the confederates from that interchange of mutual aid, which they had hitherto afforded each other, when either place was pressed. The day of the elections approached; and, as it was highly inexpedient that Publius should be recalled, when on the point of assailing the enemy's walls, and in daily expectation of gaining possession of their city, application was made to the tribunes, to recommend to the people the passing of an order, that Publius Philo, when his year of office should expire, might continue in command, as pro-consul, until the war with the Greeks should be finished. A letter was despatched to Lucius Cornelius, with orders to name a dictator; for it was not thought proper that the consul should be recalled, while he was employed in vigorously prosecuting the business of the campaign, and had already carried the war into Samnium. He nominated Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who appointed Spurius Postumius master of the horse. The elections, however, were not held by the dictator, because the regularity of his appointment was called in question; and the augurs being consulted, pronounced that it appeared defective. The tribunes inveighed against this proceeding, as dangerous and dishonourable; "for it was not probable," they said, "that a fault in the appointment could

have been discovered, as the consul, rising in the night, had nominated the dictator in private, and while every thing was still;<sup>1</sup> nor had the said consul, in any of his letters, either public or private, made any mention of such a thing; nor did any person whatever appear, who said that he saw or heard any thing which could vitiate the auspices. Neither could the augurs, sitting at Rome, divine what inauspicious circumstance had occurred to the consul in the camp. Who did not plainly perceive, that the dictator's being a plebeian, was the defect which the augurs had discovered?" These, and other arguments, were urged, in vain, by the tribunes: the affair ended in an interregnum. At last, after the elections had been adjourned repeatedly, on one pretext or another, the fourteenth interrex, Lucius Æmilius, elected consuls Caius Pætelius, and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, or Cursor, as I find him named in some annals. [Y. R. 429. B. C. 323.]

XXIV. Historians relate, that, in this year, Alexandria, in Egypt, was founded; and that Alexander, king of Epirus, being slain by a Lucanian exile, verified, in the circumstances of his death, the prediction of Jupiter of Dodona. At the time when he was invited into Italy by the Tarentines, he received a caution, from that oracle, to beware of the Acherusian waters, and the city Pandosia, for there were fixed the limits of his destiny. For that reason he made the greater haste to pass over to Italy, in order to be at as great a distance as possible from the city Pandosia in Epirus, and the river Acheron, which, after flowing through Molossis, runs into the lakes called Infernal, and is received into the Thesprotian gulf. But, as it frequently happens, that men, by endeavouring to shun their fate, run directly upon it, after having often defeated the armies of Bruttium and Lucania, and taken Heraclea, a colony of the Tarentines, Potentia, and Metapontum from the Lucanians, Terina from the Bruttians, and several other cities of the Messapians and Lucanians; and having sent into Epirus three hundred illustrious families, whom he intended to keep as hostages, he posted his troops on three hills, which stood at a small distance from each other, not far from the city Pandosia, and close to the frontiers

<sup>1</sup> Any noise happening, during the taking of the auspices, was reckoned inauspicious; hence *silentium* signified, among the augurs, every circumstance being favourable.

of the Bruttians and Lucanians, in order that he might thence make incursions into every part of the enemy's country. At that time, he kept about his person two hundred Lucanian exiles, whom he considered as faithful attendants, but whose fidelity, according to the general disposition of people of that description, was ever ready to follow the changes of fortune. A continual fall of rain spread such an inundation over all the plains, as cut off, from the three separate divisions of the army, all communication. In this state, the two parties, in neither of which the king was present, were suddenly attacked and overpowered by the enemy, who, after putting them to the sword, employed their whole force in blockading the post, where Alexander commanded in person. From this place, the Lucanian exiles sent emissaries to their countrymen, and, stipulating a safe return for themselves, promised to deliver the king, either alive or dead, into their power. But he, bravely resolving to make an extraordinary effort, at the head of a chosen band, broke through the midst of their forces; engaged singly, and slew the general of the Lucanians, and collecting together his men, who had been scattered in the retreat, arrived at a river where the ruins of a bridge which had been recently broken by the violence of the flood, pointed out his road. Here, while the soldiers were fording the river on a very uneven bottom, one of them, almost spent with fatigue and apprehension, cried out, as a reflection on the odious name of it,—“You are justly named *Acheros* (dismal):” which expression reaching the king's ears, and instantly recalling to his mind the fate denounced on him, he halted, hesitating whether he should cross over or not. Then *Sotimus*, one of the royal band of youths which attended him, asked why he delayed in such a critical moment; and showed him, that the Lucanians were watching an opportunity to perpetrate some act of treachery: whereupon the king, looking back, and seeing them coming towards him in a body, drew his sword, and pushed on his horse, through the middle of the river. He had now reached the shallow, when a Lucanian exile, from a distance, transfixed him with a javelin: after his fall, the current carried down his lifeless body, with the weapon sticking in it, to the posts of the enemy: there it was mangled, in a manner shocking to relate; for dividing it in the middle, they sent one half to *Consentia*, and kept the other, as a

subject of mockery, to themselves. While they were throwing darts and stones at it, a woman mixing with the crowd, (who expressed a degree of barbarous rage which could scarce be conceived to exist in human breasts,) prevailed on them to stop for a moment. She then told them, with tears in her eyes, that she had a husband and children, prisoners among the enemy; and that she hoped to be able, with the king's body, (if they would grant it to her,) however disfigured, to ransom her friends: this put an end to their outrages. The remnants of his limbs were buried at *Consentia*, entirely through the care of the woman; and his bones were sent to *Metapontum*, to the enemy, from whence they were conveyed to *Epirus*, to his wife *Cleopatra*, and his sister *Olympias*; the latter of whom was the mother, the former the sister, of *Alexander the Great*. Such was the melancholy end of *Alexander of Epirus*; of which, although fortune did not allow him to engage in hostilities with the Romans, yet, as he waged war in Italy, I have thought it proper to give this brief account. This year, the fifth time since the building of the city, the *Lectisternium*, was performed at *Rome*, for procuring the favour of the same deities, to whom it was addressed before.

XXV. The new consuls having, by order of the people, declared war against the *Samnites*, exerted themselves in more formidable preparations of every kind, than had been made against the *Greeks*; and, about the same time, received a new accession of strength, from a quarter where they had no such expectation. The *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, nations who, until that time, had no kind of intercourse with the *Roman* people, proposed an alliance with them, promising a supply of men and arms for the war: a treaty of friendship was accordingly concluded. At the same time, their affairs went on successfully in *Samnium*. Three towns fell into their hands, *Allifæ*, *Callifæ*, and *Ruffrium*; and the adjoining country, to a great extent, was on the first arrival of the consuls, laid entirely waste. As the commencement of their operations, on this side, was attended with so much success, so the war, in the other quarter, where the *Greeks* were held besieged, now drew towards a conclusion. For, besides the communication between the two posts of the enemy being cut off, by the besiegers having possession of part of the works through which it had been carried on,



they now suffered, within the walls, hardships far more grievous than those with which they were threatened, being insulted in the persons of their wives and children, and feeling all the extremities usual in the sacking of cities.

When, therefore, intelligence arrived, that reinforcements were to come from Tarentum, and from the Samnites, all agreed that there were more of the latter already within the walls than they wished ; but the young men of Tarentum, who were Greeks as well as themselves, they earnestly longed for, as they hoped to be enabled, by their means, to oppose the Samnites and Nolans, which they deemed no less necessary than resisting their Roman enemies. At last a surrender to the Romans appeared to be the lightest evil. Charilaus and Nymphius, the two principal men in the state, consulting together on the subject, settled the part which each was to act ; it was, that one should desert to the Roman general, and the other stay behind to manage affairs in the city, so as to facilitate the execution of their plan. Charilaus was the person who came to Publius Philo ; he told him that " he had taken a resolution, which he hoped would prove advantageous, fortunate, and happy to the Palæopolitans, and to the Roman people, of delivering the fortifications into his hands. Whether he should appear, by that deed, to have betrayed or preserved his country, depended on the honour of the Romans. That for himself in particular, he neither stipulated nor requested any thing ; but, in behalf of the state, he requested rather than stipulated, that, in case the design should succeed, the Roman people would consider more especially the zeal and hazard with which it sought a renewal of their friendship, than its folly and rashness in deviating from its duty." He was commended by the general, and received a body of three thousand soldiers, with which he was to seize on that part of the city which was possessed by the Samnites, which detachment was commanded by Lucius Quintus, military tribune.

XXVI. In the meantime, Nymphius, on his part, artfully addressing himself to the commander of the Samnites, prevailed upon him, as all the troops of the Romans were employed either about Palæopolis, or in Samnium, to allow him to sail round with the fleet to the territory of Rome, where he undertook to ravage, not only the sea-coast, but the country adjoining the very city. But, in order to avoid observation, it was

necessary, he told him, to set out by night, and to launch the ships immediately. To effect this with the greater despatch, all the young Samnites, except the necessary guards of the city, were sent to the shore. While Nymphius wasted the time there, giving contradictory orders, designedly, to create confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by the crowd, which was so numerous as to obstruct each other's operations, Charilaus, according to the plan concerted, was admitted by his associates into the city ; and having filled the higher parts of it with Roman soldiers, he ordered them to raise a shout ; on which the Greeks, who had received previous directions from their leaders, kept themselves quiet. The Nolans fled through the opposite part of the town, by the road leading to Nola. The flight of the Samnites, who were shut out from the city, was easier, but had a more disgraceful appearance ; for they returned to their homes without arms, stripped of their baggage, and destitute of every thing ; all, in short, belonging to them being left with their enemies ; so that they were objects of ridicule, not only to foreigners, but even to their own countrymen. I know that there is another account of this matter, which represents the town to have been betrayed by the Samnites ; but I have chosen to follow the writers most worthy of credit : besides, the treaty of Neapolis, for to that place the seat of government of the Greeks was then transferred, renders it more probable, that the renewal of friendship was voluntary on their side. Publius had a triumph decreed him, because people were well convinced, that it was his conduct of the siege which reduced the enemy to submission. This man was distinguished by two extraordinary incidents, of which he afforded the first instance : a prolongation of command never before granted to any one ; and a triumph after the expiration of his office.

XXVII. Another war soon after arose with the Greeks of the other coast. The Tarentines having, for a considerable time, buoyed up the state of Palæopolis with delusive hopes of assistance, when they understood that the Romans had gotten possession of that city, as if they were the persons who had suffered the disappointment, and not the authors of it, they inveighed against the Palæopolitans, and became furious in their anger and malice towards the Romans ; to which they were farther incited by receiving information that the Lucanians

and Apulians had joined them; for a treaty of alliance had been this year concluded with both these nations. "The business," they observed, "was now brought almost to their doors; and such would soon be the state of affairs, that they must deal with the Romans as enemies, or receive them as masters: that, in fact, their interests were at stake, on the issue of the war of the Samnites, the only nation which continued to make opposition; and that with power very inadequate, since they were deserted by the Lucanians: these however might yet be brought back, and induced to renounce the Roman alliance, if proper skill were used in sowing dissension between them." These reasonings being readily adopted, by people who wished for a change, they procured, for money, some young Lucanians of considerable note in their country, but devoid of honour, to bring about their design; these having lacerated each other's bodies with stripes, came naked into a public meeting of their countrymen, exclaiming that because they had ventured to go into the Roman camp, they had been thus beaten with rods, by order of the consul, and had hardly escaped the loss of their heads. Circumstances, so shocking in their nature, carrying strong proofs of the ill-treatment, none of artifice, the people were so irritated, that, by their clamours, they compelled the magistrates to call together the senate; and whilst some stood round that assembly, insisting on a declaration of war against the Romans, others ran different ways to rouse to arms the multitude residing in the country. Thus the minds even of rational men being hurried into imprudence by the general uproar, a decree was passed, that the alliance with the Samnites should be renewed, and ambassadors sent for that purpose. This hasty proceeding surprised the Samnites, who, however, insisted, that they should not only give hostages, but also receive garrisons into their fortified places; and they, blinded by resentment, refused no terms. In a little time after, on the authors of the imposition removing to Tarentum, the whole came to light. But as they had given all power out of their own hands, nothing was left them but unavailing repentance.

XXVIII. This year proved, as it were, a new era of liberty to the Roman commons; a stop being put to the practice of confining debtors. This alteration of the law was effected in consequence of the behaviour of a usurer, in which lust and cruelty were equally conspi-

cuous. His name was *Lúcius Papirius*. To him one *Caius Publilius* having surrendered his person to be confined for a debt due by his father, his youth and beauty, which ought to have excited commiseration, operated on the other's mind as incentives to barbarity. He first attempted to seduce the young man by impure discourses; but finding that his ears were shocked at their infamous tendency, he then endeavoured to terrify him by threats, and reminded him frequently of his situation. At last, convinced of his resolution to act conformably to his honourable birth, rather than to his present condition, he ordered him to be stripped and scourged. With the marks of the rods imprinted in his flesh, the youth rushed out into the public street, uttering loud complaints of the depravedness and inhumanity of the usurer. On which a vast number of people, moved by compassion for his early age, and indignation at his barbarous treatment, reflecting at the same time what might be the lot of themselves, and of their children, flocked together into the forum, and from thence, in a body, to the senate-house. When the consuls were obliged, by the sudden tumult, to call a meeting of the senate, the people, falling at the feet of each of the senators, as they were going into the senate-house, presented to their view the back of *Caius* torn with stripes. On that day, in consequence of the outrageous conduct of an individual, one of the strongest bonds of credit was broken; and the consuls were commanded to propose to the people, that no person should be held in fetters or stocks, except convicted of a crime, and in order to punishment; but that, for money due, the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be answerable. Thus the confined debtors were released; and provision made, for the time to come, that they should not be liable to confinement.

XXIX. In the course of this year, while the war with the Samnites was sufficient in itself to give full employment to the senate, besides the sudden defection of the Lucanians, and the intrigues of the Tarentines, by which it had been effected, they found another source of uneasiness in a union formed by the state of the Vestinians with the Samnites. Which event, though it continued, during the present year, to be the general subject of conversation, without coming under any public discussion, appeared so important to the consuls of the year following, [Y. R. 430. B. C. 322.]



Lucius Furius Camillus a second time, and Decius Junius, that it was the first business which they proposed to the consideration of the state. Notwithstanding it had yet produced no effects, it threw the senate into great perplexity, as they dreaded equally the consequences, either of passing it over, or of taking it up; lest on the one hand, if that people's conduct passed with impunity, wantonness and arrogance might excite other states in their neighbourhood to follow their example; and, on the other, if an attempt should be made to punish them by force of arms, resentment and dread of immediate danger might produce the same effect. And the whole body of Vestinians, too, was at least equal in strength to the Samnites, being composed of the Marsians, the Pelignians, and the Marrusinians; against all of whom they would have to contend, if any steps were taken against that nation. However, that opinion prevailed, which might, at the time, seem to have more spirit than prudence; but the event afforded a proof that fortune assists the brave. The people, in pursuance of the direction of the senate, ordered war against the Vestinians, which province fell by lot to Junius; Samnium to Camillus. Armies were led to both places, which, by carefully guarding the frontiers, prevented a junction of the forces of their enemies. But Lucius Furius, on whom the principal weight of the business rested, was deprived of his share in the management of it, being seized with a severe sickness. He was, therefore, ordered to nominate a dictator to conduct the war, and he nominated Lucius Papirius Cursor, the most celebrated general, by far, of any in that age, who appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus Rulianus master of the horse. These commanders were remarkable for their exploits in war; but more so, for a quarrel which arose between themselves, and which proceeded almost to violence. The other consul, in the territory of the Vestinians, carried on operations of various kinds; and, in all, was uniformly successful. He utterly laid waste their lands, and by spoiling and burning their houses and corn, compelled them to come to an engagement; when, in one battle, he reduced the strength of the Vestinians to such a degree, though not without loss on his own side, that they not only fled to their camp, but, fearing even to trust to the rampart and trench, dispersed from thence into the several towns, in hopes of finding security in the situation and fortifications of their cities.

At last he undertook to reduce their towns by force; and so ardent were the soldiers, and such their resentment for the wounds which they had received, (hardly one of them having come out of the battle unhurt,) that he took Cutina by scalade, and afterwards Cingilia. The spoil of both cities he gave to the soldiers, in consideration of their having bravely surmounted the obstruction both of gates and walls.

XXX. The commanders entered Samnium without having obtained any particularly favourable indications in the auspices; an ominous circumstance, which pointed, not at the event of war, for that was prosperous, but at the furious passions and the quarrels which broke out between the leaders. For Papirius the dictator, returning to Rome in order to take the auspices anew, in consequence of a caution received from the aruspex, left strict orders with the master of the horse to remain in his post, and not to engage in battle during his absence. After the departure of the dictator, Fabius having discovered by his scouts, that the enemy were in as unguarded a state as if there was not a single Roman in their neighbourhood, the high-spirited youth, (either conceiving indignation at the sole authority in every point appearing to be lodged in the hands of the dictator, or induced by the opportunity of striking an important blow,) having made the necessary preparations and dispositions, marched to a place called Imbrinium, and there fought a battle with the Samnites. His success in the fight was such, that there was no one circumstance which could have been improved to more advantage, if the dictator had been present. The leader was not wanting to the soldiers, nor the soldiers to their leader. The cavalry too, (finding, after repeated charges, that they could not break the ranks,) by the advice of Lucius Cominius, a military tribune, pulled off the bridles from their horses and spurred them on so furiously, that no power could withstand them; forcing their way through the thickest of the enemy, they bore down every thing before them; and the infantry, seconding the charge, the whole body was thrown into confusion. Of these, twenty thousand are said to have fallen on that day. Some accounts say that there were two battles fought during the dictator's absence, and two victories obtained; but the most ancient writers mention only this one, and in some histories the whole transaction is omitted. The master of the horse getting possession of

abundance of spoils, in consequence of the great numbers slain, collected the arms into a huge heap, and burned them; either in pursuance of a vow to some of the gods, or, if we choose to credit Fabius, in order to prevent the dictator from reaping the fruits of that renown, to which he alone was entitled. He feared, too, that Papirius might inscribe his name on the spoils, or carry them in triumph. His letters also, containing an account of the success, being sent to the senate, showed plainly that he wished not to impart to the dictator any share of the honour; who certainly viewed the proceeding in this light, for while others rejoiced at the victory obtained, he showed only surliness and anger: insomuch that, immediately dismissing the senate, he hastened out of the senate-house, and frequently repeated with warmth, that the legions of the Samnites were not more effectually vanquished and overthrown by the master of the horse, than were the dictatorial dignity and military discipline, if such contempt of orders escaped with impunity. Thus, breathing resentment and menaces, he set out for the camp; but, though he travelled with all possible expedition, intelligence arrived before him, that the dictator was coming, eager for vengeance, and in every second sentence applauding the conduct of Titus Manlius.

XXXI. Fabius instantly called an assembly, and entreated the soldiers, to "show the same courage in protecting him, under whose conduct and auspices they had conquered, from the outrageous cruelty of the dictator, which they had so lately displayed in defending the commonwealth from its most inveterate enemies. He was now coming," he told them, "frantic with envy; enraged at another's bravery, raving like a madman, because, in his absence, the business of the public had been executed with remarkable success; and if he could change the fortune of the engagement, would wish the Samnites in possession of victory rather than the Romans. He talked much of contempt of orders; as if his prohibition of fighting were not dictated by the same motive, which caused his vexation at the fight having taken place. He wished to shackle the valour of others, and meant to take away the soldiers' arms when they were most eager for action, and that no use might be made of them in his absence: he was farther enraged too, because Quintus Fabius considered himself as master

of the horse, not as a beadle to the dictator. How would he have behaved, had the issue of the fight been unfortunate; which, through the chances of war and the uncertainty of military operations, might have been the case; since now, when the enemy has been vanquished, (as completely, indeed, as if that leader's own singular talents had been employed in the matter,) he yet threatens the master of the horse with punishment? Nor is his rancour greater towards the master of the horse, than towards the military tribunes, towards the centurions, towards the soldiers. On all, he would vent his rage; and because that is not in his power, he vents it on one. Envy, like flame, soars upwards; aims at the summit, and makes its attack on the head of the business, on the leader. If he could put him out of the way, together with the glory of the service performed, he would then triumph, like a conqueror over vanquished troops; and, without scruple, practise against the soldiers, what he had been allowed to act against their commander. It behoved them, therefore, in his cause, to support the general liberty of all. If the dictator perceived among the troops the same unanimity in justifying their victory, that they had displayed in gaining it, and that all interested themselves in the safety of one, it would bend his temper to milder counsels. In fine," he told them, "that he committed his life, and all his interests, to their honour and to their courage."

XXXII. His speech was received with the loudest acclamations from every part of the assembly, bidding him "have courage; for while the Roman legions were in being, no man should offer him violence." Not long after, the dictator arrived, and instantly summoned an assembly by sound of trumpet. Then silence being made, a crier cited Quintus Fabius, master of the horse, and as soon as, on the lower ground, he had approached the tribunal, the dictator said, "Quintus Fabius, I demand of you, when the authority of dictator is acknowledged to be supreme, and is submitted to by the consuls, officers endowed with regal power; and likewise by the prætors, created under the same auspices with consuls; whether or no you think it reasonable that it should not meet obedience from a master of the horse? I also ask you whether, when I knew that I set out from home under uncertain auspices, it was for me, under that considera-



tion, to hazard the safety of the commonwealth, or whether my duty did not require me to have the auspices newly taken, so that nothing might be done while the will of the gods remained doubtful? And further, when a religious scruple was of such a nature, as to hinder the dictator from acting, whether the master of the horse could be exempt from it, and at liberty? But why do I ask these questions, when, supposing that I had gone without leaving any orders, your own judgment ought to have been regulated according to what you could discover of my intention? Why do you not answer? Did I not forbid you to act, in any respect, during my absence? Did I not forbid you to engage the enemy? Yet, in contempt of these my orders, while the auspices were uncertain, while the omens were confused, contrary to the practice of war, contrary to the discipline of our ancestors, and contrary to the authority of the gods, you dared to enter on the fight. Answer to these questions, proposed to you. On any other matter utter not a word. Lictor, draw near him." To each of these particulars Fabius, finding it no easy matter to answer, at one time remonstrated against the same person acting as accuser and judge, in a cause which affected his very existence; at another, he asserted that his life should sooner be forced from him, than the glory of his past services; clearing himself, and accusing the other by turns, so that the dictator's anger blazed out with fresh fury; and he ordered the master of the horse to be stripped, and the rods and axes to be got ready. Fabius, imploring the protection of the soldiers, while the lictors were tearing his garments, retired to the quarters of the veterans, who were already raising a commotion in the assembly: from them the uproar spread through the whole body; in one place the voice of supplication was heard; in another, menaces. Those who happened to stand nearest to the tribunal, because, being under the eyes of the general, they could easily be known, applied to him with entreaties to spare the master of the horse, and not in him to condemn the whole army. The remoter parts of the assembly, and the crowd collected round Fabius, railed at the unrelenting spirit of the dictator, and were not far from mutiny: nor was even the tribunal perfectly quiet. The lieutenants-general standing round the general's seat besought him to adjourn the business to the next day, and to allow time to his anger,

and room for consideration; representing that "the indiscretion of Fabius had been sufficiently rebuked; his victory sufficiently disgraced; and they begged him not to proceed to the extreme of severity; not to brand with ignominy a youth of extraordinary merit, or his father, a man of most illustrious character, together with the whole family of the Fabii." When neither their prayers nor arguments made any impression, they desired him to observe the violent ferment of the assembly, and told him that "while the soldiers' tempers were heated to such a degree, it became not either his age or his wisdom to kindle them into a flame, and afford matter for a mutiny: that no one would lay the blame of such an event on Quintus Fabius, who only deprecated punishment; but on the dictator, if, blinded by resentment, he should, by an ill-judged contest, draw on himself the fury of the multitude: and lest he should think that they acted from motives of regard to Quintus Fabius, they were ready to make oath that, in their judgment, it was not for the interest of the commonwealth that Quintus Fabius should be punished at that time."

XXXIII. Their expostulations irritating the dictator against themselves, instead of appeasing his anger against the master of the horse, the lieutenants-general were ordered to go down from the tribunal; and after several vain attempts were made to procure silence by means of a crier, the noise and tumult being so great that neither the voice of the dictator himself, nor that of his apparitors, could be heard; night, as in the case of a battle, put an end to the contest. The master of the horse was ordered to attend on the day following; but, being assured by every one that Papirius, being agitated and exasperated in the course of the present contention, would proceed against him with greater violence, he fled privately from the camp to Rome: where, by the advice of his father, Marcus Fabius, who had been three times consul, and likewise dictator, he immediately called a meeting of the senate. While he was laying his complaints before the fathers, of the rage and injustice of the dictator, on a sudden was heard the noise of lictors before the senate-house, clearing the way, and Papirius himself arrived, full of resentment, having followed, with a guard of light horse, as soon as he heard that the other had quitted the camp. The

contention then began anew, and the dictator ordered Fabius to be seized. As he persisted in his purpose with inflexible obstinacy, notwithstanding the united intercessions of the principal patricians, and of the whole senate, Fabius, the father, then said, "since neither the authority of the senate has any weight with you; nor my age, which you wish to render childless; nor the noble birth and merit of a master of the horse, nominated by yourself; nor prayers which have often mitigated the rage of an enemy, and which appease the wrath of the gods; I call upon the tribunes of the commons for support, and appeal to the people: and since you decline the judgment of your own army, as well as of the senate, I call you before a judge who must certainly be allowed, though no other should, to possess more power and authority than yourself, though dictator. It shall be seen whether you will submit to an appeal, to which Tullus Hostilius, a Roman king, submitted." They proceeded directly from the senate-house to the assembly; where, being arrived, the dictator attended by few, the master of the horse by all the people of the first rank in a body, Papirius commanded him to be taken from the rostrum to the lower ground; on which, his father, following him, said, "You do well in ordering us to be brought down to a place where even as private persons we have liberty of speech." At first, instead of regular speeches, nothing but altercation was heard: at length, the indignation of old Fabius, and the strength of his voice, got the better of noise, while he reproached Papirius with arrogance and cruelty. "He himself," he said, "had been dictator at Rome: and no man, not even the lowest plebeian, or centurion, or soldier, had suffered in any way through his means. But Papirius sought for victory and triumph over a Roman commander with as much zeal as over the generals of the enemy. What an immense difference between the moderation of the ancients, and the oppression of the moderns! Quintus Cincinnatus, when dictator, showed no farther mark of resentment to Lucius Minucius the consul, (although from his ill conduct he had fallen into the power of the enemy, and from which he rescued him,) than leaving him at the head of the army, in the quality of lieutenant-general, instead of consul. Marcus Furius Camillus, in the case of Lucius Furius, who, in contempt of his great age and authority, had fought a battle, the issue of

which was dishonourable in the last degree not only restrained his anger at the time, so as to write no unfavourable representation of his conduct to the people or the senate; but, after returning home, when the patricians gave him a power of electing from among his colleagues whoever he might approve as an associate with himself in the command, chose that very man in preference to all the other consular tribunes. Nay, the body of the people themselves, whose power is supreme in every case, never suffered their passions to carry them to greater severity, even towards those, who, through rashness and ignorance, had occasioned the loss of armies, than the fining them in a sum of money. Until that day, a capital prosecution for ill conduct in war had never been instituted against any commander, but now, generals of the Roman people, after gaining the most splendid victories, and meriting the most honourable triumphs, are threatened with rods and axes; a treatment which would not have been deemed allowable, even towards those who had been defeated by an enemy. What degree of punishment would his son have been liable to, if he had occasioned the loss of the army? if he had been put to flight, and driven out of his camp? Could the dictator stretch his resentment and violence to any greater length than to scourge him, and put him to death? How was it consistent with reason, that, through the means of Quintus Fabius, the state should be filled with joy, exulting in victory, and occupied in thanksgivings and congratulations; while, at the same time, he who had given occasion to the temples of the gods being thrown open, their altars yet smoking with sacrifices, and loaded with honours and offerings, should be stripped naked, and torn with stripes in the sight of the Roman people; within view of the capitol and citadel, and of those gods, whose aid he had so successfully invoked in two different battles? With what temper would such proceedings be borne by the army which had conquered under his conduct and auspices? What mourning would there be in the Roman camp; what joy among their enemies?" This speech he accompanied with an abundant flow of tears; uniting reproaches and complaints, imploring the aid both of gods and men, and warmly embracing his son.

XXXIV. On his side stood the majesty of the senate, the favour of the people, the support of the tribunes, and regard for the absent



army. On the other side were urged the inviolable authority of the Roman government and military discipline; the edict of the dictator, always observed as the mandate of a deity; nor was the severity of Manlius forgot, and his postponing even parental affection to public utility. "The same also," said the dictator, "was the conduct of Lucius Brutus, the founder of Roman liberty, in the case of his two sons. But now, such is the indulgence of fathers, and the easiness of temper in the aged, that in this case of contempt of the dictatorial authority, they indulge the young in the subversion of military order, as if it were a matter of trifling consequence. For his part, however, he would persevere in his purpose, and would not remit the smallest part of the punishment justly due to a person who fought contrary to his orders, while the rites of religion were imperfectly executed, and the auspices uncertain. Whether the majesty of the supreme authority was to be perpetual, or not, depended not on him; but Lucius Papirius would not diminish aught of its rights. He wished that the tribunitian office, inviolate itself, would not, by its interposition, violate the authority of the Roman government; nor the Roman people, in his case particularly, annihilate the dictator, and the rights of the dictatorship, together. But, if this should be the case, not Lucius Papirius, but the tribunes and the people, would be blamed by posterity; though then too late, when military discipline being once dissolved, the soldier would no longer obey the orders of the centurion, the centurion those of the tribune, the tribune those of the lieutenant-general, the lieutenant-general those of the consul, nor the master of the horse those of the dictator. No one would then pay any deference to men, no, nor even to the gods. Neither edicts of generals, nor auspices, would be observed. The soldiers, without leave or absence, would straggle at random through the lands of friends and of foes; and, regardless of their oath, would merely to gratify a wanton humour, quit the service whenever they might choose. The standards would be forsaken: the men would neither assemble in pursuance of orders, nor attend to the difference of fighting by night or by day, on favourable or unfavourable ground. In a word, military operations, instead of the regularity established under the sanction of a sacred solemnity, would become like those of free-booters directed by chance and accident.

Render yourselves, then, tribunes of the commons, accountable for all these evils, to all future ages. Expose your own persons to these heavy imputations in defence of the licentious conduct of Quintus Fabius."

XXXV. The tribunes stood confounded, and were now more anxiously concerned at their own situation than at his who sought their support, when they were freed from this embarrassment by the Roman people unanimously having recourse to prayers and entreaties, that the dictator would, for their sakes, remit the punishment of the master of the horse. The tribunes likewise, seeing the business take this turn, followed the example, earnestly beseeching the dictator to pardon human error, to consider the immaturity of the offender's age, who had suffered sufficiently: and now the youth himself, now his father, Marcus Fabius, disclaiming farther contest, fell at the dictator's knees, and deprecated his wrath. Then the dictator, after causing silence, said "Romans, it is well. Military discipline has prevailed; the majesty of government has prevailed; both which were in danger of ceasing this day to exist. Quintus Fabius, who fought contrary to the order of his commander, is not acquitted of guilt; but, after being condemned as guilty, is granted as a boon to the Roman people; is granted to the college of tribunes, supporting him with their prayers, not with the regular power of their office. Live, Quintus Fabius, more happy in this union of all parts of the state for your preservation than in the victory in which you lately exulted. Live, after having ventured on such an act, as your father himself, had he been in the place of Lucius Papirius, would not have pardoned. With me you shall be reconciled, whenever you wish it. To the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, you can perform no greater service, than to let this day teach you the important lesson of submission to lawful commands, both in war and peace." He then declared, that the master of the horse was at liberty to depart: and, as he retired from the rostrum, the senate, being greatly rejoiced, and the people still more so, gathered round him, and escorted him, on one hand commending the dictator, on the other congratulating the master of the horse; while all agreed in opinion, that the authority of military command was confirmed no less effectually in the instance of Quintus Fabius than in that of young Manlius. It so hap-

pened, that, through the course of that year, as often as the dictator left the army, the Samnites were in motion: but Marcus Valerius, the lieutenant-general, who commanded in the camp, had Quintus Fabius before his eyes for an example, not to fear any violence of the enemy, so much as the unrelenting anger of the dictator. So that when a body of his foragers fell into an ambuscade, and were cut to pieces in disadvantageous ground, it was generally believed that the lieutenant-general could have given them assistance, if he had not been held in dread by his rigorous orders. The resentment which this excited helped to alienate the affections of the soldiery from the dictator; against whom they had been before incensed by his implacable behaviour towards Quintus Fabius, and from having granted him pardon at the intercession of the Roman people, after he had refused it to their entreaties.

XXXVI. The dictator prohibited Quintus Fabius from acting in any case as a magistrate, conferred the command in the city on Lucius Papirius Crassus, as master of the horse, and then returned to the camp; where his arrival brought neither any great joy to his countrymen, nor any degree of terror to the enemy: for, on the day following, either not knowing the dictator's arrival, or little regarding whether he were present or absent, they marched out in order of battle. Of such importance, however, was that single man, Lucius Papirius, that, had the zeal of the soldiers seconded the dispositions of the commander, no doubt was entertained that an end might have been put, that day, to the war with the Samnites. He chose the best possible position for his troops, posted his body of reserve most judiciously, and strengthened them with every advantage which military skill could devise: but the soldiers exerted no vigour; and designedly kept from conquering, in order to injure the reputation of their leader. Of the Samnites, however, very many were slain; and great numbers of the Romans wounded. The experienced commander quickly perceived the circumstance which prevented his success, and that it would be necessary to moderate his temper, and to mingle mildness with austerity. Accordingly, attended by the lieutenants-general, he went round to the tents of the wounded soldiers, inquiring of each the state of his health; then, mentioning them by name, he gave them in charge to the officers, tribunes, and prefects,

recommending them to their particular care. This behaviour, popular in itself, he maintained with such dexterity, that by his attention to their recovery, he gradually gained their affection; nor did any thing so much contribute towards their recovery as the gratitude excited by this humane condescension. As soon as the men were restored to health, he came to an engagement with the enemy; and both himself and the troops, being possessed with full confidence of success, he so entirely defeated and dispersed the Samnites, that they never, after that day, met the dictator in the field. The victorious army, afterwards, directed its march wherever a prospect of booty invited, and traversed their territories without a weapon being raised against them, or any opposition given, either openly or by stratagem. It added to their alacrity, that the dictator had, by proclamation, given the whole spoil to the soldiers; so that they were animated not only by the public quarrel, but by their private emolument. Thus reduced, the Samnites sued to the dictator for peace, and, after they had engaged to supply each of his soldiers with a suit of clothes, and a year's pay, being ordered to apply to the senate, they answered, that they would follow the dictator, committing their cause wholly to his integrity and honour. On this the troops were withdrawn out of Samnium.

XXXVII. [Y. R. 431. B. C. 321.] The dictator entered the city in triumph; and, though desirous of resigning his office immediately, yet, by order of the senate, he held it until the consuls were elected: these were Caius Sulpicius Longus, a second time, and Quintus Æmilius Cerretanus. The Samnites, without finishing the treaty of peace, the terms being still in negotiation, departed, after concluding a truce for a year. Nor was even that faithfully observed; so strongly was their inclination for war excited, on hearing that Papirius was gone out of office. In this consulate of Caius Sulpicius and Quintus Æmilius (some histories have Aulus), to the revolt of the Samnites, was added a new war with the Apulians. Armies were sent against both. The Samnites fell by lot to Sulpicius, the Apulians to Æmilius. Some writers say, that this war was not waged with the Apulians, but in defence of the allied states of that nation, against the violence and injustice of the Samnites. But the circumstances of the Samnites at that period, when they were themselves engaged in a war,



which they could with difficulty support, render it more probable that they did not make war on the Apulians, but that both nations were in arms against the Romans at the same time. However, no memorable event occurred. The lands of the Apulians and Samnium were utterly laid waste; but in neither quarter did the enemy show themselves. At Rome, an alarm, which happened in the night, suddenly roused the people from their sleep, in such a fright, that the capitol and citadel, the walls and gates, were all filled with men in arms. But after they had called all to their posts, and run together, in bodies, in every quarter, when day appeared, neither the author nor cause of the alarm could be discovered. This year, in pursuance to the advice of Flavius, a tribune of the commons, the Tusculans were brought to a trial before the people. He proposed, that punishment should be inflicted on those of the Tusculans, "by whose advice and assistance the Veliternians and Privernians had made war on the Roman people." The Tusculans, with their wives and children, came to Rome, and in mourning habits, like persons under accusation, went round the tribes, throwing themselves at the feet of the citizens with humble supplications. This excited a degree of compassion which operated more effectually towards procuring them pardon, than all the arguments they could urge, did towards clearing themselves of guilt. Every one of the tribes, except the Pollian, negatived the proposition. The sentence of the Pollian tribe was, that the grown-up males should be beaten, and put to death, and their wives and children sold by auction, according to the rules of war. It appears that the resentment which arose against the advisers of so rigorous a measure, was retained in memory by the Tusculans down to the age of our fathers; and that hardly any candidate of the Pollian tribe could, ever since, gain the votes of the Papirian.

XXXVIII. In the following year, [Y.R. 432. B.C. 320.] which was the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Fulvius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina being made dictator, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus master of the horse, troops were levied with greater exertion than ordinary, under the apprehension of having a more powerful opposition than usual to encounter, in the war with the Samnites, who, it was reported, had procured, from their neighbours, a number of young men for hire: an army there-

fore, of extraordinary force, was sent against them. Although in a hostile country, their camp was pitched in as careless a manner, as if the foe were at a great distance; when, suddenly, the legions of the Samnites approached with so much boldness as to advance their rampart close to an out-post of the Romans. Night coming on, prevented their assaulting the works; but they did not conceal their intention of doing so next day, as soon as the light should appear. The dictator found that there would be a necessity for fighting sooner than he had expected, and lest the situation should be an obstruction to the bravery of the troops, he led away the legions in silence, leaving a great number of fires the better to deceive the enemy. The camps, however, lay so close together, that he could not escape their observation: their cavalry instantly pursued, and pressed closely on his troops, yet refrained from attacking them until the day appeared. Their infantry did not even quit their camp before day-light. As soon as it was dawn, the cavalry ventured to begin skirmishing; and by harassing the Roman rear, and pressing them in places of difficult passage, considerably delayed their march. Meanwhile their infantry overtook their cavalry; and now the Samnites pursued close with their entire force. The dictator then, finding that he could no longer go forward without great inconvenience, ordered the spot where he stood to be measured out for a camp. But it was impossible, while the enemy's horse were spread about on every side, that palisades could be brought, and the work be begun: seeing it, therefore, impracticable, either to march forward, or to settle himself there, he drew up his troops for battle, removing the baggage out of the line. The enemy likewise formed their line opposite to his; no wise inferior, either in spirit or in strength. Their courage was chiefly improved from not knowing that the motive of the Romans' retreat was the incommodiousness of the ground, so that they imagined themselves objects of terror, and supposed that they were pursuing men who fled through fear. This kept the balance of the fight equal for a considerable time; though, of late, it had been unusual with the Samnites to stand even the shout of a Roman army. Certain it is, that the contest, on this day, continued so very doubtful from the third hour to the eighth, that neither was the shout repeated, after being raised at the first onset, nor the standards moved either forward

or backward ; nor any ground lost on either side. They fought without taking breath, every man in his post, and pushing against their opponents with their shields. The noise continuing equal, and the terror of the fight the same, seemed to denote, that the decision would be effected either by fatigue or by the night. The men had now exhausted their strength, the sword its power, and the leaders their skill ; when, on a sudden, the Samnite cavalry, having learned from a single troop which had advanced beyond the rest, that the baggage of the Romans lay at a distance from their army, without any guard or defence ; eager for booty, they hastened to attack it : of which, the dictator being informed by a hasty messenger, said, " Let them alone, let them encumber themselves with spoils." Afterwards came several, one after another, crying out, that they were plundering and carrying off all the effects of the soldiers : he then called to him the master of the horse, and said, " Do you see, Marcus Fabius, that the enemy's cavalry have forsaken the fight ? They are engaged and encumbered with our baggage. Attack them : you will find them, as is the case of every multitude employed in plundering, scattered about ; few mounted on horseback, few with swords in their hands ; and, while they are loading their horses with spoil, and unarmed, put them to the sword, and make it bloody spoil for them. I will take care of the legions, and the fight of the infantry : yours be the honour which the horse shall acquire."

XXXIX. The body of cavalry, in the most exact order possible, charging the enemy, who were straggling and embarrassed, filled every place with slaughter : for the packages which they hastily threw down, and which lay in the way of their feet, and of the affrighted horses, as they endeavoured to escape, made them unable either to fight or fly. Then Fabius, after he had almost entirely cut off the enemy's horse, led round his squadrons in a small circuit, and attacked the infantry in the rear. The new shout, raised in that quarter, terrified the Samnites on the one hand ; and when, on the other, the dictator saw their troops in the van looking behind them, their battalions in confusion, and their line wavering, he earnestly exhorted and animated his men, calling on the tribunes and chief centurions, by name, to join him in renewing the fight. Raising the shout anew, they pressed forward, and as they advanced, perceived the enemy more and more confused.

The cavalry now could be seen by those in front, and Cornelius, turning about to the several companies, made them understand, by raising his voice and hands, that he saw the standards and bucklers of his own horsemen. On hearing which, and at the same time seeing them, they, at once, so far forgot the fatigue which they had endured, through almost the whole day, and even their wounds, that they rushed to the fray with as much vigour and alacrity, as if they were coming fresh out of camp on receiving the signal for battle. The Samnites could no longer sustain the charge of horse and foot together ; part of them, inclosed on both sides, were cut off ; the rest separated and fled different ways. The infantry slew those who were surrounded and made resistance ; and the cavalry made great havoc of the fugitives, among whom fell their general. This battle crushed, at length, the power of the Samnites so effectually, that, in all their meetings, they expressed so much discontent, and said, " it was not at all to be wondered at, if in an impious war, commenced in violation of a treaty, when the gods were, with justice, more incensed against them than men, none of their undertakings prospered. They were not to expect the crime, (for such an infraction of treaties must be held,) to be expiated and atoned for without a heavy penalty. The only alternative they had, was whether the penalty should be the guilty blood of a few, or the innocent blood of all." Some now ventured to name the authors of the war, among whom was particularly mentioned Brutulus Papius : he was a man of power and noble birth, and undoubtedly the cause of the late rupture. The prætors being compelled to take the opinion of the assembly concerning him, a decree was made, " that Brutulus Papius should be delivered into the hands of the Romans ; and that, together with him, all the spoil taken from the Romans, and the prisoners, should be sent to Rome, and that the restitution demanded by the heralds, in conformity to treaty, should be made, as was agreeable to justice and equity." In pursuance of this determination, heralds were sent to Rome, and also the dead body of Brutulus ; for, by a voluntary death, he avoided the punishment and ignominy intended for him. It was thought proper that his goods also should be delivered up along with the body. But none of all those things were accepted, except the prisoners, and such articles



of the spoil as were recognized by the owners. The dictator obtained a triumph by a decree of the senate.

XL. Some writers affirm, that the consuls had the conduct of this war, and that they triumphed over the Samnites; and also, that Fabius advanced into Apulia, and carried off from thence abundance of spoil. But that Aulus Cornelius was dictator that year is an undisputed fact. The question then is, whether he was appointed for the purpose of conducting the war, or on occasion of the illness of Lucius Plautius, the prætor; in order that there might be a magistrate to give the signal for the starting of the chariots at the Roman games. This latter is asserted of him; and that after per-

forming the business, which in truth reflected no great lustre on his office, he resigned the dictatorship. It is not easy to determine between either the facts or the writers, which of them deserves the preference: I am persuaded that history has been much corrupted by means of funeral panegyrics, and false inscriptions on monuments; each family striving by false representations to appropriate to itself the fame of warlike exploits, and public honours. From this cause, certainly, much confusion has taken place, both in the memoirs of individuals, and in the public records of events. Nor is there extant any writer, contemporary with those events, on whose authority we can with certainty rely.

# THE HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK IX.

Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, with their army, surrounded by the Samnites at the Caudine forks; enter into a treaty, give six hundred hostages, and are sent under the yoke. The treaty declared invalid; the two generals and the other sureties sent back to the Samnites, but are not accepted. Not long after, Papirius Cursor obliterates this disgrace, by vanquishing the Samnites, sending them under the yoke, and recovering the hostages. Two tribes added. Appius Claudius, censor, constructs the Claudian aqueduct, and the Appian road; admits the sons of freedom into the senate. Successes against the Apulians, Etruscans, Umbrians, Marsians, Pelignians, Æquans, and Samnites. Mention made of Alexander the Great, who flourished at this time; a comparative estimate of his strength, and that of the Roman people, tending to show, that if he had carried his arms into Italy, he would not have been as successful there as he had been in the Eastern countries.

I. THE year following [Y. R. 433. B. C. 319.] was distinguished by the convention of Caudium, so memorable on account of the misfortune of the Romans. The consuls of the year were Titus Veturius Calvinus, and Spurius Postumius. The Samnites were that year commanded by Caius Pontius, son to Herennius, born of a father most highly renowned for wisdom, and himself a consummate warrior and commander. When the ambassadors, who had been sent to offer restitution, returned, without concluding a peace, he said, in an assembly, "that ye may not think that no purpose has been effected by this embassy, be assured, that whatever degree of anger the deities of heaven had conceived against us, on account of the infraction of the treaty, has been hereby expiated. I am very confident, that whatever deities they were, whose will it was, that you should be reduced to the necessity of making restitution, it was not agreeable to them, that our atonement for the breach of treaty should be so haughtily spurned by the Romans. For what more could possibly be done towards appeasing the gods, and softening the anger of men, than we have done? The effects of the enemy, taken among the spoils, which appeared to be our own by the right of war, we restored:

the authors of the war, as we could not deliver them up alive, we delivered to them dead: their goods we carried to Rome, lest by retaining them, any degree of guilt should remain among us. What more, Roman, do I owe to thee? what to the treaty? what to the gods, the guarantees of the treaty? What umpire shall I call in to judge of your resentment, and of my punishment? I decline none; neither nation nor private person. But if the weak is not to find protection against a stronger in human laws, I will appeal to the gods, the avengers of intolerable arrogance, and will beseech them to turn their wrath against those who are not satisfied by the restoration of their own, nor by additional heaps of other men's property; whose inhuman rage is not satiated by the death of the guilty, by the surrender of their lifeless bodies, and by their goods accompanying the surrender of the owner; who cannot be appeased otherwise than by giving them our blood to drink, and our entrails to be torn. Samnites, war is just, when it becomes necessary, and arms are clear of impiety, when men have no hope left but in arms. Wherefore, as the issue of every human undertaking depends chiefly on men's acting either with or without the favour of the



gods, be assured that the former wars ye waged in opposition to the gods more than to men ; in this, which we are now to undertake, ye will act under the immediate guidance of the gods themselves."

II. After uttering these predictions, not more favourable than true, he led out the troops, and placed his camp about Caudium, as much out of view as possible. From thence he sent to Calatia, where he heard that the Roman consuls were encamped, ten soldiers, in the habit of shepherds, and ordered them to keep some cattle feeding in several different places, at a small distance from the Roman posts ; and that, when they fell in with any of their foragers, they should all agree in the same story, that the legions of the Samnites were then in Apulia, besieging Luceria with their whole force, and very near becoming masters of it. Such a rumour had been industriously spread before, and had already reached the Romans ; but these prisoners caused them to give it greater credit, especially as they all concurred in the same report. The Romans did not hesitate to resolve on carrying succour to the Lucerians, because they were good and faithful allies ; and for this farther reason, lest all Apulia, through apprehension of the impending danger, might go over to the enemy. The only point which came under deliberation was, by what road they should go. There were two roads leading to Luceria, one along the coast of the upper sea, wide and open ; but, as it was the safer, so it was proportionably longer : the other, which was shorter, through the Caudine forks. The nature of the place is this : there are two deep glens, narrow and covered with wood, connected together by mountains ranging on both sides from one to the other ; between these lies a plain of considerable extent, abounding in grass and water, and through the middle of which the passage runs : but before this is arrived at, the first defile must be passed, while the only way back is through the road by which it was entered ; or if in case of resolving to proceed forward, it must be by the other glen, which is still more narrow and difficult. Into this plain the Romans marched down their troops, by one of those passes through the cleft of a rock ; and, when they advanced to the other defile, found it blocked up by trees thrown across, with a mound of huge stones. The stratagem of the enemy now became apparent ; and at the same time a body of troops was seen

on the eminence over the glen. Hastening back, then, to the road by which they had entered, they found that also shut up by such another fence, and men in arms. Then, without orders they halted ; amazement took possession of their minds, and a strange kind of numbness of their limbs : they then remained a long time motionless and silent, with their eyes fixed on each other, as if each thought the other more capable of judging and advising than himself. After some time the consul's pavilions were erected, and they got ready the implements for throwing up works, although they were sensible that it must appear ridiculous to attempt raising a fortification in their present desperate condition, and when almost every hope was lost. Yet not to add a fault to their misfortunes, they all without being advised or ordered by any one, set earnestly to work, and inclosed a camp with a rampart, close to the water, while themselves, besides enduring the haughty taunts of their enemies, seemed with melancholy to acknowledge the apparent fruitlessness of their labour. The lieutenants-general and tribunes, without being summoned to consultation, (for there was no room for either consultation or remedy,) assembled round the dejected consul ; while the soldiers, crowding to the general's quarters, demanded from their leaders that succour, which it was hardly in the power of the immortal gods themselves to afford them.

III. Night came on while they were employed in lamenting their situation, all urging, with warmth, whatever their several tempers prompted. Some crying out, " Let us go over those fences which obstruct the roads ; " others, " over the steeps ; through the woods ; any way, where arms can be carried. Let us be but permitted to come to the enemy, whom we have been used to conquer now near thirty years. All places will be level and plain to a Roman, fighting against the perfidious Samnite." Another would say, " Whither, or by what way can we go ? Do we expect to remove the mountains from their foundations ? While these cliffs hang over us, how can we proceed ? Whether armed or unarmed, brave or dastardly, we are all without distinction, captured and vanquished. The enemy will not even show us a weapon, by which we might die with honour. He will finish the war, without moving from his seat." In such discourse, thinking of neither food nor rest, they passed the whole night. Nor could the Samnites, though in circumstances so ac-

cordant to their wishes, instantly determine how to act : it was therefore universally agreed, that Herennius Pontius, father of the general, should be consulted by letter. He was now grown feeble through age, and had withdrawn himself, not only from all military, but also from all civil occupations ; yet, notwithstanding the decline of his bodily strength, his mind retained its full vigour. When he was informed that the Roman armies were shut up at the Caudine forks, between the two glens, and was asked for advice by his son's messenger, he gave his opinion, that they should all be immediately dismissed from thence unhurt. On this counsel being rejected, and the same messenger returning to advise with him a second time, he recommended that they should all, to a man, be put to death. On receiving these answers, so opposite to each other, like the ambiguous responses of an oracle, his son, although, as well as others, persuaded that the powers of his father's mind, together with those of his body, had been impaired by age, was yet prevailed on, by the general desire of all, to send for him and consult him in person. The old man, we are told, complied without reluctance, and was carried in a waggon to the camp, where, when he came to speak, he made no alteration in the opinions which he had given, only added the reasons on which he founded them. That "by his first plan, which he esteemed the best, he meant, by an act of extraordinary kindness, to establish perpetual peace and friendship with a most powerful nation : by the other, to put off the return of war to the distance of many ages, during which the Roman state, after the loss of those two armies, could not easily recover its strength. A third plan there was not." His son, and the other chiefs, then asking him if "a plan of a middle kind might not be adopted ; of dismissing them unhurt ; and, at the same time, by the right of war, imposing terms on them as vanquished ?" "That, indeed," said he, "is a plan of such a nature, as neither procures friends nor removes enemies. Only consider who they are, whom ye would irritate by ignominious treatment. The Romans are a race who know not how to sit down quiet under defeat ; any scar, which, the present necessity shall imprint in their breasts, will rankle there for ever, and will not suffer them to rest, until they have wreaked manifold vengeance on your heads." Neither of these plans was approved, and Herennius was carried home.

IV. In the other camp, the Romans, having tried many fruitless efforts to force a passage, and being now destitute of every means of subsistence, were reduced by necessity to send ambassadors, who were first to ask peace on equal terms ; which, if they did not obtain, they were to challenge the enemy to battle. To this Pontius answered, that "the war was at an end ; and since, even in their present vanquished and captive state, they were not willing to make acknowledgment of their situation, he would send them under the yoke unarmed, and only partly clothed ; that the other conditions of peace should be such as were just and proper between the conquerors and the conquered. Their troops must depart, and their colonies be withdrawn out of the territories of the Samnites ; and for the future, the Romans and Samnites, under a treaty of equality, shall live according to their own respective laws. On these terms he was ready to negotiate with the consuls : and if any of these should not be accepted, he forbade the ambassadors to come to him again." When the result of this embassy was made known, such general lamentation suddenly arose, and such melancholy took possession of every mind, that had they been told that all were to die on the spot, they could not have felt deeper affliction. Silence continued a long time ; the consuls not being able to utter a word either in favour of a treaty so disgraceful, or against a treaty so necessary ; at length, Lucius Lentulus, who was the first among the lieutenants-general, both in respect of bravery, and of the public honours which he had attained, addressed them thus : "Consuls, I have often heard my father say, that he was the only person in the capitol, who did not advise the senate to ransom the state from the Gauls with gold ; and this he would not concur in, because they had not been inclosed with a trench and rampart by the enemy, (who were remarkably slothful with respect to works and raising fortifications,) and because they might sally forth, if not without great danger, yet without certain destruction. Now if, in like manner as they had it in their power to run down from the capitol in arms against their foe, as men besieged have often sallied out on the besiegers, it were possible for us to come to blows, either on equal or unequal ground, the advice which I should give would not be devoid of the same spirit which animated my father. I acknowledge, indeed, that death, in defence of our



country, is highly glorious; and I am ready, either to devote myself for the Roman people and the legions, or to plunge into the midst of the enemy. But in this spot I behold my country: in this spot, the whole of the Roman legions: and unless these choose to rush on death for their own gratification, what is there which can be preserved by their death? The houses of the city, some may say, and the walls of it, and the crowd who dwell in it. But, in fact, in case of the destruction of this army, all these are given up to ruin, instead of being saved from it. For who will protect them? An unwarlike and unarmed multitude, shall I suppose? Yes, just as they defended them against the attack of the Gauls. Will they call to their succour an army from Veii, with Camillus at its head? Here, on the spot, I repeat, are all our hopes and strength; by preserving which, we preserve our country; by delivering them up to death, we abandon and betray it. But a surrender is shameful and ignominious. True: but such ought to be our affection for our country, that we should save it by our own disgrace, if necessity required, as freely as by our death. Let us therefore undergo that indignity, how great soever, and submit to that necessity to which even the gods themselves are seen to yield. Go, consuls, ransom the state for arms, which your ancestors ransomed with gold."

V. The consuls accordingly went to Pontius to confer with him; and when he talked, in the strain of a conqueror, of a treaty, they declared that such could not be concluded without an order of the people, nor without the ministry of the heralds, and the other customary rites. So that the Caudine peace was not ratified by settled treaty, as is commonly believed, and even asserted by Claudius in his history, but by convention wherein the parties became sureties. For what occasion would there be either for sureties or hostages in the former case, where the ratification is performed by the imprecation, "that whichever nation shall give occasion to the said terms being violated, may Jupiter strike that nation in like manner as the swine is struck by the heralds." The consuls, lieutenants-general, quæstors, and military tribunes, became sureties; and the names of all these are extant in the convention; where, had the business been transacted by treaty, none would have appeared but those of the two heralds. On account of the necessary

delay, before a peace could be concluded, it was also insisted on, that six hundred horsemen should be given as hostages, who were to suffer death if the compact were not fulfilled; a time was then fixed for delivering up the hostages, and sending away the troops disarmed. The return of the consuls renewed the general grief in the camp, inasmuch that the men hardly refrained from offering violence to them, "by whose rashness," they said, "they had been brought into such a situation; and through whose cowardice they were likely to depart with greater disgrace than they came. They had employed no guide, who knew the country, nor scouts to explore it; but went on blindly, like beasts into a pitfall." They cast looks of distraction on each other, viewed earnestly the arms which they must presently surrender; while their persons would be subject to the will of the enemy: figured to themselves the hostile yoke, the scoffs of the conquerors, their haughty looks, and, finally, thus disarmed, their march through the midst of an armed foe. In a word, they saw with horror the miserable journey of their dishonoured band, through the cities of the allies; and their return into their own country, to their parents, whither themselves, and their ancestors, had so often come in triumph. Observing, that "they alone had been conquered without a fight, without a weapon thrown, without a wound; that they had not been permitted to draw their swords against the enemy. In vain had arms, in vain had strength, in vain had courage, been given them." While they were giving vent to such grievous reflections, the fatal hour of their disgrace arrived, which was to render every circumstance still more shocking in fact, than they had preconceived it, in their imaginations. First, they were ordered to go out, beyond the rampart, unarmed, and with single garments; then the hostages were surrendered, and carried into custody. The lictors were next commanded to depart from the consuls, and the robes of the latter were stripped off. This excited such a degree of commiseration, in the breasts of those very men, who a little before were pouring execrations upon them, that every one, forgetting his own condition, turned away his eyes from that disgraceful insult on so high a dignity, as from a spectacle too horrid to behold.

VI. First, the consuls, nearly half naked, were sent under the yoke; then each officer,

according to his rank, was exposed to disgrace, and the same of the legions successively. The enemy stood on each side under arms, reviling and mocking them; swords were pointed at most of them, several were wounded and some even slain, when their looks, rendered too fierce by the indignity to which they were subjected, gave offence to the conquerors. Thus were they led under the yoke; and what was still more intolerable, under the eyes of the enemy. When they had got clear of the defile, they seemed as if they had been drawn up from the infernal regions, and then for the first time beheld the light; yet, when they viewed the ignominious appearance, to which the army was reduced, the light itself was more painful to them, than any kind of death could have been; so that although they might have arrived at Capua before night, yet, doubting the fidelity of the allies, and embarrassed by shame, they halted at a small distance from that city. They stood in need of every kind of refreshment, yet threw themselves carelessly on the ground, on each side of the road: which being told at Capua, compassion for the situation of their allies took place of the arrogance natural to the Campanians. They immediately sent to the consuls their ensigns of office, the fasces and lictors; to the soldiers, arms, horses, clothes, and provisions in abundance: and, on their approach, the whole senate and people went out to meet them, and performed every proper office of hospitality, both public and private. But the looks and address of the allies, joined with all their kindness, could not draw a word from them; nor even prevail on them to raise their eyes: so deeply were they affected by shame and grief, that they shunned the conversation of these their friends. Next day, when some young nobles, who had been sent from Capua, to escort them on their road to the frontiers of Campania, returned, they were called into the senate-house, and, in answer to the inquiries of the elder members, said, that "to them they seemed deeply sunk in melancholy and dejection; that the whole body moved on in silence, almost as if they were dumb; the former genius of the Romans was struck mute, and that their spirit had been taken from them, together with their arms. Not one gave answer to those who saluted them; as if, through fear, they were unable to utter a word; and that their necks still carried the

yoke under which they had been sent. That the Samnites had obtained a victory, not only glorious, but lasting; for they had subdued, not Rome, merely, as the Gauls had formerly done, but what was a much more warlike achievement, the Roman courage." These discourses were attentively listened to, and lamentations made in this assembly of faithful allies, as if the Roman name were almost extinct. We are told that Ofilius Calavius, son of Ovius, a man highly distinguished, both by his birth and conduct, and at this time farther respectable on account of his age, declared that he entertained a very different opinion in the case. "This obstinate silence," said he, "those eyes fixed on the earth,—those ears deaf to all comfort,—with the shame of beholding the light,—are indications of a mind calling forth, from its inmost recesses, the utmost exertions of resentment. Either he was ignorant of the temper of the Romans, or that silence would shortly excite, among the Samnites, lamentable cries and groans; for that the remembrance of the Caudine peace would be much more sorrowful to the Samnites than to the Romans. Each side would have their own native spirit, wherever they should happen to engage, but the Samnites would not, every where, leave the glens of Caudium."

VII. People at Rome were, by this time, informed of the disaster which had befallen them. At first, they heard that the troops were shut up; afterwards the news of the ignominious peace arrived; and this caused greater affliction than had been felt for their danger. On the report of their being surrounded, a levy of men was begun; but when it was understood that the army had surrendered in so disgraceful a manner, the preparations were laid aside; and immediately, without any public directions, a general mourning took place, with all the various demonstrations of grief. The shops were shut; and all business ceased in the forum, by common consent, without any order for that purpose being issued. Ornamented dresses<sup>1</sup> were laid aside: and the public were in greater tribulation, if possible,

1 In the original, *lati clavi*. The *latus clavus* was a tunic, or vest, ornamented with a broad stripe of purple, on the fore part, worn by the senators; the knights wore a similar one, only ornamented with a narrower stripe. Gold rings were also used as badges of distinction, the common people wore iron ones.



than the vanquished themselves ; they were not only enraged against the commanders, the advisers and sureties of the peace, but were filled with detestation, even of the unoffending soldiers, and asserted, that they ought not to be admitted into the city. But these transports of passion were allayed by the arrival of the troops, in a state so deplorable, as was sufficient to convert even anger into compassion ; for they came into the city, not like men, returning into their country with unexpected safety, but in the habit, and with the looks of captives, late in the evening ; and they hid themselves so closely in their houses, that, for the next, and several following days, not one of them could bear to come in sight of the forum, or of the public. The consuls, shut up in private, transacted no official business, except, that they were compelled, by a decree of the senate, to nominate a dictator to preside at the elections. They nominated Quintus Fabius Ambustus, and as master of the horse Publius Ælius Pætus. But some irregularity being discovered in their appointment, there was substituted in their room, Marcus Æmilius Papus dictator, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus master of the horse. But neither did these hold the elections : and the people being dissatisfied with all the magistrates of that year, an interregnum ensued. The office of interrex was held by Quintus Fabius Maximus ; afterwards by Marcus Valerius Corvus, who elected consuls Quintus Publilius Philo, and Lucius Papirius Cursor a second time ; [Y. R. 434. B. C. 318.] a choice universally approved, for there were no commanders at that time of higher reputation.

VIII. They entered into office immediately on being elected, for so it had been determined by the fathers. When the customary decrees of the senate were passed, they proposed the consideration of the Caudine peace ; and Publilius, whose duty it was to open the business, said, " Spurius Postumius, speak : " he arose with just the same countenance with which he had passed under the yoke, and delivered himself to this effect : " Consuls, doubtless I am to be called up first with marked ignominy, not with honour ; and am ordered to speak, not as being a senator, but as a person who has to answer for an unsuccessful war, and disgraceful peace. However, the question propounded by you is not concerning our guilt, or our punishment ; waving, therefore, a defence, which would not be very difficult, before men who are

not unacquainted with the casualties to which mankind are subject, I shall briefly state my opinion on the matter in question ; which opinion will testify, whether I was actuated by tenderness to myself, or to your legions, when I engaged as surety to the convention, be it of what kind it may, whether dishonourable or necessary : by which, however, the Roman people are not bound, inasmuch as it was concluded without their order ; nor is any thing liable to be forfeited to the Samnites, in consequence of it, except our persons. Let us then be delivered up to them by the heralds, naked, and in chains. Let us free the people of the religious obligation, if we have bound them under any such ; so that there may be no restriction, divine or human, to prevent your entering on the war anew, without violating the maxims of religion and justice. I am also of opinion, that the consuls, in the meantime, enlist, arm, and lead out an army ; but that they should not enter the enemy's territories, before every particular, respecting the surrender of us, be regularly executed. And, O immortal gods ! I pray and beseech you, that, although it has not been your will that Spurius Postumius, and Titus Veturius, in the office of consuls, should wage war with success against the Samnites, ye may yet deem it sufficient to have seen us sent under the yoke ; to have seen us bound under an infamous convention ; to have seen us shackled, and delivered into the hands of our foes, taking on our own heads the whole weight of the enemy's resentment. And grant, that the consuls and legions of Rome may meet the same fortune in war, against the Samnites, which has attended them in every war before we became consuls." On his concluding this speech, men's minds were so impressed with admiration and compassion, that they could scarce believe him to be the same Spurius Postumius, who had been the author of so shameful a peace ; lamenting, at the same time, that such a man was likely to undergo, among the enemy, a punishment even beyond that of others, through the desire of annulling the peace. All the members, showing tenderness towards him, expressed their approbation of his sentiments, when Lucius Livius and Quintus Mælius, being tribunes of the commons, attempted for a time, to stop the proceeding by a protest ; insisting, that " the people could not be acquitted of the religious obligation, from the consuls being

given up, unless all things were restored to the same state in which they had been at Caudium; nor had they themselves deserved any punishment, for having, by becoming sureties to the peace, preserved the army of the Roman people; nor, finally, could they, being sacred and inviolable, be surrendered to the enemy, or treated with violence."

IX. To this Postumius replied, "In the meantime surrender us as unsanctified persons, which ye may do, without offence to religion; those sacred and inviolable personages, the tribunes, ye will deliver up as soon as they go out of office: but, if ye listen to me, they will be first scourged with rods, here in the Comitium, by way of interest for their punishment, on account of the delay of payment. For, as to their denying that the people are acquitted of the religious obligation, by our being given up, who is there, so ignorant of the laws of the heralds, as not to know, that those men speak in that manner, to prevent themselves from being surrendered, rather than because the case is really so? Still I do not deny, conscript fathers, that compacts, on sureties given, are as sacred as treaties, in the eyes of all who regard faith, between men, with the same reverence which is paid to duties respecting the gods: but I insist, that without the order of the people, nothing can be ratified, that is to bind the people. Suppose that, out of the same arrogance, with which the Samnites forced from us the convention in question, they had compelled us to repeat the established form of words for the surrendering of cities, would ye, tribunes, say, that the Roman people was surrendered? and, that this city, these temples, and consecrated grounds, these lands and waters, were become the property of the Samnites? I say no more of the surrender, because our having become sureties is the point insisted on. Now, suppose we had become sureties that the Roman people should quit this city; that they should set it on fire; that they should have no magistrates, no senate, no laws; that they should, in future, be ruled by kings: the gods forbid, you say. But, the enormity of the articles lessens not the obligation of a compact. If the people can be bound, in any one instance, it can, in all. Nor is there any importance in another circumstance, which weighs, perhaps, with some: whether a consul, a dictator, or a prætor, be the surety. And this, indeed, was the judgment, even of the Sam-

nites themselves, who were not satisfied with the security of the consuls, but compelled the lieutenant-generals, questors, and military tribunes to join them. Let it not then be demanded of me, why I entered into such a compact, when no such power was lodged in a consul, and when I could not, either to them, insure a peace, of which I could not command the ratification; or in behalf of you, who had given me no powers. Conscript fathers, none of the transactions at Caudium were directed by human wisdom. The immortal gods deprived of understanding both your generals and those of the enemy. On the one side, we acted not with sufficient caution; on the other, they threw away a victory, which through our folly they had obtained, while they hardly confided in the places, by means of which, they had conquered; but were in haste, on any terms, to take arms out of the hands of men who were born to arms. Had their reason been sound, would it have been difficult, during the time which they spent in sending for old men from home to give them advice, to send ambassadors to Rome, and to negotiate a peace and treaty with the senate, and with the people? It would have been a journey of only three days to expeditious travellers. In the interim, matters might have rested under a truce, that is, until their ambassadors should have brought from Rome, either certain victory, or peace. That would have been really a compact, on the faith of sureties, for we should have become sureties by order of the people. But, neither would ye have passed such an order, nor should we have pledged our faith; nor was it the will of fate, that the affair should have any other issue, than, that they should be vainly mocked with a dream, as it were, of greater prosperity than their minds were capable of comprehending, and that the same fortune, which had entangled our army, should effectuate its deliverance; that an ineffectual victory should be succeeded by a more ineffectual peace; and that a convention, on the faith of a surety, should be introduced, which bound no other person beside the surety. For what part had ye, conscript fathers; what part had the people, in this affair? Who can call upon you? Who can say, that he has been deceived by you? Can the enemy? Can a citizen? To the enemy ye engaged nothing. Ye ordered no citizen to engage on your behalf. Ye are therefore no way concerned either with us, to whom ye gave no



commission; nor with the Samnites, with whom ye transacted no business. We are sureties to the Samnites; debtors, whose abilities are sufficiently extensive over that which is our own, over that which we can offer—our bodies and our minds. On these, let them exercise their cruelty; against these, let them whet their resentment and their swords. As to what relates to the tribunes, you will consider whether the delivering them up can be immediately effected, or if it must be deferred to another day. Meanwhile let us, Titus Veturius, and the rest concerned, offer our worthless persons, as atonements, for the non-performance of our engagements, and, by our sufferings, liberate the Roman armies."

X. These arguments, and, still more, the person by whom they were delivered, powerfully affected the senators; as they did likewise every one, not excepting even the tribunes of the commons, who declared, that they would be directed by the senate. They then instantly resigned their office, and were delivered, together with the rest, to the heralds, to be conducted to Caudium. On passing this decree of senate, it seemed as if some new light had shone upon the state: Postumius was in every mouth: they extolled him to heaven; and pronounced him to have equalled in glory even the consul Publius Decius, who devoted himself. "Through his counsel, and exertions," they said, "the republic had raised up its head, after being sunk in an ignominious peace. He now offered himself to the enemy's rage, and to torments; and was suffering, in atonement for the Roman people." All turned their thoughts towards arms and war, and the general cry was, "When shall we be permitted with arms in our hands, to meet the Samnites?" While the state glowed with resentment and rancour, the levies were composed almost entirely of volunteers. Legions, composed of the former soldiers, were quickly formed, and an army marched to Caudium. The heralds, who went before, on coming to the gate, ordered the sureties of the peace to be stripped of their clothes, and their hands to be tied behind their backs. As the apparitor, out of respect to his dignity, was binding Postumius in a loose manner, "Nay," said he, "draw the cord tight, that the surrender may be regularly performed." Then, when they came into the assembly of the Samnites, and to the tribunal of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina, a herald,

pronounced these words: "Forasmuch as these men, here present, without orders from the Roman people, the Quirites, entered into surety, that a treaty should be made, whereby they have rendered themselves criminal; now, in order that the Roman people may be freed from the crime of impiety, I here surrender these men into your hands." On the herald saying thus, Postumius gave him a stroke on the thigh with his knee, as forcibly as he could, and said with a loud voice, that "he was now a citizen of Samnium, the other a Roman ambassador; that the herald had been, by him, violently ill-treated, contrary to the law of nations; and that the people he represented would therefore have the more justice on their side, in the war which they were about to wage."

XI. Pontius then said, "Neither will I accept such a surrender, nor will the Samnites deem it valid. Spurius Postumius, if you believe that there are gods, why do ye not undo all that has been done, or fulfil your agreement? The Samnite nation is entitled, either to all the men whom it had in its power, or, instead of them, to a peace. But why do I make a demand on you, who, with as much regard to faith, as you are able to show, return yourself a prisoner into the hands of the conqueror? I make the demand on the Roman people. If they are dissatisfied with the convention, made at the Caudine forks, let them replace the legions within the defile where they were pent up. Let there be no deception on either side. Let all that has been done pass as nothing. Let them receive again the arms which they surrendered by the convention; let them return into their camp. Whatever they were in possession of, the day before the conference, let them possess again. Then let war and resolute counsels be adopted. Then let the convention, and peace, be rejected. Let us carry on the war in the same circumstances, and situations, in which we were, before peace was mentioned. Let neither the Roman people blame the convention of the consuls, nor us the faith of the Roman people. Will ye never want an excuse for violating the compacts which ye make on being defeated? Ye gave hostages to Por-sena: ye clandestinely got them back. Ye ransomed your state from the Gauls, for gold: while they were receiving the gold, they were put to the sword. Ye concluded a peace with us, on condition of our restoring your captured

legions : that peace ye now annul ; in fire, ye always spread over your fraudulent conduct some show of right. Do the Roman people disapprove of their legions being saved by an ignominious peace ? Let them take back their peace, and return the captured legions to the conqueror. This would be conduct consistent with faith, with treaties, and with the laws of the heralds. But that you should, in consequence of the convention, obtain what you desired, the safety of so many of your countrymen, while I obtain not, what I stipulated for, on sending you back those men, a peace ; is this the law which you, Aulus Cornelius, which ye, heralds, prescribe to nations ? But for my part, I neither accept those men whom ye pretend to surrender, nor consider them as surrendered ; nor do I hinder them from returning into their own country, which stands bound under an actual convention, carrying with them the wrath of all the gods, whose authority is thus despised. Wage war, since Spurius Postumius has just now struck with his knee the herald, in character of ambassador. The gods are to believe that Postumius is a citizen of Samnium, not of Rome ; and that a Roman ambassador has been violated by a Samnite ; and that therefore ye have just grounds for a war against us. That men of years, and of consular dignity, should not be ashamed to exhibit such mockery of religion in the face of day ! And should have recourse to such shallow artifices to palliate their breach of faith, as not even children would allow themselves ! Go, licitor, take off the bonds from those Romans. Let no one hinder them to depart, when they think proper." Accordingly they returned unhurt, from Caudium, to the Roman camp, having acquitted, certainly, their own faith, and, perhaps, that of the public.

XII. The Samnites finding that instead of a peace which flattered their pride, the war was revived, and with the utmost inveteracy, not only felt, in their minds, a foreboding of all the consequences which ensued, but saw them, in a manner, before their eyes. They now, too late, and in vain, applauded the plans of old Pontius, by blundering between which, they had exchanged a certainty of victory for an uncertain peace ; and were now to fight against men, whom they might have either put out of the way, for ever, as enemies ; or engaged, for ever, as friends. And such was the change which had taken place in men's minds, since

the Caudine peace, even before any trial of strength had shown an advantage on either side, that Postumius, by surrendering himself, had acquired greater renown among the Romans, than Pontius among the Samnites, by his bloodless victory. The Romans considered their being at liberty to make war, as certain victory ; while the Samnites supposed the Romans victorious, the moment they resumed their arms. Meanwhile, the Satricans revolted to the Samnites, who attacked the colony of Fregellæ, by a sudden surprise in the night, accompanied, as it appears, by the Satricans. From that time until day, their mutual fears kept both parties quiet : the daylight was the signal for battle, which the Fregellans contrived to maintain, for a considerable time, without loss of ground ; for they fought for their religion and liberty ; and the multitude, who were unfit to bear arms, assisted them, from the tops of the houses. At length, a stratagem gave the advantage to the assailants ; a crier was heard proclaiming, that " whoever laid down his arms might retire in safety." This relaxed their eagerness in the fight, and they began almost every where to avail themselves of it. A part, more determined, however, retaining their arms, rushed out by the opposite gate, and found greater safety in their boldness, than the others from the credulity inspired by their fears : for the Samnites surrounded the latter with fires and burned them all to death, while they made vain appeals to the faith of gods and men. The consuls having settled the provinces between them, Papirius proceeded into Apulia to Luceria ; where the Roman horsemen, given as hostages to Caudium, were kept in custody : Publius remained in Samnium, to oppose the Caudine legions. This proceeding perplexed the minds of the Samnites : they could not safely determine either to go to Luceria, lest the enemy should press on their rear ; or to remain where they were, lest in the meantime Luceria should be lost. They concluded, therefore, that it would be most advisable, to trust to the decision of fortune, and to try the issue of a battle with Publius : accordingly they drew out their forces into the field.

XIII. When Publius was about to engage, he thought it proper to address his soldiers ; and accordingly he ordered an assembly to be summoned. But, though they ran together to the general's quarters with the greatest



alacrity, yet so loud were their clamours, demanding the fight, that none of the general's exhortations were heard: each man's own reflections on the late disgrace were sufficient to determine them. They advanced therefore to battle, urging the standard-bearers to hasten; and, lest in beginning the conflict, there should be any delay, by reason that javelins were less easily wielded than swords, they threw away the former, as if a signal to that purpose had been given, and, drawing the latter, rushed in full speed upon the foe. The general had little opportunity of showing his skill in forming ranks or reserves; the ungoverned troops performed all, with a degree of fury little inferior to madness. The enemy, therefore, were completely routed, not even daring to retreat to their camp, but dispersing, made the best of their way towards Apulia: afterwards, however, they collected their forces into one body, and came to Luceria. The same exasperation, which had carried the Romans through the midst of the enemy's line, carried them forward also into their camp, where greater carnage was made, and more blood spilt, than even in the field, while the greater part of the spoil was destroyed in their rage. The other army, with the consul Papirius, had now arrived at Arpi, on the sea-coast, having passed without molestation through all the countries in their way; which was owing to the ill treatment received by those people from the Samnites, and their hatred towards them, rather than to any favour received from the Roman people. For such of the Samnites as dwelt on the mountains used to ravage the low lands, and the places on the coast; and being savage themselves, despised the husbandmen who were of a gentler kind. Now the people of this tract, had they been favourably affected towards the Samnites, could either have prevented the Roman army from coming to Arpi; or, as they lay between Rome and Arpi, could, by intercepting the convoys of provisions, have caused such scarcity of every necessary, as would have been fatal. Even as it was, when they went from thence to Luceria, both the besiegers and the besieged were distressed equally by want. Every kind of supplies was brought to the Romans from Arpi; but in a very scanty proportion, the horsemen carrying corn from thence to the camp, in little bags, for the foot, who were employed in the outposts, watches, and works, and these sometimes falling in with

parties of the enemy, when they were obliged to throw the corn from off their horses, in order to fight. With respect to the Samnites, before the arrival of the other consul and his victorious army, provisions and reinforcements had been brought in to them from the mountains; but the coming of Publius strengthened the Romans in every part; for, committing the siege to the care of his colleague, and keeping himself disengaged, he threw every difficulty in the way of the enemy's convoys. There being therefore little hope for the besieged, or that they would be able much longer to endure want, the Samnites, encamped at Luceria, were obliged to collect their forces from every side, and come to an engagement with Papirius.

XIV. At this juncture, while both parties were preparing for an action, ambassadors from the Tarentines interposed, requiring both Samnites and Romans to desist from war; with menaces, that "if either refused to agree to a cessation of hostilities, they would join their arms with the other party, against them." Papirius, on hearing the purport of their embassy, as if their words had made some impression on him, answered, that he would consult his colleague: he then sent for him, employing the intermediate time in the necessary preparations; and when he had conferred with him on a matter, on which they were at no loss how to determine, he made the signal for battle. While the consuls were employed in performing the religious rites, and the other usual business preparatory to an engagement, the Tarentine ambassadors put themselves in their way, expecting an answer: to whom Papirius said, "Tarentines, the priest reports that the auspices are favourable, and that our sacrifices have been attended with excellent omens: under the direction of the gods, we are proceeding, as you see, to action." He then ordered the standards to move, and led out the troops; thus rebuking the exorbitant arrogance of that nation, which at a time when, through intestine discord and sedition, it was unequal to the management of its own affairs, yet presumed to prescribe the bounds of peace and war to others. On the other side, the Samnites, who had neglected every preparation for fighting, either because they were really desirous of peace, or found it their interest to pretend to be so, in order to conciliate the favour of the Tarentines, when they saw, on a sudden, the

Romans drawn up for battle, cried out, that "they would continue to be directed by the Tarentines, and would neither march out, nor carry their arms beyond the rampart. That they would rather endure any consequence which might ensue, than show contempt to the recommendation of the Tarentines." The consuls said, that "they embraced the omen, and prayed that the enemy might continue in the resolution of not even defending their rampart." Then, dividing the forces between them, they advanced to the works; and, making an assault on every side at once, while some filled up the trenches, others tore down the rampart, and tumbled it into the trench. All were stimulated, not only by their native courage, but by the resentment, which, since their disgrace, had been festering in their breasts. They made their way into the camp; where, every one repeating, that here was not Caudium, nor the forks, nor the impassable glens, where cunning haughtily triumphed over error; but Roman valour, which no rampart nor trench could ward off;—they slew, without distinction, those who resisted, and those who fled, the armed and unarmed, freemen and slaves, young and old, men and cattle. Nor would any one have escaped, had not the consuls given the signal for retreat; and, partly by commands, partly by threats, forced the soldiers out of the camp, where they were greedily indulging themselves in slaughter. As they were highly incensed at being thus interrupted, a speech was immediately addressed to them, assuring the soldiers, that "the consuls neither did, nor would fall short of any one of the soldiers, in hatred toward the enemy; on the contrary, as they led the way in battle, so would they have done the same in executing unbounded vengeance, had not their inclinations been restrained by the consideration of the six hundred horsemen, who were confined, as hostages, in Luceria; for it was feared that the Samnites, through despair, might be hurried on blindly to take cruel revenge on them, before they perished themselves." The soldiers highly applauded the consul's conduct, rejoiced that their resentment had been checked, and acknowledged, that every thing ought to be endured, rather than that so many Roman youths of the first distinction should be brought into danger.

XV. The assembly being then dismissed, a consultation was held, whether they should press forward the siege of Luceria, with all

their forces; or, whether one of the commanders, and his army should make trial of the dispositions of the rest of the Apulians, which were still doubtful. The consul Publius set out to make a circuit through Apulia, and in the one expedition either reduced by force, or received into alliance, on conditions, a considerable number of the states. Papirius likewise, who had remained to prosecute the siege of Luceria, soon found the event agreeable to his hopes: for all the roads being blocked up, through which provisions used to be conveyed from Samnium, the Samnites in garrisons were reduced so low by famine, that they sent ambassadors to the Roman consul, proposing that he should raise the siege, on receiving the horsemen who were the cause of the war. To whom Papirius returned this answer, that "they ought to have consulted Pontius, son of Herennius, by whose advice they had sent the Romans under the yoke, what treatment he thought fitting for the conquered to undergo. But since, instead of offering fair terms themselves, they chose rather that they should be imposed on them by their enemies, he desired them to carry back orders to the troops in Luceria, that they should leave within the walls their arms, baggage, beasts of burthen, and all persons unfit for war. The soldiers he would send under the yoke with single garments, retaliating the disgrace formerly inflicted, not setting the example." All this they submitted to. Seven thousand soldiers were sent under the yoke, and an immense booty was seized in the town, where the Romans retook all the standards and arms which they had lost at Caudium; and, what greatly increased their joy, recovered the horsemen whom the Samnites had sent to Luceria to be kept as pledges of the peace. Hardly ever did the Romans gain a victory more remarkable for the sudden reverse produced in the state of their affairs: especially if it be true, as I find in some annals, that Pontius, son of Herennius, the Samnite general, was sent under the yoke along with the rest, to atone for the disgrace of the consuls. I think it indeed less strange to find uncertainty, with respect to the treatment of the Samnite general, than that there should be a doubt whether it was Lucius Cornelius, in quality of dictator, (Lucius Papirius Cursor being master of the horse, who acted at Caudium, and afterwards at Luceria, as the single avenger of the disgrace of the



Romans, enjoying the best deserved triumph, perhaps next to that of *Furius Camillus*, which had ever yet been obtained;) or whether that honour belongs to the consuls, and particularly to *Papirius*. This uncertainty is followed by another, whether, at the next election, [Y. R. 435. B. C. 317.] *Papirius Cursor* was chosen consul a third time, with *Quintus Aulus Ciceretanus* a second time, being re-elected in requital of his services at *Luceria*; or whether it was *Lucius Papirius Mugillanus*, the surname being mistaken.

XVI. From henceforth, the accounts are clear, that the other wars were conducted to a conclusion by the consuls. *Aulus*, by one successful battle, entirely conquered the *Ferentans*. The city, to which their army had retreated after its defeat, surrendered on terms, and was ordered to give hostages. Similar fortune attended the other consul, in his operations against the *Satricans*; who, though Roman citizens, had, after the misfortune at *Caudium*, revolted to the *Samnites*, and received a garrison into their city. The *Satricans*, however, when the Roman army approached their walls, sent deputies to sue for peace, with humble entreaties, to whom the consul answered harshly, that "they must not come again to him, unless they either put to death, or delivered up, the *Samnite garrison*:" which words struck greater terror into the colonists than the arms with which they were threatened. The deputies, on this, several times asking the consul, how he thought that they, who were few and weak, could attempt to use force against a garrison so strong and well armed, he desired them to "seek counsel from those, by whose advice they had received that garrison into the city." They then departed, and returned to their countrymen, having obtained from the consul, with much difficulty, permission to consult their senate, and bring back their answer to him. Two factions divided the senate; the leaders of one had been the authors of the defection from the Roman people, the other consisted of the citizens who retained their loyalty; both, however, showed an earnest desire, that every means should be used towards effecting an accommodation with the consul for the restoration of peace. As the *Samnite garrison*, being in no respect prepared for holding out a siege, intended to retire the next night out of the town, one party thought it sufficient to discover to the consul, at what hour, through

what gate, and by what road, his enemy was to march out. The other, who had opposed the going over to the *Samnites*, went farther, and opened one of the gates for the consul in the night, secretly admitting him into the town. In consequence of this twofold treachery, the *Samnite garrison* was surprised and overpowered by an ambush, placed in the woody places, near the road; and, at the same time, a shout was raised in the city, which was now filled with the besiegers. Thus, in the short space of one hour, the *Samnites* were put to the sword, the *Satricans* made prisoners, and all things reduced under the power of the consul; who, taking proper measures to discover who were the instigators of the revolt, scourged with rods and beheaded such as he found to be guilty; and then, disarming the *Satricans*, he placed a strong garrison in the place. On this, *Papirius Cursor* proceeded to Rome to celebrate his triumph, according to the relation of those authors, who say, that he was the general who retook *Luceria*, and sent the *Samnites* under the yoke. Undoubtedly, as a warrior, he was deserving of every praise, excelling not only in vigour of mind, but likewise in strength of body. He possessed extraordinary swiftness of foot, surpassing every one of his age in running, from whence came the surname into his family; and he is said, either from the robustness of his frame, or from much practice, to have been able to digest a very large quantity of food and wine. Never did either the foot soldier or horseman feel military service more laborious, under any general, because he was of a constitution not to be overcome by fatigue. The cavalry, on some occasion, venturing to request that, in consideration of their good behaviour, he would excuse them some part of their business, he told them, "ye should not say, that no indulgence has been granted you,—I excuse you from rubbing your horses' backs when ye dismount." He supported also the authority of command, in all its vigour, both among the allies and his countrymen. The prætor of *Præneste*, through fear, had been tardy in bringing forward his men from the reserve to the front: the general walking before his tent, ordered him to be called, and then bade the lictor to make ready his axe, on which the *Prænestine*, standing frightened almost to death, he said, "here, lictor, cut away this stump, it is troublesome to people as they walk;" and, after thus alarming him with the dread of the severest punishment, fined and

dismissed him. It is beyond doubt, that during that age, than which none was ever more productive of virtuous characters, there was no man in whom the Roman affairs found a more effectual support: nay, people even marked him out, in their minds, as a match for Alexander the Great, in case, that having completed the conquest of Asia, he should have turned his arms on Europe.

XVII. Nothing has ever been farther from my intention, since the commencement of this history, than to digress, more than necessity required, from the course of narration; and, by embellishing my work with variety, to seek pleasing resting-places, as it were, for my readers, and relaxation for my own mind: nevertheless, the mention of so great a king and commander, as it has often set my thoughts at work, in silent disquisitions, now calls forth a few reflections to public view, and disposes me to inquire, what would have been the consequence, respecting the affairs of the Romans, if they had happened to have been engaged in a war with Alexander. The circumstances of greatest moment seem to be, the number and bravery of the soldiers, the abilities of the commanders, and fortune, which exerts a powerful sway over all human concerns, and especially over those of war. Now these particulars, considered both separately and collectively, must clearly convince an observer, that not only other kings and nations, but that even Alexander himself, would have found the Roman empire invincible. And first, to begin with comparing the commanders. I do not, indeed, deny that Alexander was a captain of consummate merit; but still his fame owes part of its lustre to his having been single in command, and to his dying young, while his affairs were advancing in improvement, and while he had not yet experienced a reverse of fortune. For, to pass by other illustrious kings and leaders, who afford exemplary instances of the decline of human greatness, what was it, but length of life, which subjected Cyrus, (whom the Greeks, in their panegyrics, exalt so far beyond all others,) to the caprice of fortune? And the same was, lately, the case of Pompey the Great. I shall enumerate the Roman chiefs: not every one of every age, but those only with whom, either as consuls or dictators, Alexander might have been engaged. Marcus Valerius Corvus, Caius Marcus Rutilius, Caius Sulpicius, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Quintus Publilius Philo, Lucius

Papirius Cursor, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the two Decii, Lucius Volumnius, Manius Curius. Then follow a number of very extraordinary men, had it so happened, that he had first engaged in war with Carthage, and had come into Italy at a more advanced period of life. Every one of these possessed powers of mind and a capacity equal with Alexander; add to this, that a regular system of military discipline had been transmitted from one to another, from the first rise of the city of Rome; a system now reduced into the form of an art, completely digested in a train of fixed and settled principles, deduced from the practice of the kings; and afterwards, of the expellers of those kings, the Junii and Valerii; with all the improvements made in it by the Fabii, the Quintii, the Corneli, and particularly Furius Camillus, who was an old man in the earlier years of those with whom Alexander must have fought. Manlius Torquatus might, perhaps, have yielded to Alexander, had he met him in the field; and so might Valerius Corvus; men who were distinguished soldiers, before they became commanders. The same, too, might have been the case with the Decii, who, after devoting their persons, rushed upon the enemy; or of Papirius Cursor, though possessed of such powers, both of body and mind. The counsels of one youth, it is possible, might have baffled the wisdom of a whole senate, composed of such members, that he alone, who said it was an assembly of kings, conceived a just idea of it. But then there was little probability that he should, with more judgment than any one of those whom I have named, choose ground for an encampment, provide supplies, guard against stratagems, distinguish the season for fighting, form his line of battle, or strengthen it properly with reserves. He would have owned, that he was not dealing with Darius, who drew after him a train of women and eunuchs; saw nothing about him but gold and purple; was encumbered with the burthensome trappings of his state, and should be called his prey, rather than his antagonist; whom therefore he vanquished without loss of blood, and had no other merit, on the occasion, than that of showing a proper spirit in despising empty show. Italy would have appeared, to him, a country of a quite different nature from Asia, which he traversed in the guise of a reveller. at the head of a crew of drunkards, if he had seen the forests of Apulia, and the mountains of Lucania, with the vestiges of the disasters



of his house, and where his uncle Alexander, king of Epirus, had been lately cut off.

XVIII. I am here speaking of Alexander, not yet intoxicated by prosperity, the seductions of which no man was less capable of withstanding. But, if a judgment is to be formed of him, from the tenor of his conduct, in the new state of his fortune, and from the new disposition, as I may say, which he put on after his successes, he would have entered Italy more like Darius, than Alexander; and would have brought thither an army who had forgotten Macedonia, and were degenerating into the manners of the Persians. It is painful in speaking of so great a king, to recite his ostentatious pride in the frequent changes of his dress; his requiring that people should address him with adulation, prostrating themselves on the ground; a practice insupportable to the Macedonians, had they even been conquered, much more so when they were victorious; the shocking cruelty of his punishments; his murdering his friends in the midst of feasting and wine; with the folly of his fiction respecting his birth. What must have been the consequence, if his love of wine had daily increased? If his fierce and uncontrollable anger? and as I mention not any one circumstance of which there is a doubt among writers, do we consider these as no disparagements to the qualifications of a commander? But then, as is frequently repeated by the silliest of the Greeks, who are fond of exalting the reputation, even of the Parthians, at the expense of the Roman name, it was to be apprehended that the Roman people would not have had resolution to face the splendour of Alexander's name, who, however, in my opinion, was not known to them even by common fame; and while, in Athens, a state reduced to weakness by the Macedonian arms, which at the very time saw the ruins of Thebes smoking in its neighbourhood, men had spirit enough to declaim with freedom against him, as is manifest from the copies of their speeches, which have been preserved; is it to be supposed that out of such a number of Roman chiefs, no one would have freely uttered his sentiments? How large soever the scale may be, on which our idea of this man's greatness is formed, still it is the greatness of an individual, constituted by the successes of a little more than ten years; and those who give it pre-eminence on account, that the Roman people have been defeated, though not in any en-

tire war, yet in several battles, whereas Alexander was never once unsuccessful in fight, do not consider that they are comparing the actions of one man, and that a young man, with the course of action of a nation, which has been waging wars, now eight hundred years. Can we wonder then, if fortune has varied more in such a long space, than in the short term of thirteen years? But why not compare the success of one man, with that of another? How many Roman commanders might I name, who never were beaten? In the annals of the magistrates, and the records, we may run over whole pages of consuls, and dictators, with whose bravery, and successes also, the Roman people never once had reason to be dissatisfied. And what renders them more deserving of admiration than Alexander, or any king, is, that some of these acted in the office of dictator, which lasted only ten, or it might be twenty days; none, in a charge of longer duration, than the consulship of a year; their levies obstructed by plebeian tribunes; often late in taking the field; recalled, before the time, to attend elections; amidst the very busiest efforts of the campaign, overtaken by the close of their official year: sometimes by the rashness, sometimes the perverseness of a colleague, involved in difficulties or losses; and finally succeeding to the unfortunate administration of a predecessor, with an army of raw or ill disciplined men. But, on the other hand, kings, being not only free from every kind of impediment, but masters of circumstances and seasons, control all things in subserviency to their designs, themselves uncontrolled by any. So that Alexander, unconquered, would have encountered unconquered commanders; and would have had stakes of equal consequence pledged on the issue. Nay, the hazard had been greater on his side: because the Macedonians would have had but one Alexander, who was not only liable, but fond of exposing himself to casualties; the Romans would have had many equal to Alexander, both in renown, and in the greatness of their exploits; the life, or death, of any of whom, would have affected only his own concerns, without any material consequence to the public.

XIX. It remains to compare the forces together, with respect to their numbers, the different kinds of troops, and their resources for procuring auxiliaries. Now, in the general surveys of that age, there were rated two hundred and fifty thousand men: so that, on every

revolt of the Latine confederates, ten legions were enlisted almost entirely in the city. It often happened during those years, that four or five armies were employed at a time, in Etruria, in Umbria, the Gauls also being at war, in Samnium, in Lucania. Then as to all Latium, with the Sabines, and Volscians, the Æquans, and all Campania; half of Umbria, Etruria, and the Picentians, the Marsians, Pelignians, Vestinians, and Apulians; to whom, we may add, the whole coast of the lower sea, possessed by the Greeks from Thurii, to Neapolis and Cumæ; and the Samnites from thence as far as Antium and Ostia: all these he would have found either powerful allies to the Romans, or deprived of power by their arms. He would have crossed the sea with his veteran Macedonians, amounting to no more than thirty thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, these mostly Thessalians. This was the whole of his strength. Had he brought with him Persians and Indians, and those other nations, it would be dragging after him an incumbrance, rather than a support. Add to this, that the Romans being at home, would have had recruits at hand: Alexander waging war in a foreign country, would have found his army worn out with long service, as happened afterwards to Hannibal. As to arms, theirs were a buckler and long spears: those of the Romans, a shield, which covered the body more effectually, and a javelin, a much more forcible weapon than the spear, either in throwing or striking. The soldiers, on both sides, were used to steady combat, and to preserve their ranks. But the Macedonian phalanx was unsuited for motion, and composed of similar parts throughout: the Roman line less compact, consisting of several various parts, was easily divided, as occasion required, and as easily conjoined. Then what soldier is comparable to the Roman, in the throwing up of works? who better calculated to endure fatigue? Alexander, if overcome in one battle, could make no other effort. The Roman, whom Caudium, whom Cannæ, did not crush, what fight could crush? In truth, even should events have been favourable to him at first, he would have often wished for the Persians, the Indians, and the effeminate tribes of Asia, as opponents; and would have acknowledged, that his wars had been waged with women, as we are told was said by Alexander, king of Epirus, after receiving his mortal wound, in relation to the battles fought

in Asia by this very youth, and when compared with those in which himself had been engaged. Indeed, when I reflect, that, in the first Punic war, a contest was maintained by the Romans with the Carthaginians, at sea, for twenty-four years, I can scarcely suppose that the life of Alexander would have been long enough for the finishing of one war with either of those nations. And perhaps, as the Punic state was united to the Roman, by ancient treaties, and as similar apprehensions might arm against a common foe those two nations the most potent of the time, he might have been overwhelmed in a Punic, and a Roman war, at once. The Romans have had experience of the boasted prowess of the Macedonians in arms, not indeed when they were led by Alexander, or when their power was at the height, but in the wars against Antiochus, Philip, and Perseus; and so far were they from sustaining any losses, that they incurred not even danger. Let not the truth give offence to any, nor our civil wars be brought into mention; never were we worsted by an enemy's cavalry, never by their infantry, never in open fight, never on equal ground, much less, when the ground was favourable. Our soldiers, heavy laden with arms, may reasonably fear a body of cavalry, or arrows; defiles of difficult passage, and places impassable to convoys. But they have defeated, and will defeat a thousand armies, more formidable than those of Alexander, and the Macedonians, provided that the same love of peace and zeal to promote domestic harmony, which at present subsist among us, shall continue to prevail.

XX. Marcus Fostius Flaccinator and Lucius Plautius Venno were the next raised to the consulship. [Y. R. 436. B. C. 316.] In this year ambassadors came from most of the states of the Samnites to procure a renewal of the treaty; and, having moved the compassion of the senate, by the humility with which they prostrated themselves before them, were referred to the people, with whom they found not their prayers so efficacious. Their petition, therefore, with regard to the treaty, was rejected; but after a supplication of several days, they obtained a truce for two years. The Teaneans likewise, and Canusians of Apulia, worn out by the devastations of their country, surrendered themselves to the consul, Lucius Plautius, and gave hostages. This year præfects first began to be created for Capua, and a code of laws was



given to that nation, by Lucius Furius the prætor; both in compliance with their own request, as a remedy for the disorder of their affairs, occasioned by intestine dissensions. At Rome, two additional tribes were constituted, the Ufentine and Falerine. On the affairs of Apulia falling into decline, the Teatians of that country came to the new consuls, Caius Junius Bubulcus, and Quintus Æmilius Barbula, suing for an alliance; [Y. R. 437. B. C. 315.] and engaging, that peace should be observed towards the Romans through every part of Apulia. By pledging themselves boldly for this, they obtained the grant of an alliance, not however on terms of equality, but of their submitting to the dominion of the Roman people. Apulia being entirely reduced, (for Junius had also gained possession of Forentum, a town of great strength,) the consuls advanced into Lucania; there Nerulum was surprised and stormed by the consul Æmilius. When fame had spread abroad among the allies, how firmly the affairs of Capua were settled by the introduction of the Roman institutions, the Antians, imitating the example, presented a complaint of their being without laws, and without magistrates; on which the patrons of the colony itself were appointed by the senate to form a body of laws for it. Thus not only the arms, but the laws, of Rome, widely extended their sway.

XXI. The consuls, Caius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Æmilius Barbula, at the conclusion of the year, delivered over the legions, not to the consuls elected by themselves, who were Spurius Nautius, and Marcus Popillius, but to a dictator Lucius Æmilius. [Y. R. 438. B. C. 314.] He, with Lucius Fulvius, master of the horse, laying siege to Saticula, gave occasion to the Samnites of reviving hostilities, and this produced a twofold alarm to the Roman army. On one side, the Samnites having collected a numerous force with intent to relieve their allies from the siege, pitched their camp at a small distance from that of the Romans: on the other side, the Santiculans, opening suddenly their gates, ran up with violent tumult to their posts. Afterwards, each party, relying on support from the other, more than on its own strength, formed a regular attack, and pressed on the Romans. The dictator, on his part, though obliged to oppose two enemies at once, yet had his line secure on both sides; for he chose a position in which he could not easily be sur-

rounded, and also formed two different fronts. However, he directed his first efforts against those who had sallied from the town, and, without meeting much resistance, drove them back within the walls. He then turned his whole force against the Samnites: there he found greater difficulty. But the victory, though long delayed, was neither doubtful nor alloyed by losses. The Samnites, being forced to fly into their camp, extinguished their fires at night, and marched away in silence; and renouncing all hopes of relieving Saticula, sat themselves down before Plistia, which was in alliance with the Romans, that they might, if possible, retort equal vexation on their enemy.

XXII. The year coming to a conclusion, the war was thenceforward conducted by a dictator, Quintus Fabius. [Y. R. 439. B. C. 313.] The new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor and Quintus Publilius Philo, both a fourth time, as the former had done, remained at Rome. Fabius came with a reinforcement to Saticula, to receive the command of the army from Æmilius. The Samnites had not continued before Plistia; but having sent for a new supply of men from home, and relying on their numbers, had encamped in the same spot as before; and, by provoking the Romans to battle, endeavoured to divert them from the siege. The dictator, so much the more intently, pushed forward his operations against the fortifications of the enemy; considering the taking of the city as the only object of the war, and showing an indifference with respect to the Samnites, except that he placed guards in proper places, to prevent any attempt on his camp. This encouraged the Samnites, so that they rode up to the rampart, and allowed him no quiet. These now coming up close to the gates of the camp, Quintus Aulus Cerretanus, master of the horse, without consulting the dictator, sallied out furiously at the head of all the troops of cavalry, and drove them back. In this desultory kind of fight, fortune exerted her power in such a manner, as to occasion an extraordinary loss on both sides, and the remarkable deaths of the commanders themselves. First, the general of the Samnites, filled with indignation at being repulsed, and compelled to fly from a place to which he had advanced with such confidence, prevailed on his horsemen, by intreaties and exhortations, to renew the battle. As he was easily distinguished among the horsemen, while he urged on the fight, the Roman master

of the horse galloped up against him in such a furious career, that, with one stroke of his spear, he tumbled him lifeless from his horse. The multitude, however, were not, as is generally the case, dismayed by the fall of their leader, but rather roused to fury. All who were within reach, darted their weapons at Aulius, who incautiously pushed forward among the enemy's troops; but the chief share of the honour of revenging the death of the Samnite general was reserved for his brother, who, urged by rage and grief, dragged down the victorious master of the horse from his seat, and slew him. As he fell in the midst of their troops, the Samnites were also near keeping possession of his body: but the Romans instantly dismounting, the Samnites were obliged to do the same; and thus were lines formed suddenly, and a battle began on foot, round the bodies of the generals, in which the Romans had manifestly the advantage; and recovering the body of Aulius, carried it back in triumph to the camp, with hearts filled with a mixture of joy and grief. The Samnites having lost their commander, and made a trial of their strength in this contest between the cavalry, left Saticula, which they despaired of relieving, and returned to the siege of Plistia: within a few days after which, the Romans got possession of Saticula by capitulation, and the Samnites of Plistia by force.

XXIII. The seat of the war was then changed. The legions were led away from Samnium and Apulia to Sora. This city had revolted to the Samnites, and put to death the Roman colonists. The Roman army having arrived here first, by forced marches, with the purpose of revenging the murder of their countrymen, and recovering possession of the colony, and the scouts who were scattered about the roads bringing intelligence, one after another, that the Samnites were following at no great distance, they marched to meet the enemy, and at Lautulæ fought them with doubtful success. Neither loss nor flight on either side, but the night, separated the combatants, uncertain whether they were victorious or defeated. I find in some historians, that the Romans were worsted in this battle, and that here Quintus Aulius, the master of the horse, fell. Caius Fabius, substituted master of the horse in the room of Quintus Aulius, came hither with a new army from Rome; and having, by messengers whom he sent forward,

consulted the dictator, where he should halt, at what time, and on what side, he should fall upon the enemy, and, being sufficiently apprized of his designs in every particular, he rested in a place where he was safe from observation. The dictator, after having kept his men within the rampart for several days after the engagement, like one besieged, rather than a besieger, suddenly displayed the signal for battle; and judging it the more efficacious method of inflaming the courage of brave men, to let none have any room for hope but in himself, he kept secret from the troops the arrival of the master of the horse, and the new army; and, as if there were no safety but in forcing their way thence, he said, "Soldiers, caught as we are in a confined situation, we have no passage through which we can extricate ourselves, unless we open one by a victory. Our post is sufficiently secured by works; but, at the same time, untenable through scarcity of necessaries: for all the country round, from which provisions could be supplied, has revolted; and besides, even were the inhabitants disposed to aid us, the nature of the ground is unfavourable. I will not therefore mislead you by leaving a camp here, into which ye may retreat, as on a former day, without completing the victory. Works ought to be secured by arms, not arms by works. Let those keep a camp, and repair to it, whose interest it is to protract the war; but let us cut off from ourselves every other prospect but that of conquering. Advance the standards against the enemy; as soon as the troops shall have marched beyond the rampart, let those who have it in orders burn the camp. Your losses, soldiers, shall be compensated with the spoil of all the nations round who have revolted." The soldiers advanced against the enemy with spirits inflamed by the dictator's discourse, which seemed to indicate an extreme necessity; and, at the same time, the very sight of the camp burning behind them, though the nearest part only was set on fire, (for so the dictator had ordered,) was no small incitement: rushing on therefore like madmen, they disordered the enemy's battalions at the very first onset; and the master of the horse, when he saw at a distance the fire of the camp, which was a signal agreed on, made a seasonable attack on their rear. The Samnites, thus assailed on every side, fled different ways. A vast number, who had gathered into a body through fear, yet from



confusion incapable of acting, were surrounded and cut to pieces. The enemy's camp was taken and plundered; and the soldiers being laden with the spoil, the dictator led them back to the Roman camp, highly rejoiced at the success, but still more at finding, contrary to their expectation, every thing there safe, except a small part only, which was injured or destroyed by the fire.

XXIV. They then marched back to Sora; [Y. R. 440. B. C. 312.] and the new consuls, Marcus Pœtelius and Caius Sulpicius, receiving the army from the dictator Fabius, discharged a great part of the veteran soldiers, having brought with them new cohorts to supply their place. Now while, on account of the difficulties presented by the situation of the city, no mode of attack could be devised which promised any certainty of success, and the taking of it must either be done at the expense of a great deal of time, or at a desperate risk; a townsman deserting, came out of the town privately by night, and when he had got as far as the Roman watches, desired to be conducted instantly to the consuls: which being complied with, he made them an offer of delivering the place into their hands. From his answers to their questions, respecting the means by which he intended to accomplish his design, it appeared to be not ill formed; and he persuaded them to remove the Roman camp, which was almost close to the walls, to the distance of six miles, alleging, that this would render the guards by day, and the watches by night, the less vigilant. He then desired that some cohorts should post themselves the following night in the woody places under the town, and took with himself ten chosen soldiers, through steep and almost impassable ways, into the citadel, where a quantity of missive weapons had been collected, larger than bore proportion to the number of men. There were stones besides, some lying at random, as in all craggy places, and others heaped up by the townsmen, to add to the security of the place. Having posted the Romans here, and shown them a steep and narrow path leading up from the town to the citadel—"From this ascent," said he, "even three armed men would keep off any multitude whatever. Now ye are ten in number; and, what is more, Romans, and the bravest among the Romans. The night is in your favour, which, by concealing the real state of things, magnifies every object to people when once alarmed. I will im-

mediately fill every place with terror: be ye alert in defending the citadel." He then ran down in haste, crying aloud, "To arms, citizens, we are undone, the citadel is taken by the enemy; run, defend it." This he repeated, as he passed the doors of the principal men, the same to all whom he met, and also to those who ran out in a fright into the streets. The alarm, communicated first by one, was soon spread by numbers through all the city. The magistrates, dismayed on hearing from scouts that the citadel was full of arms and armed men, whose number they multiplied, laid aside all hopes of recovering it. Flight began on every side, and the townsmen, half asleep, and for the most part unarmed, broke open the gates, through one of which the body of Roman troops, roused by the noise, burst in, and slew the terrified inhabitants who attempted to skirmish in the streets. Sora was now taken, when, at the first light, the consuls arrived, and accepted the surrender of those whom fortune had left remaining after the flight and slaughter of the night. Of these, they conveyed in chains to Rome two hundred and twenty-five, whom all men agreed in pointing out as the authors, both of the revolt, and also of the horrid massacre of the colonists. The rest were left in safety at Sora, where they placed a garrison. All those who were brought to Rome were beaten with rods in the forum, and beheaded, to the great joy of the commons, whose interest it most highly concerned, that the multitudes, sent to various places in colonies, should be in safety.

XXV. The consuls leaving Sora, turned their operations against the lands and cities of the Ausonians; for all places had been set in commotion by the coming of the Samnites, when the battle was fought at Lautulæ: conspiracies likewise had been formed in several parts of Campania; nor was Capua itself clear of the charge: nay, the business spread even to Rome, and occasioned inquiries to be instituted respecting some of the principal men there. However, the Ausonian nation fell into the Roman power, in the same manner as Sora, by their cities being betrayed: these were Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vescia. Certain young men of the principal families, twelve in number, having conspired to betray their respective cities, came to the consuls, and informed them that their countrymen, who had for a long time before, earnestly wished for the coming of the

Samnites, on hearing of the battle at Lautulæ, had looked on the Romans as defeated, and had assisted the Samnites with supplies of men and arms; but that, since the Samnites had been beaten out of the country, they were wavering between peace and war, not shutting their gates against the Romans, lest they should thereby invite an attack; yet determined to shut them if any troops should approach, and that, while their minds were in that fluctuating state, they might easily be overpowered by surprise. By these men's advice the camp was moved nearer; and soldiers were sent, at the same time, to each of the three towns; some armed, who were to lie concealed in places near the walls; others, in the garb of peace, with swords hidden under their clothes, who, on the opening of the gates at the approach of day, were to enter into the cities. These latter began with killing the guards, and, at the same time, made the signal to the men in arms, to hasten up from the ambuscades. Thus the gates were seized, and the three towns taken in the same hour and by the same device. But as the generals were not present when the attacks were made, there were no bounds to the carnage which ensued; and the nation of the Ausonians, when there was scarcely any clear proof of the charge of its having revolted, was utterly destroyed, as if it had supported a contest through a deadly war.

XXVI. During this year, Luceria fell into the hands of the Samnites, the Roman garrison being betrayed to them. The actors in this treachery did not long go unpunished: the Roman army was not far off, by whom the city, which lay in a plain, was taken at the first onset. The Lucerians and Samnites were to a man put to the sword; and to such a length was resentment carried, that at Rome, on the senate being consulted about sending a colony to Luceria, many voted for the demolition of it. Their hatred was of the bitterest kind, against a people whom they had been obliged twice to subdue by arms; the great distance, also, made them averse from sending their citizens as colonists among nations so ill-affected towards them. However the resolution was carried, that such should be sent; and accordingly two thousand five hundred were transported thither. This year, disaffection to the Romans becoming general, conspiracies were formed among the leading men at Capua, as well as at other places; which being reported to the senate, they deemed it an affair by no means

to be neglected. They decreed that inquiries should be made, and resolved that a dictator should be appointed to enforce these inquiries. Caius Mænius was accordingly nominated, and he appointed Marcus Fostius master of the horse. People's dread of that office was very great, insomuch that the Calavii, Ovius, and Novius, who were the heads of the conspiracy, either through fear of the dictator's power, or the consciousness of guilt, previous to the charge against them being laid in form before him, chose, as appeared beyond doubt, to avoid trial by a voluntary death. As the subject of the inquiry in Campania was thus removed, the proceedings were then directed towards Rome: by construing the order of the senate to have meant, that inquiry should be made, not specially who at Capua, but generally, who at any place had formed cabals or conspiracies; for that cabals, for the attaining of honours, were contrary to the edicts of the state. The inquiry was extended to a greater latitude, with respect both to the matter, and to the kind of persons concerned. The dictator scrupled not to avow, that his power of research was unlimited: in consequence, some of the nobility were called to account; and though they applied to the tribunes for protection, no one interposed in their behalf, or to prevent the charges from being received. On this the nobles, not those only against whom the charge was levelled, but the whole body jointly insisted that such an imputation lay not against themselves, or their order, to whom the way to honours lay open if not obstructed by fraud, but against the new men: so that even the dictator and master of the horse, with respect to that question, would appear more properly as culprits than inquisitors; and this they should know as soon as they went out of office. This so deeply affected Mænius, who was more solicitous about his character than his office, that he advanced into the assembly and spoke to this effect: "Romans, of my past life ye are all witnesses; and this honourable office, which ye conferred on me, is, in itself, a testimony of my innocence. For the dictator, proper to be chosen for holding these inquiries, was not, as on many other occasions, where the exigencies of the state so required, the man who was most renowned in war; but him whose course of life was most remote from such cabals. But certain of the nobility (for what reason it is more



proper that ye should judge, than that I, as a magistrate, should, without proof, insinuate) have laboured to stifle entirely the inquiries ; and then, finding their strength unequal to it, rather than stand a trial, have fled for refuge to the stronghold of their adversaries, an appeal, and the support of the tribunes ; and on being there also repulsed, (so fully were they persuaded that every other measure was safer than the attempt to clear themselves,) have made an attack upon us ; and, though in private characters have not been restrained by a sense of decency from instituting a criminal process against a dictator. Now, that gods and men may perceive, that they, to avoid a scrutiny as to their own conduct, attempt even impossibilities ; and that I willingly meet the charge, and face the accusations of my enemies, I divest myself of the dictatorship. And, consuls, I beseech you, that, if this business is put into your hands by the senate, ye will make me and Marcus Fostilius the first objects of your examinations ; it shall be manifested, that we owe our safety from such imputations to our own innocence, not to the dignity of office." He then abdicated the dictatorship, as did Marcus Fostilius, immediately after, his office of master of the horse ; and being the first brought to trial before the consuls, for to them the senate had committed the business, they were most honourably acquitted of all the charges brought by the nobles. Even Publius Philo, who had so often been invested with the highest honours, and had performed so many eminent services, both at home and abroad, being disagreeable to the nobility, was brought to trial, and acquitted. Nor did the inquiry continue respectable on account of the illustrious names of the accused, longer than while it was new, which is usually the case : it then began to descend to persons of inferior rank ; and at length was suppressed, by means of those factions and cabals, against which it had been instituted.

XXVII. The accounts received of these matters, but more especially the hope of a revolt in Campania, for which a conspiracy had been formed, recalled the Samnites from their intended march towards Apulia, back to Caudium ; where, being near, they might, if any commotion should open them an opportunity, snatch Capua out of the hands of the Romans. To the same place the consuls repaired with a powerful army. They both held back for some time, on the different sides of the

defiles, the roads being dangerous to either party. Then the Samnites making a short circuit through an open tract, marched down their troops into level ground in the Campanian plains, and there the hostile camps first came within view of each other. Both armies then made trial of their strength in slight skirmishes, more frequently between the horse than the foot ; and the Romans were no way displeased either at the issue of these, or at the protraction of the war. The Samnite generals, on the contrary, were uneasy that their battalions should be weakened daily by small losses, and the general vigour abated by inaction. They therefore marched into the field, disposing their cavalry on both wings, with orders to give more heedful attention to the camp behind, than to the battle ; for that the line of infantry would be able to provide for their own safety. The consuls took post, Sulpicius on the right wing, Poetelius in the left. The right wing was stretched out wider than usual ; the Samnites also on that side being formed in thin ranks, either with design of turning the flank of the enemy, or to avoid being themselves surrounded. On the left, besides that they were formed in more compact order, an addition was made to their strength, by a sudden act of the consul Poetelius : for the subsidiary cohorts, which were usually reserved for the exigencies of a tedious fight, he brought up immediately to the front, and, in the first onset, pushed the enemy with the whole of his force. The Samnite line of infantry giving way, their cavalry advanced to support them ; and, as they were charging in an oblique direction between the two lines, the Roman horse coming up at full speed, disordered their battalions and ranks of infantry and cavalry, so as to oblige the whole line on that side to give ground. The left wing had not only the presence of Poetelius to animate them, but that of Sulpicius likewise ; who, on the shout being first raised in that quarter, rode thither from his own division, which had not yet engaged. When he saw victory no longer doubtful there, he returned to his own post with twelve hundred men, but found affairs on that side in a very different posture ; the Romans driven from their ground, and the victorious enemy pressing on their disordered battalions. However, the arrival of the consul effected a speedy change in every particular ; for, on the sight of their leader, the spirit of the soldiers was revived, and the bravery of the men, who

came with him, rendered them a more powerful reinforcement than even their number; while the news of success in the other wing, of which they soon had visible proof, restored the vigour of the fight. From this time, the Romans became victorious through the whole extent of the line, and the Samnites, giving up the contest, were slain or taken prisoners, except such as made their escape to Maleventum, the town which is now called Beneventum. Thirty thousand of the Samnites were slain or taken, according to accounts of historians.

XXVIII. The consuls, after this important victory, led forward the legions to lay siege to Bovianum; and there they continued, during part of the winter, until Caius Pœtelius being nominated dictator, with Marcus Fostius master of the horse, received the command of the army from the new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor a fifth, and Caius Junius Bubulcus a second time. [Y. R. 441. B. C. 311.] On hearing that the citadel of Fregellæ was taken by the Samnites, he left Bovianum, and proceeded to that city, of which he recovered possession without any contest, the Samnites abandoning it in the night: he then placed a strong garrison there, and returned to Campania, directing his operations principally to the recovery of Nola. Within the walls of this place, the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the inhabitants of the country about Nola, shut themselves up, on the approach of the dictator. Having taken a view of the situation of the city, in order to open the approach to the fortifications, he set fire to all the buildings which stood round the walls, which were very numerous; and, in a short time after, Nola was taken, either by the dictator Pœtelius, or the consul Caius Junius, but by which of them is uncertain. Those who attribute to the consul the honour of taking Nola, add, that he also took Antina and Calatia, and that Pœtelius was created dictator in consequence of a pestilence breaking out, merely for the purpose of driving the nail. The colonies of Suessa and Pontia were established in this year. Suessa had been the property of the Auruncians: the Volscians had occupied Pontia, an island lying within sight of their shore. A decree of the senate was also passed for conducting colonies to Interamna and Cassinum. [Y. R. 442. B. C. 310.] But the commissioners were appointed, and the colonists, to the number of four thousand, sent by the succeeding consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius.

XXIX. The Samnites were now nearly disabled from continuing the war; but, before the Roman senate was freed from all concern on that side, a report arose of the Etrurians intending to commence hostilities; and there was not, in those times, any nation, excepting the Gauls, whose arms were more dreaded, by reason both of the vicinity of their country, and of the multitude of their men. While therefore one of the consuls prosecuted the remains of the war in Samnium, Publius Decius, who, being attacked by a severe illness, remained at Rome, by direction of the senate, nominated Caius Junius Bubulcus dictator. He, as the magnitude of the affair demanded, compelled all the younger citizens to enlist, and with the utmost diligence, prepared all requisite matters. Yet he was not so elated by the power he had collected, as to think of commencing offensive operations, but prudently determined to remain quiet, unless the Etrurians should become aggressors. The plans of the Etrurians were exactly similar, with respect to preparing for, and abstaining from, war: neither party went beyond their own frontiers. The censorship of Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius, for this year, was remarkable; but the name of Appius has been handed down with more celebrity to posterity on account of his having made the road, called after him, the Appian, and for having conveyed water into the city. These works he performed alone; for his colleague, overwhelmed with shame by reason of the infamous and unworthy choice made of senators, had abdicated his office. Appius possessing that inflexibility of temper, which, from the earliest times, had been the characteristic of his family, held on the censorship by himself. By direction of the same Appius, the Potitian family, in which the office of priests attendant on the great altar of Hercules, was hereditary, instructed some of the public servants in the rites of that solemnity, with the intention to delegate the same to them. The consequence, as related, is wonderful to be told, and sufficient to make people scrupulous of disturbing the established modes of religious solemnities: for though there were, at that time, twelve branches of the Potitian family, all grown-up persons, and not fewer than thirty, yet they were every one, together with their offspring, cut off within the year; so that the name of the Potitii became extinct, while the censor Appius also was pursued by the wrath of the gods; and, some years after, deprived of sight.



XXX. The consuls of the succeeding year, [Y. R. 443. B. C. 309.] were Caius Junius Bubulcus a third time, and Quintus Æmilius Barbula a second. In the commencement of their office, they complained before the people, that, by the improper choice which had been made of members of the senate, that body had been disgraced, several having been passed over who were preferable to the persons chosen in; and they declared, that they would pay no regard to such election, made, without distinction of right or wrong, merely to gratify interest or humour: they then immediately called over the list of the senate, in the same order which had taken place before the censorship of Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius. Two public employments, both relating to military affairs, came this year into the disposal of the people; one being an order, that sixteen of the tribunes, for four legions, should be appointed by the people; whereas hitherto they had been generally bestowed by the dictators and consuls, and very few of the places were left to be filled by vote. This order was proposed by Lucius Atilius and Caius Marcius, plebeian tribunes. Another was, that the people likewise should constitute two naval commissioners, for the equipping and refitting of the fleet. The person who introduced this order of the people, was Marcus Decius, plebeian tribune. Another transaction of this year I should pass over as trifling, were it not for the relation which it bears to religion. The flute-players, taking offence because they had been prohibited, by the last censors, from holding their repasts in the temple of Jupiter, which had been customary from very early times, went off in a body to Tibur; so that there was not one left in the city to play at the sacrifices. This affair gave uneasiness to the senate, on account of its consequences to religion; and they sent envoys to Tibur with instructions, to endeavour that these men might be sent back to Rome. The Tiburtines readily promised compliance, and first calling them into the senate-house, warmly recommended to them to return thither; and then, finding that they could not be prevailed on, practised an artifice not ill adapted to the dispositions of that description of people: on a festival day, they invited them separately to their several houses, apparently with the intention of heightening the pleasure of their feasts with music, and there plied them with wine, of

which such people are always fond, until they laid them asleep. In this state of insensibility they threw them into waggons, and carried them away to Rome: nor did they know any thing of the matter, until, the waggons having been left in the forum, the light surprised them, still heavily sick from the debauch. The people then crowded about them, and, on their consenting at length to stay, privilege was granted them to ramble about the city in full dress, with music, during three days in every year. And that licence, which we see practised at present, and the right of being fed in the temple, was restored to those who played at the sacrifices. These incidents occurred while the public attention was deeply engaged by two most important wars.

XXXI. The consuls adjusting the provinces between them, the Samnites fell by lot to Junius, the new war of Etruria to Æmilius. In the country of the former, the Samnites, finding themselves unable to take Cluvia, a Roman garrison, by force, had formed a blockade, and reduced it, by famine, to capitulate: and, after torturing with stripes, in a shocking manner, the townsmen who surrendered, had put them to death. Enraged at this cruelty, Junius determined to postpone every thing else to the attacking of Cluvia; and, on the first day that he assaulted the walls, took it by storm, and slew all who were grown to man's estate. The victorious troops were led from thence to Bovianum; this was the capital of the Pentrian Samnites, by far the most opulent of their cities, and the most powerful both in men and arms. The soldiers, stimulated by the hope of plunder, soon made themselves masters of the town: where, their resentment being less violent, there was less severity exercised on the enemy; but a quantity of spoil was carried off, greater almost than had ever been collected out of all Samnium, and the whole was liberally bestowed on the assailers. The Samnites now perceiving that the Romans possessed such a superiority in arms, that no force in the field, no camp, no cities, could withstand them, bent their whole attention to find out an opportunity of acting by stratagem. They conceived that the enemy, proceeding with incautious eagerness in pursuit of plunder, might, on such occasion, be caught in a snare and overpowered. Some peasants who deserted, and some prisoners who were taken, (part of them being purposely thrown in the

way, while others were met by accident,) concurred in their report to the consul, which at the same time was true, that a vast quantity of cattle had been driven together into a certain defile of difficult access, and by which he was induced to lead thither the legions lightly accoutred, in order to seize the prey. Here, a very numerous army of the enemy had posted themselves, secretly, at all the passes; and, as soon as they saw that the Romans had got into the defile, they rose up suddenly, with great clamour and tumult, and attacked them unawares. At first, an event so unexpected, caused some confusion, while they were taking their arms, and throwing the baggage into the centre; but, as fast as each had freed himself from his burden, and fitted himself with arms, they assembled about the standards, from every side; and all, from the long course of their service, knowing their particular ranks, they formed the line without any directions. The consul, riding up to the place where the fight was most warm, leaped from his horse, and called "Jupiter, Mars, and the other gods to witness, that he had come into that place, not in pursuit of any glory to himself, but of booty for his soldiers; nor could any other fault be charged on him, than too great a solicitude to enrich them at the expense of the enemy. From the impending disgrace nothing could extricate him but the valour of the troops: let them only join unanimously in a vigorous attack against a foe, whom they had already vanquished in the field, beaten out of their camps, and stripped of their towns, and who were now trying their last resource, in an attempt to overreach them, by the contrivance of an ambuscade, placing their reliance on the ground they occupied, not on their arms. But what ground, what station, was now unsurmountable to Roman valour?" The citadel of Fregellæ, and that of Sora, were called to their remembrance, with many other places where difficulties from situation had been surmounted. Animated by these exhortations, the soldiers, regardless of all obstacles, advanced against the enemy, posted above them; and here they underwent a good deal of fatigue in climbing the steep. But as soon as the first battalions got footing in the plain, on the summit, and the troops perceived that they now stood on equal ground, the dismay was instantly turned on the plotters; who, dispersing and casting away their arms, attempted, by flight, to recover the same lurking

places, in which they had lately concealed themselves. But the difficulties of the ground, which had been their inducement to make choice of it, now entangled them in the snares of their own contrivance: very few found means to escape; twenty thousand men were slain, and the victorious Romans hastened in several parties to secure the booty of cattle, which the enemy had so unwisely thrown in their way.

XXXII. While such was the situation of affairs in Samnium, all the states of Etruria, except the Arretians, had taken arms, and vigorously commenced hostilities, by laying siege to Sutrium; which city, being in alliance with the Romans, served as a barrier against Etruria. Thither the other consul, Æmilius, came with an army to deliver the allies from the siege. The Romans, on their arrival, were plentifully supplied, by the Sutrians, with provisions carried into their camp, which was pitched before the city. The Etrurians spent the first day in deliberating, whether they should expedite, or protract the war. On the day following, their leaders, having determined on the speedier plan in preference to the safer, as soon as the sun rose, displayed the signal for battle, and the troops marched out to the field: which being reported to the consul, he instantly commanded notice to be given, that they should take refreshment, and then appear under arms. The order was obeyed: and the consul, seeing them armed and in readiness, ordered the standards to be carried forth beyond the rampart, and drew up his men at a small distance from the enemy. Both parties stood a long time with fixed attention, each waiting for the shout and fight to begin on the opposite side; and the sun had passed the meridian before a weapon was thrown by either. At length, rather than leave the place without something being done, the shout was given by the Etrurians, the trumpets sounded, and the battalions advanced. Nor were the Romans less alert: both rushed to the fight with violent animosity, the Etrurians superior in numbers, the Romans in valour. The battle continued a long time doubtful, and great numbers fell on both sides, particularly the men of greatest courage; nor did victory declare itself, until the second line of the Romans came up fresh to the front, in the place of the first, who were much fatigued. The Etrurian line not being supported by any fresh reserves, all before and round the stan-



dards were slain, and in no battle whatever would have been seen a nobler stand, or a greater effusion of human blood, had not the night sheltered the Etrurians, who were resolutely determined to resist to death; so that the victors, not the vanquished, were the first who desisted from fighting. After sunset the signal for retreat was given, and both parties retired in the night to their camps. During the remainder of the year, nothing memorable was effected at Sutrium; for, of the enemy's army, the whole first line had been cut off, the reserves only being left, who were scarce sufficient to guard the camp; and, among the Romans, a greater number died of their wounds than had fallen in the field.

XXXIII. Quintus Fabius, consul for the ensuing year, [Y. R. 444. B. C. 308.] succeeded to the command of the army at Sutrium: the colleague given to him was Caius Marcius Rutilus. On the one side, Fabius brought with him a reinforcement from Rome, and on the other, a new army had been sent for, and came from home, to the Etrurians. Many years had now passed without any disputes between the patrician magistrates and plebeian tribunes, when a contest took its rise from that family, which seemed raised by fate as antagonists to the tribunes and commons of those times; Appius Claudius, being censor, when the eighteen months had expired, which was the time limited by the *Æmilian* law for the duration of the censorship, although his colleague Caius Plautius had already resigned his office, could not be prevailed on, by any means, to give up his. There was a tribune of the commons, Publius Sempronius, who undertook to enforce the termination of the censorship, within the lawful time, by means of a legal process, which was not more popular than just, nor more pleasing to the people generally, than to every man of character in the city. After frequently appealing to the *Æmilian* law, and bestowing commendations on Mamercus *Æmilius*, who, in his dictatorship, had been the author of it, for having contracted, within the space of a year and six months, the censorship, which formerly had lasted five years, and was a power which, in consequence of its long continuance, often became tyrannical, he proceeded thus: "Tell me, Appius Claudius, in what manner you would have acted, had you been censor, at the time, when Caius Furlus, and Marcus Geganius, were in

that office?" Appius insisted, that "the tribune's question was irrelevant to his case. For, although the *Æmilian* law might bind those censors, during whose magistracy it was passed,—because the people made that law after they had become censors; and whatever order is the last passed by the people that is held to be the law, and valid:—yet neither he, nor any of those, who had been created censors subsequent to the passing of that law, could be bound by it."

XXXIV. While Appius urged such frivolous arguments as these, which carried no conviction whatever, the other said, "Behold, Romans, the offspring of that Appius, who, being created decemvir for one year, created himself for a second; and who, during a third, without being created even by himself or by any other, held on the fasces and the government; nor ceased to continue in office, until the government itself, ill acquired, ill administered, and ill retained, overwhelmed him in ruin. This is the same family, citizens, by whose violence and injustice ye were compelled to banish yourselves from your native city, and seize on the sacred mount; the same, against which ye provided for yourselves the protection of tribunes; the same, which occasioned you to form two armies, and to take post on the *Aventine*; the same, which violently opposed the laws against usury, and always the agrarian laws; the same, which broke through the right of intermarriage between the patricians and the commons; the same, which shut up the road to curule offices against the latter: this is a name, more hostile to your liberty by far, than that of the *Tarquini*. I pray you, Appius Claudius, this being now the hundredth year since the dictatorship of Mamercus *Æmilius*, during which period so many men of the highest characters and abilities have filled that office; did none of these ever read the twelve tables? None of them know, that, whatever was the last order of the people, that was law? Nay, certainly they all knew it; and they therefore obeyed the *Æmilian* law, rather than the old one, under which the censors had been at first created; because it was the last order; and because, when two laws are contradictory, the new always repeals the old. Do you mean to say, Appius, that the people are not bound by the *Æmilian* law? Or, that the people are bound, and you alone exempted? The *Æmilian* law bound those violent cen-

sors, Caius Furius and Marcus Geganius, who showed what mischief that office might do in the state; when, out of resentment for the limitation of their power, they disfranchised Mamercus Æmilius, the first man of the age, either in war or peace. It bound all the censors thenceforward, during the space of a hundred years. It binds Caius Plautius your colleague, created under the same auspices, with the same privileges. Did not the people create him with the fullest privileges with which any censor ever was created? Or is yours an excepted case, in which this singularity peculiarly takes place? Shall the person, whom you create king of the sacrifices, laying hold of the style of sovereignty, say, that he was created, with the fullest privileges, with which any king was ever created at Rome? Who then, do you think, would be content with a dictatorship of six months? Who, with the office of interrex for five days? Whom would you, with confidence, create dictator, for the purpose of driving the nail, or of exhibiting games? How foolish, how stupid, do ye think, those must appear in this man's eyes, who, after performing most important services, abdicated the dictatorship within the twentieth day; or who, being irregularly created, resigned their office? Why should I bring instances from antiquity? Lately, within these last ten years, Caius Mænius, dictator, having enforced inquiries, with more strictness than consisted with the safety of some powerful men, a charge was thrown out by his enemies, that he himself was infected with the very crime against which his inquiries were directed;—now Mænius, I say, in order that he might, in a private capacity, meet the imputation, abdicated the dictatorship. I expect not such moderation in you; you will not degenerate from your family, of all others the most imperious and assuming; nor resign your office a day, nor even an hour, before you are forced to it. Be it so: but then let no one exceed the time limited. It is enough to add a day, or a month, to the censorship. But Appius says, I will hold the censorship, and hold it alone, three years and six months longer than is allowed by the Æmilian law. Surely this is like absolute power. Or will you fill up the vacancy with another colleague, a proceeding not allowable, even in the case of the death of a censor? You are not satisfied with having, as if you were a religious censor, hindered the most ancient so-

lemnity, and the only one instituted by the very deity, to whom it is performed, from being attended by priests of the highest rank, but degraded it to the ministration of servants.

You are not satisfied that a family, more ancient than the origin of this city, and sanctified by an intercourse of hospitality with the immortal gods, has, by means of you and your censorship, been utterly extirpated, with all its branches, within the space of a year, but would involve the whole commonwealth in guilt so horrid that I dread even to mention it. This city was taken in that lustrum in which Caius Julius and Lucius Papirius were censors. On the death of Julius, Papirius, rather than resign his office, substituted Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis as his colleague. Yet how much more moderate was his ambition, Appius, than yours? Lucius Papirius neither held the censorship alone, nor beyond the time prescribed by law. But still no one has since been found who would follow his example; all censors having, in case of the death of a colleague, abdicated the office. As for you, neither the expiration of the time of your censorship, nor the resignation of your colleague, nor law, nor shame restrains you. Your fortitude is arrogance; your boldness, is a contempt of gods and men. Appius Claudius, in consideration of the dignity of that office, which you have borne, and of the respect due to it, I should be sorry, not only to offer you personal violence, but even to address you in language too severe. With respect to what I have hitherto said, your pride and obstinacy forced me to speak. And now, unless you pay obedience to the Æmilian law, I shall order you to be led to prison. Nor, since a rule has been established by our ancestors, that in the election of censors, unless two shall obtain the legal number of suffrages, neither shall be returned, but the election deferred,—will I suffer you, who could not singly be created censor, to hold the censorship without a colleague." Having spoken to this effect, he ordered the censor to be seized, and borne to prison. But, although six of the tribunes approved of the proceeding of their colleague, three gave their support to Appius, on his appealing to them, and he held the censorship alone, to the great disgust of all ranks of men.

XXXV. While such was the state of affairs at Rome, the Etrurians had laid siege to Sutrium, and the consul Fabius, as he was marching along the foot of the mountains, with



a design to succour the allies, and attempt the enemy's works, if he should see it practicable, was met by their army prepared for battle. The wide extended plain below, showing the greatness of their force, the consul, in order to remedy his deficiency in point of number, by advantage of the ground, changed the direction of his route a little towards the hills, where the way was rugged and covered with stones, and then formed his troops, facing the enemy. The Etrurians, thinking of nothing but the multitude of their men, on which alone they depended, advanced with such haste and eagerness, that, in order to come the sooner to a close engagement, they threw away their javelins, drew their swords, and rushed on. On the other side, the Romans poured down on them, sometimes javelins, and sometimes stones, which the place abundantly supplied; so that the blows on their shields and helmets, confusing even those whom they did not wound, kept them from closing with their foe; and they had no missive weapons with which to act at a distance. While they stood still exposed to blows against which they had no sufficient defence, some even giving way, and the line growing unsteady and wavering, the Roman spearmen, and the first rank, renewing the shout, poured down on them with drawn swords. This attack the Etrurians could not withstand, but, facing about, fled precipitately towards their camp; when the Roman cavalry getting before them by galloping obliquely across the plain, threw themselves in the way of their flight, on which they quitted the road, and bent their course to the mountains. From thence, in a body, almost without arms, and debilitated with wounds, they made their way into the Ciminian forest. The Romans, having slain many thousands of the Etrurians, and taken thirty-eight military standards, took also possession of their camp, together with a vast quantity of spoil. They then began to consider of pursuing the enemy.

XXXVI. The Ciminian forest was in those days deemed as impassable and frightful as the German forests have been in latter times; not even any trader having ever attempted to pass it. Hardly any, besides the general himself, showed boldness enough to enter it; so fresh was the remembrance of the disaster at Caudium in every one's mind. On this, Marcus Fabius, the consul's brother, (some say Cæso, others Caius Claudius, born of the same mother with the consul,) undertook to explore the

country, and to bring them in a short time an account of every particular. Being educated at Cære, where he had friends, he was perfectly acquainted with the Etrurian language. I have seen it affirmed, that, in those times, the Roman youth were commonly instructed in the Etrurian learning, as they are now in the Greek: but it is more probable, that there was something very extraordinary in the person who acted so daringly a counterfeit part, and mixed among the enemy. It is said that his only attendant was a slave, who had been bred up with him, and who was therefore not ignorant of the same language. They received no further instructions at their departure, than a summary description of the country through which they were to pass; to this was added the names of the principal men in the several states, to prevent their being at a loss in conversation, and from being discovered by making some mistake. They set out in the dress of shepherds, armed with rustic weapons, bills, and two short javelins each. But though their speaking the language of the country, with the fashion of their dress and arms, be supposed to have concealed them, it was more effectually done by the incredible circumstance of a stranger's passing the Ciminian forest. They are said to have penetrated as far as the Camertian district of the Umbrians: there the Romans ventured to own who they were, and being introduced to the senate, treated with them, in the name of the consul, about an alliance and friendship; and after being entertained with courteous hospitality, were desired to acquaint the Romans, that if they came into those countries, there should be provisions in readiness for the troops sufficient for thirty days, and that they should find the youth of the Camertian Umbrians prepared in arms to obey their commands. When this information was brought to the consul, he sent forward the baggage at the first watch, ordering the legions to march in the rear of it. He himself staid behind with the cavalry, and next day, as soon as light appeared, rode up in a threatening manner to the posts of the enemy, which had been stationed on the outside of the forest; and, when he had detained them there for a sufficient length of time, he retired to his camp, and marching out by the opposite gate, overtook the main body of the army before night. At the first light, on the following day, he had gained the summit of Mount Ciminus, from whence having a view of the opulent

plains of Etruria, he let loose his soldiers upon them. When a vast body had been driven off, some tumultuary cohorts of Etrurian peasants, hastily collected by the principal inhabitants of the district, met the Romans; but in such disorderly array, that these rescuers of the prey were near becoming wholly a prey themselves. These being slain or put to flight, and the country laid waste to a great extent, the Romans returned to their camp victorious, and enriched with plenty of every kind. It happened, that, in the mean time, five deputies, with two plebeian tribunes, had come hither, to charge Fabius, in the name of the senate, not to attempt to pass the Ciminian forest. These, rejoicing that they had arrived too late to prevent the expedition, returned to Rome with the news of its success.

XXXVII. The consul, by this expedition, instead of bringing the war nearer to a conclusion, only spread it to a wider extent: for all the tract adjacent to the foot of Mount Ciminus, had felt his devastations; and, out of the indignation conceived thereat, had roused to arms, not only the states of Etruria, but the neighbouring parts of Umbria. They came therefore to Sutrium, with such a numerous army as they had never before brought into the field; and not only ventured to encamp on the outside of the wood, but earnestly desirous of coming to an engagement as soon as possible, marched down to the plains to offer battle. The troops, being marshalled, stood, at first for some time, on their own ground, having left a space sufficient for the Romans to draw up, opposite to them; but perceiving that these declined fighting, they advanced to the rampart; where, observing that even the advanced guards had retired within the works, they at once began to insist clamorously on their general's ordering provisions for that day to be brought down to them: "for they were resolved to remain there under arms; and either in the night, or, at all events, at the dawn of day, to attack the enemy's camp." The Roman troops, though not less eager for action, were restrained by the commands of the general. About the tenth hour, the consul ordered his men a repast; and gave directions that they should be ready in arms, at whatever time of the day or night he should give the signal. He then addressed a few words to them; spoke in high terms of the wars of the Samnites, and contemptuously of the Etrurians, who

"were not," he said, "to be compared with other nations, either in respect of abilities as soldiers, or in point of numbers. Besides, he had an engine at work, as they should find in due time: at present it was of importance to keep it secret." This he intimated, in order to raise the courage of his men, damped by the superiority of the enemy's force; and, from their not having fortified the post where they lay, the insinuation of a stratagem formed against them seemed the more credible. After refreshing themselves, they went to rest, and being roused without noise, about the fourth watch, took arms. The servants following the army, had axes put into their hands, to tear down the rampart and fill up the trench. The line was formed within the works, and some chosen cohorts posted close to the gates. Then, a little before day, which in summer nights is the time of the profoundest sleep, the signal being given, the rampart was levelled, and the troops rushing forth, fell upon the enemy, who were every where stretched at their length. Some were put to death before they could stir; others half asleep, in their beds; the greatest part, while they ran in confusion to arms; few, in short, had time to defend themselves; and these, who followed no particular leader, nor orders, were quickly routed and pursued by the Roman horse. They fled different ways; to the camp and to the woods. The latter afforded the safer refuge; for the former, being situated in a plain, was taken the same day. The gold and silver was ordered to be brought to the consul; the rest of the spoil was given to the soldiers. On that day, sixty thousand of the enemy were slain or taken. Some affirm, that this famous battle was fought on the farther side of the Ciminian forest, at Perugia; and that the public had been under great dread, lest the army might be inclosed in such a dangerous pass, and overpowered by a general combination of the Etrurians and Umbrians. But on whatever spot it was fought, it is certain that the Roman power prevailed; and, in consequence thereof, ambassadors came from Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, which were then among the principal states of Etruria, to solicit a peace and alliance with the Romans; and they obtained a truce for thirty years.

XXXVIII. During these transactions in Etruria, the other consul, Caius Marcius Rutilus, took Allifæ by storm from the Samnites; and many of their forts, and smaller towns,



were either destroyed by his arms, or surrendered entire. About the same time also, the Roman fleet, having sailed to Campania, under Publius Cornelius, to whom the senate had given the command on the sea-coast, put into Pompeii. Immediately on landing, the marine soldiers set out to ravage the country about Nuceria: and after they had quickly laid waste the parts which lay nearest, and whence they could have returned to the ships with safety, they were allured by the temptation of plunder, as it often happens, to advance too far, and thereby roused the enemy against them.

While they rambled about the country, they met no opposition, though they might have been cut off to a man; but as they were returning, in a careless manner, the peasants overtook them, not far from the ships, stripped them of the booty, and even slew a great part of them. Those who escaped were driven in confusion to the ships. As the news of Fabius having marched through the Ciminian forest had occasioned violent apprehensions at Rome, so it had excited joy in proportion among the enemy in Samnium: they talked of the Roman army being pent up, and surrounded; and of the Caudine forks, as a model of what they were to undergo. "Those people," they said, "ever greedy after further acquisitions, were now brought into inextricable difficulties, hemmed in, not more effectually by the arms of their enemy, than by the disadvantage of the ground." Their joy was even mingled with a degree of envy, because fortune, as they thought, had transferred the glory of finishing the Roman war, from the Samnites to the Etrurians: they hastened therefore, with their whole collected force, to crush the consul Caius Marcius; resolving, if he did not give them an opportunity of fighting, to proceed, through the territories of the Marsians and Sabines, into Etruria. The consul met them, and a battle was fought with great fury on both sides, but without a decisive issue. Although both parties suffered severely, yet the discredit of losing the day fell on the Romans, because several of equestrian rank, some military tribunes, with one lieutenant-general, had fallen; and, what was more remarkable than all, the consul himself was wounded. This event, exaggerated by report as is usual, greatly alarmed the senate, so that they resolved on having a dictator nominated. No one entertained a doubt that the nomination would light on Papirius Cursor, who was

then universally deemed to possess the greatest abilities as a commander: but they could not be certain, either that a message might be conveyed with safety into Samnium, where all was in a state of hostility, or that the consul Marcius was alive. The other consul, Fabius, was at enmity with Papirius, on his own account; and lest this resentment might prove an obstacle to the public good, the senate voted that deputies of consular rank should be sent to him, who, uniting their own influence to that of government, might prevail on him to drop, for the sake of his country, all remembrance of private animosities. When the deputies came to Fabius, and delivered to him the decree of the senate, adding such arguments as were suitable to their instructions, the consul, casting his eyes towards the ground, retired in silence; leaving them in uncertainty what part he intended to act. Then, in the silent time of the night, according to the established custom, he nominated Lucius Papirius dictator. When the deputies returned him thanks, for so very meritoriously subduing his passion, he still persevered in obstinate silence, and dismissed them without any answer, or mention of what he had done: a proof that he felt an extraordinary degree of resentment, which it cost him a violent struggle to suppress. Papirius appointed Caius Junius Bubulcus master of the horse; and, as he was proceeding in an assembly of the *Curia*,<sup>1</sup> to get an order passed, respecting the command of the army, an unlucky omen obliged him to adjourn it; for the *Curia*, which was to vote first, happened to be the *Faucian*, remarkably distinguished by two disasters, the taking of the city, and the Caudine peace; the same *Curia* having voted first in those years in which the said events are found. Licinius Macer supposes this *Curia* ominous, also, on account of a third misfortune, that which was experienced at the *Cremera*.

XXXIX. Next day the dictator taking the auspices anew, obtained the order, and, marching out at the head of the legions, lately raised on the alarm occasioned by the army passing the Ciminian forest, came to Longula; where having received the troops of the consul

<sup>1</sup> The *comitia curiata*, or assemblies of the *curiæ*, alone had the power of conferring military command; no magistrate therefore could assume the command without the previous order of their assembly. In time, this came to be a mere matter of form; yet the practice always continued to be observed.

Marcus, he led on his forces to battle; nor did the enemy seem to decline the combat. However, they stood under arms, until night came on; neither side choosing to begin the fray. After this, they continued a considerable time encamped near each other, without coming to action; neither diffident of their own strength, nor despising the adversary. Meanwhile the army in Etruria was fully employed: for a decisive battle was fought with the Umbrians, in which the enemy was routed, but lost not many men, for they did not maintain the fight with the vigour with which they began it. Besides this the Etrurians having made a levy of troops, enforced by the sanctions of the devoting law, each man choosing another, came to an engagement at the Cape of Vadimon, with more numerous forces, and, at the same time, with greater spirit than they had ever shown before. The battle was fought with such animosity that no javelins were thrown by either party: swords alone were made use of; and the fury of the combatants was still higher inflamed by the long continued contest; so that it appeared to the Romans as if they were disputing, not with Etrurians, whom they had so often conquered, but with a new race. Not the least intention of giving ground appeared in any part; the first lines fell; and lest the standards should be exposed, without defence, the second lines were formed in their place. At length, even the last reserves were called into action; and such was the extremity of the difficulty and danger, that the Roman cavalry dismounted, and pressed forward, through heaps of arms and bodies, to the front ranks of the infantry. A new army, as it were, thus starting up, disordered the battalions of the Etrurians; and the rest, weak as their condition was, seconding this attack, broke at last through the enemy's ranks. Their obstinacy then began to give way: some companies quitted their posts, and, as soon as they once turned their backs, betook themselves to open flight. That day first broke the strength of the Etrurians, now grown exuberant through a long course of prosperity; all the flower of their men were cut off, and the Romans, without halting, seized and sacked their camp.

XL. Equal danger, and an issue equally glorious, soon after attended the war with the Samnites; who, besides their many preparations for the field, made no little glitter with new

decorations of their armour. Their troops were in two divisions, one of which had their shields embossed with gold, the other with silver. The shape of the shield was this; broad at the middle to cover the breast and shoulders, and flat at top, sloping off gradually so as to become pointed below, that it might be wielded with ease; a loose coat of mail also helped to defend the breast, and the left leg was covered with a greave; their helmets were adorned with plumes, to add to the appearance of their stature. The golden-armed soldiers wore tunics of various colours; the silver-armed, of white linen. To the latter, the right wing was assigned; the former took post on the left. The Romans had been apprized of these splendid accoutrements, and had been taught by their commanders, that "a soldier ought to be rough; not decorated with gold and silver, but placing his confidence in his sword. That matters of this kind were in reality spoil rather than armour; glittering before action, but soon losing their brilliancy when besmeared with blood. That the brightest ornament of a soldier was valour; that all those trinkets would follow victory, and that those rich enemies would be valuable prizes to the poorer conquerors." Cursor, having animated his men with these observations, led them on to battle. He took post himself on the right wing, giving the command of the left to the master of the horse. At the first onset, the conflict between the two armies became desperate, while the dictator and the master of the horse were eagerly contending on which wing victory should first show itself. It happened that Junius first, with the left wing, made the right of the enemy give way; this consisted of men devoted after the custom of Samnites, and on that account distinguished by white garments and armour of equal whiteness. Junius, saying, "he would sacrifice these to Pluto," pressed forward, disordered their ranks, and made an evident impression: which being perceived by the dictator, he exclaimed, "Shall the battle begin on the left wing, and shall the right, the dictator's own troops, only second the arms of others, and not claim the greatest share of the victory?" This spurred on the soldiers: nor did the cavalry yield to the infantry in bravery, nor the ardour of lieutenant-generals to that of the commanders. Marcus Valerius from the right wing, and Publius Decius from the left, both men of consular rank, rode off to the cav-



alry, posted on the extremities of the line, and, exhorting them to join in putting in for a share of the honour, charged the enemy on the flanks. The Roman legions, on observing the confusion of the Samnites, by being thus assailed on both sides, renewed the shout, and rushing forcibly on them, they began to fly. And now the plains were quickly filled with heaps of bodies and splendid armour. At first, their camp received the dismayed Samnites; but they did not long retain even the possession of that: before night it was taken, plundered, and burnt. The dictator triumphed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate; and the most splendid spectacle by far, of any in his procession, was the captured arms: so magnificent were they deemed, that the shields, adorned with gold, were distributed among the owners of the silver shops, to serve as embellishments to the forum. Hence, it is said, arose the custom of the forum being decorated by the ædiles, when the grand processions are made, on occasion of the great games. The Romans, indeed, converted these extraordinary arms to the honour of the gods: but the Campanians, out of pride, and in hatred of the foe, gave them as ornaments to their gladiators, who used to be exhibited as a show at their feasts, and whom they distinguished by the name of Samnites. During this year, the consul Fabius fought with the remnants of the Etrurians at Perugia, which city also had violated the truce, and gained an easy and decisive victory. After this, he marched up to the walls of the town, and would have taken it, had not deputies come out and capitulated. Having placed a garrison at Perugia, and sent on before him to the Roman senate, the embassies of Etruria, who solicited friendship, the consul rode into the city in triumph, for successes more important than those of the dictator. Besides, a great share of the honour of reducing the Samnites was attributed to the lieutenant-generals, Publius Decius and Marcus Valerius: whom, at the next election, the people, with universal consent, declared the one consul, the other prætor.

XLII. Fabius, in consideration of his extraordinary merit in the conquest of Etruria, was re-elected into the consulship. [Y. R. 445. B. C. 307.] Decius was appointed his colleague. Valerius was created prætor a fourth time. The consuls divided the provinces between them. Etruria fell to Decius, Samnium to Fabius. The latter, having marched to Nuceria, rejected

the application of the people of Alfaterna, who then sued for peace, because they had not accepted it when offered, and by force of arms compelled them to surrender. A battle was fought with the Samnites, who were overcome without much difficulty: nor would the memory of that engagement have been preserved, except that in it the Marsians first appeared in arms against the Romans. The defection of the Marsians was followed by that of the Pelignians, who met the same fate. The other consul, Decius, was likewise very successful in his operations: through the terror with which he inspired the Tarquinians, he compelled them to supply his army with corn, and to sue for a truce for forty years. He took several forts from the Volsinians by assault, some of which he demolished, that they might not serve as receptacles to the enemy, and, by extending his operations through every quarter, diffused such a dread of his arms, that the whole Etrurian nation sued to him for an alliance: this they did not obtain; but a truce for a year was granted them. The pay of the Roman army for that year was furnished by the enemy; and two tunics for each soldier were exacted from them: this was the purchase of the truce. The tranquillity now established in Etruria was interrupted by a sudden insurrection of the Umbrians, a nation which had suffered no injury from the war, except what inconvenience the country had felt in the passing of the army. These, by calling in to the field all their own young men, and forcing a great part of the Etrurians to resume their arms, made up such a numerous force, that speaking of themselves with ostentatious vanity, and of the Romans with contempt, they boasted that they would leave Decius behind in Etruria, and march away to besiege Rome; which design of theirs being reported to the consul Decius, he removed by long marches from Etruria towards their city, and sat down in the district of Pupinia, in readiness to act according to the intelligence which he might receive of the enemy's motions. Nor was the insurrection of the Umbrians slighted at Rome: their very threats excited ears among the people, who had experienced, in the calamities suffered from the Gauls, the insecurity of the city wherein they resided. Deputies were therefore despatched to the consul Fabius with directions, that, if he had any respite from the war of the Samnites, he should with all haste lead his army into Umbria. The consul obeyed

the order, and by forced marches, proceeded to Mevania, where the forces of the Umbrians then lay. The unexpected arrival of the consul, whom they had believed to be sufficiently employed in Samnium, far distant from their country, so thoroughly affrighted the Umbrians, that several advised retiring to their fortified towns; others, the laying aside their arms. However, one district, called by themselves Materina, prevailed on the rest not only to retain their arms, but to come to an immediate engagement. They fell upon Fabius while he was fortifying his camp. When the consul saw them rushing impetuously towards his rampart, he called off his men from the work, and drew them up in the best manner which the nature of the place, and the time allowed; encouraged them by displaying, in honourable and just terms, the glory which they had acquired, as well in Etruria as in Samnium, and bade them finish this insignificant appendage to the Etrurian war, and take vengeance for the impious expressions in which these people had threatened to attack the city of Rome. Such was the alacrity of the soldiers on hearing this, that, raising the shout spontaneously, they interrupted the general's discourse, and, without waiting for orders, advanced, with the sound of all the trumpets and cornets, in full speed against the enemy. They made their attack not as on men, or at least men in arms, but, what must appear wonderful in the relation, began by snatching the standards out of the hands which held them; and then, the standard-bearers themselves were dragged to the consul, and the armed soldiers hauled from the one line to the other; little resistance was any where made, and the business was performed, not so much with swords, as with their shields, with the bosses of which, and thrusts of their elbows, they bore down the foe. The prisoners were more numerous than the slain, and through the whole line the Umbrians called on each other, with one voice, to lay down their arms. Thus a surrender was made in the midst of action, by the first promoters of the war; and on the next and following days, the other states of this people also surrendered. The Ocriculans were admitted to a treaty of friendship on giving security.

XLII. Fabius, after reaping laurels in a war allotted to another, led back his army into his own province. And as, in the preceding

year, the people had, in consideration of his services so successfully performed, re-elected him to the consulship, so now the senate, from the same motive, notwithstanding a warm opposition made by Appius, prolonged his command for the year following, [Y. R. 446. B. C. 306.] in which Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius were consuls. In some annals I find, that Appius, still holding the office of censor, declared himself a candidate for the consulship, and that his election was stopped by a protest of Lucius Furius, plebeian tribune, until he resigned the censorship. After his election to the consulship, the new war with the Sallentines, who had taken arms, being decreed to his colleague, he remained at Rome, with design to increase his interest by popular intrigues, since the means of procuring honour in war were placed in the hands of others. Volumnius had no reason to be dissatisfied with his province: he fought many battles with good success, and took several cities by assault. He was liberal in his donations of the spoil; and this munificence, engaging in itself, he enhanced by his courteous demeanour, by which conduct he inspired his soldiers with ardour to meet both toil and danger. Quintus Fabius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with the armies of the Samnites, near the city of Allifæ. The victory was complete. The enemy were driven from the field, and pursued to their camp; nor would they have kept possession of that, had not the day been almost spent. It was invested, however, before night, and guarded until day, lest any should slip away. Next morning, while it was scarcely clear day, they proposed to capitulate, and it was agreed, that such as were natives of Samnium should be dismissed with single garments. All these were sent under the yoke. No precaution was taken in favour of the allies of the Samnites: they were sold by auction, to the number of seven thousand. Those who declared themselves subjects of the Hernicians, were kept by themselves under a guard. All these Fabius sent to Rome to the senate; and, after being examined, whether it was in consequence of a public order, or as volunteers, that they had carried arms on the side of the Samnites against the Romans, they were distributed among the states of the Latines to be held in custody; and it was ordered, that the new consuls, Publius Cornelius Arvina and Quintus Marcius Tremulus, who by



this time had been elected, should lay that affair entire before the senate: [Y. R. 447. B. C. 305.] this gave such offence to the Hernicians, that, at a meeting of all the states, assembled by the Anagnians, in the circus called the Maritime, the whole nation of the Hernicians, excepting the Alatrians, Ferentines, and Verulans, declared war against the Roman people.

XLIII. In Samnium also, in consequence of the departure of Fabius, new commotions arose. Calatia and Sora, and the Roman garrisons stationed there, were taken, and the prisoners treated with extreme cruelty: Publius Cornelius was therefore sent thither with an army. The command against the new enemy (for by this time an order had passed for declaring war against the Anagnians, and the rest of the Hernicians) was decreed to Marcius. These, in the beginning, secured all the passes between the camps of the consul, in such a manner, that no messenger, however expert, could make his way from one to the other; and each consul spent several days in absolute uncertainty and in anxious suspense concerning the state of the other. Apprehensions for their safety spread even to Rome; so that all the younger citizens were compelled to enlist, and two regular armies were raised, to answer sudden emergencies. The conduct of the Hernicians during the progress of the war afterwards, showed nothing suitable to the present alarm, or to the ancient renown of that nation. Without ever making any effort worth mentioning, being beaten out of three different camps within a few days, they stipulated for a truce of thirty days, during which they might send to Rome, to the senate, on the terms of furnishing two months' pay, and corn, and a tunic to every soldier. The senate referred them back to Marcius, whom they empowered to determine on the affair, and he accepted their submission. Meanwhile, in Samnium, the other consul, though superior in strength, was very much embarrassed by the nature of his situation: the enemy had blocked up all the roads, and seized on the passable defiles, so as to stop all supplies of provisions; nor could the consul, though he daily drew out his troops and offered battle, allure them to an engagement. It was evident, that neither could the Samnites support an immediate contest, nor the Romans a delay of action. The approach of Marcius, who, after he had subdued the Hernicians, hastened to the succour of his

colleague, put it out of the enemy's power any longer to avoid fighting: for they, who had not deemed themselves a match in the field, even for one of the armies, could surely not suppose that if they should allow the two consular armies to unite, they could have any hope remaining: they made an attack therefore on Marcius, as he was approaching in the irregular order of march. The baggage was hastily thrown together in the centre, and the line formed as well as the time permitted. The shout which reached the post of Cornelius, with the dust observed at a distance, excited a bustle and hurry in his camp. Ordering his men instantly to arms, and leading them out to the field with the utmost haste, he charged the flank of the enemy's line, which had enough to do in the other dispute, at the same time exclaiming, that "it would be the height of infamy, if they suffered Marcius's army to monopolize the honour of both victories, and did not assert their claim to the glory of their own war." He bore down all before him, and pushed forward, through the midst of the enemy's line, to their camp, which, being left without a guard, he took and set on fire; and the flames of it being seen by the soldiers of Marcius, and likewise by the enemy on their looking about, a general flight immediately took place among the Samnites. But they could not effect an escape in any direction; in every quarter they met death. After a slaughter of thirty thousand men, the consuls had now given the signal for retreat; and were collecting, into one body, their several forces, who were employed in mutual congratulations, when some new cohorts of the enemy, which had been levied for a reinforcement, being seen at a distance, occasioned a renewal of the carnage. On these the conquerors rushed, without any order of the consuls, or signal received, crying out, that they would give these Samnites an introduction to service, which they would not like. The consuls indulged the ardour of the legions, well knowing that raw troops mixed with veterans dispirited by defeat, would be incapable even of attempting a contest. Nor were they wrong in their judgment: all the forces of the Samnites, old and new, fled to the nearest mountains. These the Roman army also ascended, so that no situation afforded safety to the vanquished; they were beaten off, even from the summits which they had seized. And now, they all, with one voice, supplicated for a suspension of arms. On which, being

ordered to furnish corn for three months, pay for a year, and a tunic to each of the soldiers, they sent deputies to the senate to sue for peace. Cornelius was left in Samnium. Marcius returned into the city, in triumph over the Hernicians; and a decree was passed for erecting to him, in the forum, an equestrian statue, which was placed before the temple of Castor. To three states of the Hernicians, (the Alatrians, Verulans, and Ferentines,) their own laws were restored, because they preferred these, to the being made citizens of Rome; and they were permitted to intermarry with each other, a privilege which they alone of the Hernicians, for a long time after, enjoyed. To the Anagninians, and the others, who had made war on the Romans, was granted the freedom of the state, without the right of voting; public assemblies, and intermarriages, were not allowed them, and their magistrates were prohibited from acting except in the ministration of public worship. During this year, Caius Junius Bubulcus, censor, contracted for the building of a temple to Health, which he had vowed during his consulate in the war with the Samnites. By the same person, and his colleague, Marcus Valerius Maximus, roads were made through the fields at the public expense. During the same year the treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed a third time, and ample presents made to their ambassadors who came on that business.

XLIV. This year had a dictator in office, Publius Cornelius Scipio, with Publius Decius Mus, master of the horse. By these the election of consuls was held, being the purpose for which they had been created, because neither of the consuls could be absent from the armies.

The consuls elected were Lucius Postumius and Titus Minucius; [Y. R. 448. B. C. 304.] whom Piso places next after Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius, omitting the two years in which I have set down Claudius with Voluminus, and Cornelius with Marcius, as consuls. Whether this happened through a lapse of memory in digesting his annals, or whether he purposely passed over those two consulates as deeming the accounts of them false, cannot be ascertained. During this year the Samnites made incursions into the district of Stellæ in the Campanian territory. Both the consuls were therefore sent into Samnium, and proceeded to different regions, Postumius to Tifernum, Minucius to Bovianum. The first

engagement happened at Tifernum, where Postumius commanded. Some say, that the Samnites were completely defeated, and twenty thousand of them made prisoners. Others, that the army separated without victory on either side; and that Postumius, counterfeiting fear, withdrew his forces privately by night, and marched away to the mountains; whither the enemy also followed, and took possession of a strong hold two miles distant. The consul, having created a belief that he had come thither for the sake of a safe post, and a fruitful spot, (and such it really was,) secured his camp with strong works. Furnishing it with magazines of every thing useful, he left a strong guard to defend it; and at the third watch, led away the legions lightly accoutred, by the shortest road which he could take, to join his colleague, who lay opposite to his foe. There, by advice of Postumius, Minucius came to an engagement; and when the fight had continued doubtful through a great part of the day, Postumius, with his fresh legions, made an unexpected attack on the enemy's line, spent by this time with fatigue: thus, weariness and wounds having rendered them incapable even of flying, they were cut off to a man, and twenty-one standards taken. The Romans then proceeded to Postumius's station, where the two victorious armies falling upon the enemy, already dismayed by the news of what had passed, routed and dispersed them: twenty-six military standards were taken here, and the Samnite general, Statius Gellius, with a great number of other prisoners, and both the camps, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Next day Bovianum was besieged, and soon after taken. Both the consuls were honoured with a triumph, and with high applause of their excellent conduct. Some writers say, that the consul Minucius was brought back to the camp grievously wounded, and that he died there; that Marcus Fulvius was substituted consul in his place, and that it was he, who, being sent to command Minucius's army, took Bovianum. During the same year, Sora, Arpinum, and Censennia were recovered from the Samnites. The statue of Hercules the great was erected in the capitol, and dedicated.

XLV. In the succeeding consulate of Publius Sulpicius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, [Y. R. 449. B. C. 303.] the Samnites, desirous either of a termination or a cessation of hostilities, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace; to whose submissive sollicita-



tions this answer was returned, that, "had not the Samnites frequently solicited peace, at times when they were actually preparing for war, their present application might, perhaps, in the course of negotiating, have produced the desired effect. But now, since words had hitherto proved vain, people's conduct might be guided by facts: that Publius Sempronius the consul would shortly be in Samnium with an army: that he could not be deceived in judging whether their dispositions inclined to peace or war. He would bring the senate certain information respecting every particular, and their ambassadors might follow the consul on his return from Samnium." The Roman accordingly marched through all parts of Samnium, found every thing in a state of peace, and was liberally supplied with provisions; on which, a renewal of the old treaty was, this year, granted to the Samnites. The Roman arms were then turned against the Æquans, their old enemies, but who had, for many years past, remained quiet, under a fallacious appearance of friendship. The reason of making war on them was, that while the Hernicians were in a state of prosperity, these had, in conjunction with them, frequently sent aid to the Samnites; and after the Hernicians were subdued, almost the whole nation, without dissembling that they acted by public authority, had revolted to the enemy; and when, after the conclusion of the treaty with the Samnites at Rome, ambassadors were sent to demand satisfaction, they said, that "this was only a trial made of them, on the expectation that they would through fear suffer themselves to be made Roman citizens. But how much that condition was to be wished for, they had been taught by the Hernicians; who, when they had the option, preferred their own laws to the freedom of the Roman state. To people who wished for liberty to choose what they judged preferable, the necessity of becoming Roman citizens would have the nature of a punishment." In resentment of these declarations, uttered publicly in their assemblies, the Roman people ordered war to be made on the Æquans; and, in prosecution of this new undertaking, both the consuls marched from the city, and sat down at the distance of four miles from the camp of the enemy. The troops of the Æquans, like tumultuary recruits, in consequence of their having passed such a number of years without waging war on their own account, were all in disorder and confusion,

without established officers and without command. Some advised to give battle, others to defend the camp; the greater part were influenced by concern for the devastation of their lands, likely to take place, and the consequent destruction of their cities, left with weak garrisons. Among a variety of propositions, they however heard one which tended to transfer every man's attention from the public interests to the care of his private concerns. It recommended that, at the first watch, they should depart from the camp by different roads, and carry all their effects into the cities, where they might be secured by the strength of the fortifications; this they all approved and warmly celebrated. When the enemy were now dispersed through the country, the Romans, at the first dawn, marched out to the field, and drew up in order of battle, but no one coming to oppose them, they advanced in a brisk pace to the camp. Perceiving neither guards before the gates, nor soldiers on the ramparts, nor the usual bustle of a camp,—surprised at the extraordinary silence, they halted in apprehension of some stratagem. At length, passing over the rampart, and finding the whole deserted, they proceeded to search out the tracts of the enemy. But these, as they scattered themselves to every quarter, occasioned perplexity at first. Afterwards discovering their design by means of scouts, they attacked their cities, one after another, and within the space of fifty days, took, entirely by force, forty-one towns, most of which were razed and burnt, and the race of the Æquans almost extirpated. A triumph was granted over the Æquans. The Marrucinians, Marsians, Pelignians, and Ferentans, warned by the example of their disasters, sent deputies to Rome to solicit peace and friendship; and these states, on their submissive applications, were admitted into alliance.

XLVI. In the same year, Caius Flavius, son of Cneius, grandson of a freed man, a notary, in low circumstances originally, but artful and eloquent, was appointed curule ædile. I find in some annals, that, being in attendance on the ædiles, and seeing that he was voted ædile by the prerogative tribe, but that his name would not be received, because he acted as a notary, he threw down his tablet, and took an oath, that he would not, for the future, follow that business. But Licinius Macer contends, that he had dropped the employment of notary a considerable time before, having already

been a tribune, and twice a triumvir, once for regulating the nightly watch, and another time for conducting a colony. However, of this there is no dispute, that to the contempt thrown by the nobles on the meanness of his condition, he opposed much firmness. He made public the rules of proceeding in judicial causes, hitherto shut up in the closets of the pontiffs; and hung up to public view, round the forum, the calendar on white tablets, that all might know when business could be transacted in the courts. To the great displeasure of the nobles, he performed the dedication of the temple of Concord, in the area of Vulcan's temple; and the chief pontiff, Cornelius Barbatius, was compelled by the united instances of the people, to dictate to him the form of words, although he affirmed, that, consistently with the practice of antiquity, no other than a consul, or commander-in-chief, could dedicate a temple. This occasioned a law to be proposed to the people, by direction of the senate, that no person should dedicate a temple, or an altar, without an order from the senate, or from a majority of the plebeian tribunes. The incident which I am about to mention would be trivial in itself, were it not an instance of the freedom assumed by plebeians in opposition to the pride of the nobles: Flavius coming to make a visit to his colleague, who was sick, some young nobles who were sitting there agreed among themselves not to pay him the compliment of rising at his entrance; on which he ordered his curule chair to be brought thither, and from his honourable seat of office enjoyed the sight of his enemies tortured with

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envy. However, Flavius owed his appointment to the ædileship to a faction composed of the lowest class of people, which had gathered strength during the censorship of Appius Claudius: for he was the first who degraded the senate, by electing into it the immediate descendants of freed men; and when he found that no one allowed that election as valid, and that his conduct in the senate-house, had not procured him the influence in the city which it had been his principal object to attain, he distributed men of the meanest order among all the several tribes, and thus corrupted the assemblies both of the forum and of the field of Mars. With respect to the election of Flavius, it excited great indignation in the breasts of most of the nobles, who laid aside their gold rings and bracelets in consequence of it. From that time the state was split into two parties. The uncorrupted part of the people, who favoured and supported the good, held one side; the faction of the rabble, the other. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were then made censors; and Fabius, both for the sake of concord, and at the same time to prevent the elections remaining in the hands of the lowest of the people, purged the rest of the tribes of all the rabble of the forum, and threw it into four, which he ordered to be called city tribes. And this procedure, we are told, gave such universal satisfaction, that, by this regulation in the orders of the state, he obtained the surname of Maximus, which he had not been honoured with by his many victories. The annual review of the knights, on the ides of July, is also said to have been projected and instituted by him.

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THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK X.

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Submission of the Marcians accepted. The college of Augurs augmented from four to nine. The law of appeal to the people carried by Valerius the consul. Two more tribes added. War declared against the Samnites. Several successful actions. In an engagement against the combined forces of the Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls, Publius Decius, after the example of his father, devotes himself for the army. Dies, and, by his death, procures the victory to the Romans. Defeat of the Samnites by Papirius Cursor. The census held. The lustrum closed. The number of the citizens two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two.

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I. UNDER the succeeding consuls, Lucius Genucius, and Servius Cornelius, [Y. R. 450. B. C. 302.] the state enjoyed almost uninterrupted rest from foreign wars. Colonies were led out to Sora and Alba. For the latter, situated in the country of the Æquans, six thousand colonists were enrolled. Sora had formerly belonged to the Volscian territory, but had fallen into the possession of the Samnites: thither were sent four thousand settlers. This year the freedom of the state was granted to the Arpinians and Trebulans. The Frusinonians were fined a third part of their lands, because it was discovered, that they had endeavoured to stir up the Hernicians to rebellion; and the heads of that conspiracy, after a trial before the consuls, held in pursuance of a decree of the senate, were beaten with rods and beheaded. However, that the Romans might not pass the year entirely exempt from war, a little expedition was made into Umbria; intelligence being received from thence, that numbers of men, in arms, had, from a certain cave, made excursions into the adjacent country. Into this cave the troops penetrated with their standards, and, the place being dark, they received many wounds, chiefly from stones thrown. At length the other mouth of the cave being found, for it was pervious, both the

openings were filled up with wood, which being set on fire, there perished by means of the smoke and heat, no less than two thousand men; many of whom, at the last, in attempting to make their way out, rushed into the very flames. [Y. R. 451. B. C. 301.] The two Marci, Livius Dentor and Æmilius, succeeding to the consulship, war broke out again with the Æquans; who, being highly displeased at the colony established within their territory, as if it were a fortress to keep them in awe, made an attempt, with their whole force, to seize it, but were repulsed by the colonists themselves. They caused, however, such an alarm at Rome, that, to quell this insurrection, Caius Junius Bubulcus was nominated dictator: for it was scarcely credible that the Æquans, after being reduced to such a degree of weakness, should by themselves alone have ventured to engage in a war. The dictator, taking the field, with Marcus Titinius, master of the horse, in the first engagement, reduced the Æquans to submission; and returning into the city in triumph, on the eighth day, dedicated, in the character of dictator, the temple of Health, which he had vowed when consul, and contracted for when censor.

II. During this year a fleet of Grecians, under the command of Cleonymus, a Lacedæ-



monian, arrived on the coast of Italy, and took Thuria, a city in the territory of the Sallentines. Against this enemy, the consul Æmilius was sent, who, in one battle, completely defeated them, and without farther opposition drove them on board their ships. Thuria was then restored to its old inhabitants, and peace re-established in the country of the Sallentines. In some annals, I find that Junius Bubulcus was sent dictator into that country, and that Cleonymus, without hazarding an engagement with the Romans, retired out of Italy. He then sailed round the promontory of Brundisium, and, steering down the middle of the Adriatic gulf, because he dreaded, on the left hand, the coasts of Italy destitute of harbours, and, on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, nations of savages, and noted in general for piracy, he passed on to the coasts of the Venetians. Here, having landed a small party to explore the country, and, being informed that a narrow beach stretched along the shore, beyond which were marshes, overflowed by the tides; that dry land was seen at no great distance, level in the nearest part, and rising behind into hills, beyond which was the mouth of a very deep river, into which they had seen ships brought round and moored in safety, (this was the river Meduacus,) he ordered his fleet to sail into it and go up against the stream. As the channel would not admit the heavy ships, the troops, removing into the lighter vessels, arrived at a part of the country, occupied by three maritime cantons of the Patavians, settled on that coast. Here they made a descent, leaving a small guard with the ships, made themselves masters of these cantons, set fire to the houses, drove off a considerable booty of men and cattle, and, allured by the sweets of plunder, proceeded still farther from the shore. When news of this was brought to Patavium, where the contiguity of the Gauls kept the inhabitants constantly in arms, they divided their young men into two bands, one of which was led towards the quarter where the marauders were said to be busy; the other by a different route, to avoid meeting any of the pirates, towards the station of the ships, fifteen miles distant from the town. These attacked the small craft, and, killing the guards, compelled the affrighted mariners to remove their ships to the other bank of the river. By land also, the attack on the dispersed plunderers was equally successful; and the Grecians,

flying back towards their ships, were opposed in their way by the Venetians. Thus inclosed, on both sides, they were cut to pieces; and some, who were made prisoners, gave information that the fleet, with their king Cleonymus, was but three miles distant. Sending the captives into the nearest canton, to be kept under a guard, some soldiers got on board the flat-bottomed vessels, so constructed for the purpose of passing the shoals with ease; others threw themselves into those which had been lately taken from the enemy, and proceeding down the river, surrounded their unwieldy ships, which dreaded the unknown sands and flats, more than they did the Romans, and which showed a greater eagerness to escape into the deep, than to make resistance. The soldiers pursued them as far as the mouth of the river; and having taken and burned a part of the fleet, which, in the hurry and confusion, had been stranded, returned victorious. Cleonymus, having met success in no part of the Adriatic sea, departed with scarce a fifth part of his navy remaining. Many, now alive, have seen the beaks of his ships, and the spoils of the Lacedæmonians, hanging in the old temple of Juno. In commemoration of this event, there is exhibited at Patavium, every year, on its anniversary day, a naval combat on the river in the middle of the town.

III. A treaty was this year concluded at Rome with the Vestinians, who solicited friendship. Various causes of apprehension afterwards sprung up. News arrived, that Etruria was in rebellion; the insurrection having arisen from the dissensions of the Arretians; for the Cilnian family having grown exorbitantly powerful, a party, out of envy of their wealth, had attempted to expel them by force of arms. Accounts were also received that the Marsians held forcible possession of the lands to which the colony of Carseoli, consisting of four thousand men, had been sent. By reason, therefore, of these commotions, Marcus Valerius Maximus was nominated dictator, and chose for his master of the horse, Marcus Æmilius Paullus. This I am inclined to believe, rather than that Quintus Fabius, at such an age as he then was, and after enjoying many honours, was placed in a station subordinate to Valerius: but I think it not unlikely that the mistake arose from the surname Maximus. The dictator, taking the field at the head of an army, in one battle utterly defeated

the Marsians, drove them into their fortified towns, and afterwards, in the course of a few days, took Milonia, Plestina, and Fresilia; and then fining this people in a part of their lands, granted them a renewal of the treaty. The force of the war was then directed against the Etrurians; and the dictator having gone to Rome, for the purpose of renewing the auspices, the master of the horse, going out to forage, was taken at disadvantage, by means of an ambuscade, and obliged to fly shamefully into his camp, after losing several standards, and many of his men. Now, that such a discomfiture happened to Fabius is exceedingly improbable; not only because, if in any particular, certainly above all, in the qualifications of a commander, he fully merited his surname; but besides, impressed with the recollection of Papirius's severity, he never could have been tempted to fight, without the dictator's orders.

IV. The news of this disaster excited at Rome an alarm greater than the importance of the affair should seem to justify; for, as if the army had been destroyed, the courts were ordered to be shut, guards mounted at the gates, and watches set in every street: and armour and weapons were heaped on the walls. All the younger citizens were compelled to enlist, and the dictator was ordered to join the army. There he found every thing in a more tranquil state than he expected, and regularity established, through the care of the master of the horse; the camp removed to a place of greater safety; the cohorts, which had lost their standards, left without tents on the outside of the ramparts; and the troops ardently impatient for battle, that their disgrace might be the sooner obliterated. He therefore immediately decamped, and advanced into the territory of Rusella. Thither the enemy also followed; and although, since their late success, they entertained the most sanguine hopes from an open trial of strength, yet they endeavoured to gain also an advantage by a stratagem which they had before practised with success. There were, at a small distance from the Roman camp, the half-ruined houses of a town which had been burnt in the devastation of the country. Among these they concealed a body of troops, and then drove on some cattle, within view of a Roman post, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Cneius Fulvius. This temptation not inducing any one to stir from his station, one of the herdsmen, advancing close to

the works, called out, that others were driving out those cattle at their leisure from the ruins of the town, why did they remain idle, when they might safely drive them through the middle of the Roman camp? This being interpreted to the lieutenant-general, by some natives of Cære, and great impatience prevailing through every company of the soldiers, who, nevertheless, dared not to move without orders, he commanded some who were skilled in the language to observe attentively, whether the dialect of the herdsmen resembled that of rustics or of citizens: these reported, that their accent in speaking, their manner and appearance, were all of a more polished cast than suited such description of persons. "Go then," said he, "tell them that they may uncover the ambush which they vainly conceal; that the Romans understand all their devices, and can now be no more taken by stratagem than they can be conquered by arms." When these words were heard, and carried to those who lay in ambush, they immediately arose from their lurking place, and marched out in order into the plain which was open to view on every side. The lieutenant-general, thinking their force too powerful for his small band to cope with, sent, in haste, to Valerius for support, and in the meantime, by himself, sustained the enemy's onset.

V. On receiving his message, the dictator ordered the standards to move, and the troops to follow in arms. But every thing was executed more quickly, almost, than ordered. The men in an instant snatched up their standards, and were with difficulty restrained from running impetuously on, being stimulated both by indignation at their late defeat, and by the shouts striking their ears with increasing vehemence, as the contest grew hotter. They therefore urged each other, and pressed the standard bearers to quicken their pace. The dictator, the more eagerly he saw them push forward, took the more pains to repress their haste, and ordered them to march at a slower rate. On the other side, the Etrurians, putting themselves in motion, on the first beginning of the fray, had come up with their whole force; and several expresses came to the dictator, one after another, that all the legions of the Etrurians had joined in the fight, and that his men could not any longer withstand them: at the same time, he himself saw, from the higher ground, the perilous situation of the party. Confident,



however, that the lieutenant-general was able, even yet, to support the dispute, and considering that he himself was at hand to rescue him from defeat, he wished to let the enemy be fatigued, as much as might be, in order that, when in that state, he might fall on them with his fresh troops. Slowly as these marched, the distance was now just sufficient for the cavalry to begin their career for a charge. The battalions of the legions marched in front, lest the enemy might suspect any secret or sudden movement, but intervals had been left in the ranks of the infantry, affording room for the horses to gallop through. At the same instant the line raised the shout, and the cavalry, charging at full speed, poured on the enemy, and spread at once a general panic. After this, as succour had arrived, almost too late, to the party surrounded, so now they were allowed entire rest, the fresh troops taking on themselves the whole business of the fight. Nor was that either long or dubious. The enemy were routed, and fled to their camp, which the Romans advancing to attack, they crowded all together in the remotest part of it. Their flight being obstructed by the narrowness of the gates, the greater number climbed up on the mounds and ramparts, to try if they could either defend themselves with the aid of the advantageous ground, or get over, by any means, and escape. One part of the rampart happening to be badly compacted, sunk under the weight of the multitude who stood on it, and fell into the trench. On which, crying out that the gods had opened that pass to give them safety, they made their way out, most of them leaving their arms behind. By this battle the power of the Etrurians was, a second time, effectually crushed, so that, engaging to furnish a year's pay, and corn for two months, with the dictator's permission, they sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace. This was refused, but a truce for two years was granted to them. The dictator returned into the city in triumph. I have seen it asserted, that tranquillity was restored in Etruria by the dictator, without any memorable battle, only by composing the dissensions of the Arretians, and effecting a reconciliation between the Cilnian family and the commons. Marcus Valerius was elected consul, before the expiration of his dictatorship, many have believed, without his soliciting the office, and even while he was absent; and that the election was held by an interrex. In one

point all agree, that he held the consulship with Quintus Appuleius Pansa.

VI. During this consulate of Marcus Valerius and Quintus Appuleius, affairs abroad wore a very peaceable aspect. Their losses sustained in war, together with the truce, kept the Etrurians quiet. The Samnites, depressed by the misfortunes of many years, had not yet become dissatisfied with their new alliance. At Rome also, the carrying away of such multitudes to colonies, rendered the commons tranquil, and lightened their burthens. But, that all things might not stagnate in a dead calm, a contention was excited between the principal persons in the commonwealth, patricians on one hand, and plebeians on the other, by the two Ogulnii, Quintus and Cneius, plebeian tribunes, who, seeking every where occasions of criminating the patricians in the hearing of the people, and having found other attempts fruitless, engaged in a scheme calculated to inflame, not the lowest class of the commons, but their chief men, the plebeians of consular and triumphal rank, to the completion of whose honours nothing was now wanting but the offices of the priesthood, which were not yet laid open to them. [Y. R. 452. B. C. 300.] They therefore published a proposal for a law, that, whereas there were then four augurs and four pontiffs, and it had been determined that the number of priests should be augmented, the four additional pontiffs and five augurs should all be chosen out of the commons. How the college of augurs could be reduced to the number of four, except by the death of two, I do not understand: for it is a rule among the augurs, that their number should be composed of threes, so that the three ancient tribes, the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, should have each its own augur; or, in case there should be occasion for more, that each should increase its number of augurs, in equal proportion with the rest, in like manner as when, by the addition of five to four, they made up the number nine, so that there were three to each tribe. However, as it was proposed that they should be chosen out of the commons, the patricians were as highly offended at the proceeding, as when they saw the consulship made common; yet they pretended that the business concerned not them so much as it did the gods, who would "take care that their own worship should not be contaminated; that, for their parts, they only wished that no misfortune might ensue to the common-

wealth." But the true reason of their not making a vigorous opposition, was, that they were now accustomed to suffer defeat in such kind of disputes; and they saw their adversaries, not as formerly, grasping at objects which they could scarcely hope to reach, the higher honours; but already in possession of all those advantages, on the uncertain prospect of which, they had maintained the contest, manifold consulships, censorships, and triumphs.

VII. There was, however, a struggle between the supporters and the opponents of the law, maintained principally by Appius Claudius and Publius Decius Mus. After these had urged nearly the same topics, respecting the privileges of patricians and plebeians, which had been formerly employed for and against the Licinian law, when the proposition was brought forward, of opening the consulship to plebeians, Decius is said to have drawn a lively description of his own father, such as many then present in the assembly had seen him, girt in the Gabinian dress, standing on a spear, in the attitude in which he had devoted himself for the people and the legions, and to have added, that "the consul Publius Decius was then deemed by the immortal gods an offering equally pure and pious, as if his colleague, Titus Manlius, had been devoted. And might not the same Publius Decius have been, with propriety, chosen to perform the public worship of the Roman people? Was there any reason to apprehend that the gods would give less attention to his prayers than to those of Appius Claudius? Did the latter perform his private acts of adoration with a purer mind, or worship the gods more religiously than he? Who had any reason to complain of the vows offered in behalf of the commonwealth, by so many plebeian consuls and dictators, either on the commencement of their campaigns, or in the heat of battle? Were the numbers of commanders reckoned, during those years, since business began to be transacted under the conduct and auspices of plebeians, the same number of triumphs might be found. The commons had now no reason to be dissatisfied with the behaviour of such of their body as had attained nobility. On the contrary, they were fully convinced, that, in case of a sudden war breaking out, the senate and people of Rome would not repose greater confidence in patrician than in plebeian commanders. Which being the case," said he,

"what god or man can deem it an impropriety, if those whom ye have honoured with curule chairs, with the purple bordered gown, with the palm-vest, and embroidered robe, with the triumphal crown and laurel; whose houses ye have rendered conspicuous above others, by affixing to them the spoils of conquered enemies, should add to these the badges of augurs or pontiffs? If a person, who has rode through the city in a gilt chariot; and, decorated with the ensigns of Jupiter, supremely good and great, has mounted the capitol, should be seen with a chalice and wand; what impropriety, I say, that he should, with his head veiled, slay a victim, or take an augury in the citadel? When, in the inscription on a person's statue, the consulship, censorship, and triumph shall be read with patience, will the eyes of readers be unable to endure the addition of the office of augur or pontiff? In truth (with deference to the gods I say it) I trust that we are, through the kindness of the Roman people, qualified in such a manner, that we should, by the dignity of our characters, reflect back, on the priesthood, as much lustre as we should receive; and may demand, rather on behalf of the gods, than for our own sakes, that those, whom we worship in our private, we may also worship in a public capacity.

VIII. "But why do I argue thus, as if the cause of the patricians, respecting the priesthood, stood on untouched ground? and as if we were not already in possession of one sacerdotal office, of the highest class? We see plebeian decemvirs, for performing sacrifices, interpreters of the Sibylline prophecies, and of the fates of the nation; we also see them presidents of Apollo's festival, and of other religious performances. Neither was any injustice done to the patricians, when, to the two commissioners for performing sacrifices, an additional number was joined, in favour of the plebeians; nor is there now, when a tribune, a man of courage and activity, wishes to add five places of augurs, and four of pontiffs, to which plebeians may be nominated: not, Appius, with intent to expel you from your places; but, that men of plebeian rank may assist you, in the management of divine affairs, with the same zeal with which they assist you in matters of human concernment. Blush not, Appius, at having a man, your colleague in the priesthood, whom you might have a colleague in the censorship or consulship, whose master of the



horse you yourself may be, when he is dictator, as well as dictator when he is master of the horse. A Sabine adventurer, the first origin of your nobility, either Attus Clausus, or Appius Claudius, which you will, was admitted, by the ancient patricians of those days, into their number: do not then, on your part, disdain to admit us into the number of priests. We bring with us numerous honours; all those honours, indeed, which have rendered your party so proud. Lucius Sextius was the first consul, chosen out of the plebeians; Caius Licinius Stolo the first master of the horse; Caius Marcius Rutilus, the first dictator, and likewise censor; Quintus Publilius Philo, the first prætor. On every one of these occasions was heard a repetition of the same arguments; that the right of auspices was vested in you; that ye alone had the rights of ancestry; that ye alone were legally entitled to the supreme command, and the auspices both in peace and war. The supreme command has hitherto been, and will continue to be, equally prosperous in plebeian hands, as in patrician. Have ye never heard it said, that the first created patricians were not men sent down from heaven, but such as could cite their fathers, that is, nothing more than free born. I can now cite my father, a consul; and my son will be able to cite a grandfather. Citizens, their opposition means nothing else, than that we should never obtain any thing, without a previous refusal. The patricians wish only for a dispute; nor do they care what issue their disputes may have. For my part, be it advantageous, happy, and prosperous to you and to the commonwealth, I am of opinion that this law should receive your sanction."

IX. The people ordered that the tribes should be instantly called; and there was every appearance that the law would be accepted. It was deferred, however, for that day, by a protest, from which on the day following the tribunes were deterred; and it passed with the approbation of a vast majority. The pontiffs created were Publius Decius Mus, the advocate for the law; Publius Sempronius Sophus, Caius Marcius Rutilus, and Marcus Livius Denter. The five augurs, who were also plebeians, were, Caius Genucius, Publius Ælius Pætus, Marcus Minucius Fessus, Caius Marcius, and Titus Publilius. Thus the number of the pontiffs was made eight; that of the augurs nine. In the same year Marcus Vale-

rius, consul, procured a law to be passed concerning appeals; more carefully enforcing the observance of it, by additional sanctions. This was the third time, since the expulsion of the kings, of this law being introduced, and always by the same family. The reason for renewing it so often, was, I believe, no other, than that the influence of a few was apt to prove too powerful for the liberty of the commons. However, the Porcian law seems intended, solely, for the security of the persons of the citizens; a severe penalty being thereby enacted against beating with stripes, or putting to death, a Roman citizen. The Valerian law, after forbidding a person, who had appealed, to be beaten with rods and beheaded, added, in case of any one acting contrary thereto, that it shall yet be only deemed a wicked act. This, I suppose, was judged of sufficient strength to enforce obedience to the law in those days; so powerful was then men's sense of shame: at present one would scarcely make use of such a threat seriously, even on any ordinary occasion. The Æquans rebelling, the same consul conducted the war against them; in which no memorable event occurred; for, except ferocity, they retained nothing of their ancient condition. The other consul, Appuleius, invested the town of Nequinum in Umbria. The ground, the same whereon Narnia now stands, was so steep, (on one side even perpendicular,) as to render the town impregnable either by assault, or works. [Y. R. 453. B. C. 299.] That business, therefore, came unfinished, into the hands of the succeeding consuls, Marcus Fulvius Pætinus, and Titus Manlius Torquatus. We are told by Licinius Macer and Tubero, that all the centuries named Quintus Fabius, though not a candidate, consul for that year; but that he himself recommended to them, to postpone the conferring the consulship on him until a year wherein there might be more employment for their arms; adding, that, during the present year, he might be more useful in the management of a city magistracy; and thus, neither dissembling what he aimed at, nor yet making direct application for it, he was appointed curule ædile with Lucius Papirius Cursor. This I cannot aver as certain; because Piso, a more ancient writer of annals, asserts, that the curule ædiles of that year were Caius Domitius Calvinus, son of Cneius, and Spurius Carvilius Maximus, son of Caius. I am of opinion, that this

latter surname caused a mistake, concerning the ædiles; and that thence followed a story, conformable to this mistake, patched up, out of the two elections, of the ædiles, and of the consuls. The general survey was performed, this year, by Publius Sempronius Sophus, and Publius Sulpicius Saverio, censors; and two tribes were added, the Anienian and Terentine. Such were the occurrences at Rome.

X. Meanwhile, after much time had been lost in the tedious siege of Nequinum, two of the townsmen, whose houses were contiguous to the wall, having formed a subterraneous passage, came by that private way to the Roman advanced guards; and being conducted thence to the consul, offered to give admittance to a body of armed men within the works and walls. The proposal was thought to be such as ought neither to be rejected, nor yet assented to without caution. With one of these men, the other being detained as an hostage, two spies were sent through the mine, and certain information being received from them of the practicability of the design, three hundred men in arms, guided by the deserter, entered the city, and seized by night the nearest gate, which being broke open, the Roman consul and his army took possession of the city without any opposition. In this manner came Nequinum under the dominion of the Roman people. A colony was sent thither as a barrier against the Umbrians, and called Narnia, from the river Nar. The troops returned to Rome with abundance of spoil. This year the Etrurians made preparations for war in violation of the truce. But a vast army of the Gauls, making an irruption into their territories, while their attention was directed to another quarter, suspended for a time the execution of their design. They then relying on the abundance of money which they possessed, laid themselves out to make friends of the Gauls, instead of enemies; in order that, with their armies combined, they might attack the Romans. The barbarians made no objection to the alliance, and a negotiation was opened for settling the price; which being adjusted and paid, the Etrurians, having every thing else in readiness for commencing their operations, desired them to accompany them in their march. But this they refused, alleging that "they had stipulated a price for their assistance against the Romans: that the payment already made, they had received in consideration of their not wasting the

Etrurian territory, or using their arms against the inhabitants. That notwithstanding, if it was the wish of the Etrurians, they were still willing to engage in the war, but on no other condition than that of being allowed a share of their lands, and obtaining at length some permanent settlement." Many assemblies of the states of Etruria were held on this subject, without being able to come to any conclusion; not so much by reason of their aversion from the dismemberment of their territory, as of the dread which every one felt of the consequences, if they should fix in so close vicinity to themselves people of such a savage race. The Gauls were therefore dismissed, and carried home an immense sum of money, acquired without toil or danger. The report of a Gallic tumult, in addition to an Etrurian war, had caused serious apprehensions at Rome; and, with the less hesitation on that account, an alliance was concluded with the state of the Picentians.

XI. The province of Etruria fell by lot to the consul Titus Manlius; who, when he had but just entered the enemy's country, as he was exercising the cavalry, in wheeling about at full speed, was thrown from his horse, and almost killed on the spot; three days after, he died. The Etrurians, embracing this omen, as it were, of the future progress of the war, and observing that the gods had commenced hostilities on their behalf, assumed new courage. At Rome the news caused great affliction, on account both of the loss of such a man and of the unseasonableness of the juncture; insomuch that the senate would have proceeded to order a dictator to be created, but that an assembly, held for the purpose of substituting a new consul, was conducted agreeably to the wishes of people of the first consequence. All the votes and centuries concurred unanimously in appointing Marcus Valerius consul, the same whom the senate would have ordered to be made dictator. They then commanded him to proceed immediately into Etruria, to the legions. His coming gave such a check to the Etrurians, that not one of them dared thenceforward to appear on the outside of their trenches; their own fears operating as a blockade. Nor could the new consul, by wasting their lands, and burning their houses, draw them out to an engagement; for not only country-houses, but numbers of their towns, were seen smoking and in ashes, on every side. While this war proceeded



more slowly than had been expected, an account was received of the breaking out of another ; which was, not without reason, regarded as terrible, in consequence of the heavy losses formerly sustained by both parties. This account, given by their new allies, the Picentians, was, that the Samnites were taking measures for a renewal of hostilities, and that they themselves had been solicited to join therein. The Picentians received the thanks of the state ; and a large share of the attention of the senate was turned from Etruria towards Samnium. The public suffered also much distress from the dearth of provisions, and would have felt the extremity of want, according to the relation of those who make Fabius Maximus curule ædile that year, had not the vigilant activity of that man, such as he had on many occasions displayed in the field, been exerted now with equal zeal at home, in the management of the market, and in procuring and forming magazines of corn. An interregnum took place this year, the reason of which is not mentioned. Appius Claudius, and, after him, Publius Sulpicius, were interreges. [Y. R. 454. B. C. 298.] The latter held an election of consuls, and chose Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Cneius Fulvius. In the beginning of this year, ambassadors came from the Lucanians to the new consuls with complaints that "the Samnites, finding that they could not, by any offers, tempt them to take part in the war, had marched an army in a hostile manner into their country, which they were now laying waste ; intending, by these violent measures, to force them into a compliance. They declared, that the nation of the Lucanians thought their former errors too many, and were so firmly fixed in their resolution, that they would rather undergo every kind of suffering and hardship than ever again violate the reverence due to the Roman name : besought the senate to take the people of Lucania into their protection, and defend them from the injustice and outrage of the Samnites ; and that, on their part, though the undertaking a war with the Samnites imposed on them a necessity of being faithful to the Romans, they were, nevertheless, willing to give hostages."

XII. The deliberation of the senate was short. They all, to a man, concurred in opinion, that a compact should be entered into with the Lucanians, and satisfaction demanded from the Samnites : accordingly, a favourable

answer was returned to the Lucanians, and the alliance concluded. Heralds were then sent, to require of the Samnites, that they should depart from the country of the allies, and withdraw their troops from the Lucanian territory. These were met by persons despatched for the purpose by the Samnites, who gave them warning, that "if they appeared at any assembly in Samnium, they must not expect to depart in safety." As soon as this was heard at Rome, the senate voted, and the people ordered, that war should be declared against the Samnites. The consuls, then, dividing the provinces between them, Etruria fell to Scipio, the Samnites to Fulvius ; and they set out by different routes, each against the enemy allotted to him. Scipio, while he expected a tedious campaign, like that of the preceding year, was met near Volaterra by the Etrurians, in order of battle. The fight lasted through the greater part of the day, while very many fell on both sides, and night came on before it could be discovered to which side victory inclined. But the following dawn showed the conqueror and the vanquished ; for the Etrurians had decamped in the dead of the night. The Romans, marching out with intent to renew the engagement, and seeing their superiority acknowledged by the departure of the enemy, advanced to their camp ; and, finding even this fortified post deserted, took possession of it, together with a vast quantity of spoil. The consul then, leading back his forces into the Faliscian territory, and leaving his baggage with a small guard at Falerii, set out with his troops, lightly accoutred, to ravage the enemy's country : and not only was the ground laid waste, but their forts also and smaller towns were destroyed by fire. He did not, however, lay siege to the cities, into which the Etrurians had been hurried by their fears. The other consul, Fulvius, fought the Samnites at Bovianum, where he gained great honour, and a complete victory. Then attacking the town, and soon after Aufidena, he took both by assault. This year a colony was carried out to Carsæoli, in the territory of the Æquicolæ. The consul Fulvius triumphed on his defeat of the Samnites.

XIII. Shortly before the election of consuls, a report prevailed, that the Etrurians and Samnites were raising vast armies ; that the leaders of the Etrurians were, in all their assemblies, openly censured for not having procured the aid of the Gauls on any terms ; and the magistrates

of the Samnites arraigned, for having opposed to the Romans an army destined to act against the Lucanians. That, in consequence, the people were rising up in arms, with all their own strength and that of their allies combined ; and that this affair seemed not likely to be terminated without a contest of much greater difficulty than the former. Although the candidates for the consulship were men of illustrious characters, yet this alarming intelligence turned the thoughts of all on Quintus Fabius Maximus, who sought not the employment at first, and afterwards, when he discovered their wishes, even declined it. " Why," said he, " should they impose such a difficult task on him, who was now in the decline of life, and had passed through a full course of labours, and of the rewards of labour ? Neither the vigour of his body, nor of his mind, remained the same ; and he dreaded fortune herself, lest some god should think her too bountiful to him, and more constant than the course of human affairs allowed. He had himself succeeded, in gradual succession, to the dignities of his predecessors ; and he beheld, with great satisfaction, others rising up to succeed to his. There was no scarcity at Rome, either of honours suited to men of the highest merit, or of men of eminent merit suited to the highest honours." This disinterested conduct, instead of repressing, increased, while in fact it justified, their zeal. But thinking that this ought to be checked by respect for the laws, he ordered that clause to be read aloud by which it is forbidden that the same person shall be re-elected consul within ten years. Such a clamour now arose, that the law was scarcely heard ; and the tribunes of the commons declared, that this " decree should be no impediment ; for they would propose an order to the people, that he should be exempted from the obligation of the laws." Still he persisted in his opposition, asking, " To what purpose were laws enacted, if they were eluded by the very persons who procured them ? The laws now," he said, " instead of being rulers, were overruled." The people, nevertheless, proceeded to vote ; and, as soon as each century was called in, it immediately named Fabius consul. Then at length, overcome by the universal wish of the state, he said, " Romans, may the gods approve your present, and all your future proceedings. But since, with respect to me, ye intend to act according to your own wills, let my interest find room with you, with respect to

my colleague. I earnestly request, that ye will place in the consulship with me, Publius Decius ; a man with whom I have already experienced the utmost harmony in our joint administration of that office ; a man worthy of you, worthy of his father." The recommendation was deemed well founded, and all the remaining centuries voted Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius consuls. This year, great numbers were prosecuted by the ædiles, for having in possession larger quantities of land than the state allowed : and hardly any were acquitted : by which means, a very great restraint was laid on exorbitant covetousness.

XIV. Whilst the new consuls, [Y. R. 455. B. C. 297.] Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fourth, and Publius Decius Mus, a third time, were settling between themselves as to which should command against the Samnites, and which against the Etrurians ; and what number of forces would be sufficient for this, and for that province ; and which would be the fitter commander in each war ; ambassadors arrived from Sutrium, Nepete, and Falerii, with intelligence, that the states of Etruria were holding assemblies on the subject of suing for peace. In consequence of this information, the whole force of their arms was directed against Samnium. The consuls took different routes, in order to secure the more ready supply of provisions, and to leave the enemy in the greater uncertainty on what quarter the war would fall. Fabius led his legions towards Samnium through the territory of Sora, and Decius his through that of Sidicinum. As soon as they arrived at the frontiers, both advanced briskly, spreading devastation wherever they came ; but still took care to explore the country, to a distance beyond where the troops were employed in plundering. The enemy had posted themselves in readiness for battle, in a retired valley near Tifernum ; intending, as soon as the Romans should enter it, to fall upon them with advantage of the ground, but they escaped the snare. Fabius sending away his baggage to a place of safety, and setting a small guard over it, gave notice to his soldiers, that a battle was at hand, and advanced to the place where he had been told the enemy lay in ambush. The Samnites, disappointed in the hope of making an unexpected attack, determined on a regular engagement. They therefore marched out into the plain ; and, with a greater share of spirit than of hopes,



committed themselves to the disposal of fortune. However, whether in consequence of their having drawn together, from every state, the whole of the force which it possessed, or that the consideration of their all being at stake, heightened their courage, they maintained, even in open fight, a formidable struggle. Fabius, when he saw that the enemy in no place gave way, ordered his son Maximus, and Marcus Valerius, military tribunes, with whom he hastened to the front, to seek the cavalry, and to exhort them, that "if they remembered any instance wherein the public had received advantage from the service of the horsemen, they would, on that day, exert themselves to preserve inviolate the renown of that body; telling them that the enemy stood immovable against the efforts of the infantry, and the only hope remaining was in the charge of horse." He addressed particularly both these youths, and with the same cordiality, loading them with praises and promises. At the same time, considering that, in case that effort should also fail, it would be necessary to accomplish by stratagem what his strength could not effect; he ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants-general to draw off the spearmen of the first legion out of the line; to lead them round as secretly as possible to the nearest mountains; and, in such direction as he could ascend without being seen, to gain the heights, and show himself suddenly on the rear of the enemy, while their attention should be employed on the front. The cavalry, led on by the tribunes, rushing forward unexpectedly before the van, caused scarcely more confusion among the enemy than among their friends. The line of the Samnites stood firm against the furious onset of the squadrons; it neither could be driven from its ground, nor broken in any part. The cavalry, finding their attempts fruitless, withdrew from the fight, and retired behind the line of infantry. On this the enemy assumed new spirits, with increasing confidence in their own prowess: so that the Roman troops in the van would not have been able to support the contest, had not the second line, by the consul's order, come up into the place of the first. These fresh troops checked the progress of the Samnites, who had now began to gain ground; and, at this seasonable juncture, their comrades appearing suddenly on the mountains, and raising a shout, occasioned in the Samnites a fear of greater danger than really threatened them:

Fabius called out aloud that his colleague Decius was approaching; on which all the soldiers, elated with joy, repeated eagerly, that the other consul was come, the legions were arrived! This artifice, while it produced a happy effect on the Romans, filled the Samnites with such dismay, that they thought of nothing but flight; for they dreaded above all things, lest fatigued as they were, they should be overpowered by another army fresh and unhurt. As they dispersed themselves on every side, there was less effusion of blood than might have been expected, considering the completeness of the victory. There were three thousand four hundred slain: about three hundred and thirty made prisoners, and twenty three military standards taken.

XV. The Apulians would have joined their forces to the Samnites before this battle, had not the consul, Publius Decius, encamped in their neighbourhood at Maleventum: and, finding means to bring them to an engagement, put them to the rout. Here, likewise, there was more of flight than of bloodshed. Two thousand of the Apulians were slain; but Decius, despising such an enemy led his legions into Samnium. There the two consular armies, overrunning every part of the country during the space of five months, laid it entirely waste. There were in Samnium, forty-five places where Decius, and eighty-six where the other consul, encamped. Nor did they leave traces only of having been there, as ramparts and trenches, but other dreadful mementos of it—general desolation and regions depopulated. Fabius also took the city of Cimetre, where he made prisoners two thousand four hundred soldiers; and there were slain in the assault about four hundred and thirty. Going thence to Rome to preside at the elections, he used all expedition in despatching that business. All the first-called centuries voted Quintus Fabius consul. Appius Claudius was a candidate, a man of consular rank, daring and ambitious; and as he wished not more ardently for the attainment of that honour for himself, than he did that the patricians might recover the possession of both places in the consulship, he laboured, with all his own power, supported by that of the whole body of the nobility, to prevail on them to appoint him consul along with Quintus Fabius. To this Fabius objected, giving, at first, the same reasons which he had advanced the year before. The nobles then all gathered round his seat, and besought him to

raise up the consulship out of the plebeian mire, and to restore both to the office itself, and to the patrician rank, their original dignity. Fabius then, procuring silence, allayed their warmth, by a qualifying speech, declaring, that "he would have so managed, as to have received the names of two patricians, if he had seen an intention of appointing any other than himself to the consulship. As things now stood, he would not set so bad a precedent as to admit his own name among the candidates; such a proceeding being contrary to the laws." [Y. R. 456. B. C. 296.] Whereupon Appius Claudius, and Lucius Volumnius, a plebeian, who had likewise been colleagues in that office before, were elected consuls. The nobility reproached Fabius for declining to act in conjunction with Appius Claudius, because he evidently excelled him in eloquence and political abilities.

XVI. When the election was finished, the former consuls were continued in command for six months, and ordered to prosecute the war in Samnium. Accordingly, during this next year, in the consulate of Lucius Volumnius and Appius Claudius, Publius Decius, who had been left consul in Samnium by his colleague, continued in the character of proconsul, to spread devastation, in like manner as in the preceding year, through all parts of that country; until, at last, he drove the army of the Samnites, which never dared to face him in the field, entirely out of the country. Thus expelled from home, they bent their route to Etruria; and, supposing that the business, which they had often in vain endeavoured to accomplish by embassies, might now be negotiated with more effect, when they were backed by such a powerful armed force, and could intermix terror with their entreaties, they demanded a meeting of the chiefs of Etruria: which being assembled, they set forth the great number of years, during which they had waged war with the Romans, in the cause of liberty; "they had," they said, "endeavoured, with their own strength, to sustain the weight of so great a war: they had also made trial of the support of the adjoining nations, which proved of little avail. Unable longer to maintain the conflict, they had sued to the Roman people for peace; and had again taken up arms, because they felt peace, attended with servitude, more grievous than war with liberty. They had one only hope remaining, which was the support which they expected from the Etru-

rians. They knew that nation to be the most powerful in Italy, in respect of arms, men, and money; to have the Gauls their closest neighbours, born in the midst of war and arms, of furious courage, both from their natural temper, and particularly against the people of Rome, whom they boasted, without infringing the truth, of having made their prisoners, and of having ransomed for gold. If the Etrurians possessed the same spirit which formerly animated Porsena and their ancestors, there was nothing to prevent their expelling the Romans from all the lands on this side of the Tiber, and compelling them to fight for their own existence, and not for the intolerable dominion which they assumed over Italy. The Samnite army had come to them, in readiness for action, furnished with arms and subsistence, and were willing to follow that instant, even should they lead to the attack of the city of Rome itself."

XVII. While they were engaged in these representations, and intriguing at Etruria, the operations of the Romans in their own territories distressed them severely. For Publius Decius, when informed by his scouts of the departure of the Samnite army, called a council, and there said, "Why do we ramble through the country, carrying the war from one village to another? Why not attack the cities and fortified places? No army now guards Samnium. They have fled: they are gone into voluntary exile." The proposal being universally approved, he marched to attack Murgantia, a city of considerable strength; and so great was the ardour of the soldiers, resulting from their affection to their commander, and from their hopes of richer treasure than could be found in pillaging the country places, that in one day they took it by assault. Here, two thousand one hundred of the Samnites, making resistance, were surrounded and taken prisoners; and abundance of other spoil fell into the hands of the victors. Decius, not choosing that the troops should be encumbered in their march with such heavy baggage, ordered them to be called together, and said to them, "Do ye intend to rest satisfied with this single victory, and this booty? or do ye choose to cherish hopes proportioned to your bravery? All the cities of the Samnites, and the property left in them, are your own; since, after so often defeating their legions, ye have finally driven them out of the country. Sell those effects in your hands;



and allure traders, by a prospect of profit, to follow you on your march. I will, from time to time, supply you with goods for sale. Let us go hence to the city of Romulea, where no great labour, but greater gain, awaits you." They accordingly sold off the spoil; and, warmly adopting the general's plan, proceeded to Romulea. This town likewise was taken without works or engines, and plundered: for, as soon as the battalions approached it, nothing could hinder the soldiers from mounting the walls; but, hastily applying ladders, they forced their way over the fortifications. Two thousand three hundred men were slain, six thousand taken prisoners, and abundance of spoil fell into the hands of the soldiers. This they were obliged to sell in like manner as the former; and, though no rest was allowed them, they proceeded, nevertheless, with the utmost alacrity to Ferentinum. But here they met a greater share both of difficulty and danger: the garrison made a vigorous defence, and the place was strongly fortified both by nature and art. However, the soldiers, now inured to plunder, overcame every obstacle. Three thousand of the enemy were killed round the walls, and the spoil was given to the troops. In some annals, the principal share of the honour of taking these cities is attributed to Maximus. They say that Murgantia was taken by Decius; Romulea and Ferentinum by Fabius. Some ascribe this honour to the new consuls: others not to both, but to one of these; Lucius Volumnius, whose province, they say, Samnium was.

XVIII. While things went on thus in Samnium, and whoever it was that had the command and auspices, another powerful combination, composed of many states, was formed in Etruria against the Romans, the chief promoter of which was Gellius Egnatius, a Samnite. Almost all the Etrurians had united in this hostile design. The neighbouring states of Umbria were drawn in, as it were, by contagion; and auxiliaries were procured from the Gauls for hire: all their several numbers assembled at the camp of the Samnites. When intelligence of this sudden commotion was received at Rome, the consul, Lucius Volumnius, had already set out for Samnium, with the second and third legions, and fifteen thousand of the allies; it was therefore resolved, that Appius Claudius should, without loss of time, go into Etruria. He took with him two Roman legions, the first

and fourth, and twelve thousand allies, and encamped at a small distance from the enemy. However, his early arrival, though productive of one good effect, the restraining, by dread of the Roman name, several states of Etruria who were inclined to war, yet was not followed by any very judicious or successful enterprise. Several battles were fought, at times and places unfavourable, and increasing confidence rendered the enemy daily more formidable; so that matters came nearly to such a state, as that neither could the soldiers rely much on their leader, nor the leader on his soldiers: It appears in three several histories, that a letter was sent by the consul to call his colleague from Samnium. But I will not affirm what requires stronger proof, that point having been disputed between these two consuls, a second time associated in the same office; Appius denying that he sent any such, and Volumnius affirming that he was called thither by a letter from him. Volumnius had, by this time, taken three forts in Samnium, in which three thousand of the enemy had been slain, and about half that number made prisoners; and, a sedition having been raised among the Lucernians by the plebeians, and the more indigent of the people, he had, to the great satisfaction of the nobles, quelled it by sending thither Quintus Fabius, proconsul, with his own veteran army. He left to Decius the ravaging of the country; and proceeded with his troops into Etruria to his colleague; where, on his arrival, the army in general received him with joy. Appius, if he did not write the letter, being conscious of this, had, in my opinion; just ground of displeasure: but if he had actually sent for assistance, his disowning it, as he did, arose from an illiberal and ungrateful mind. For, on going out to receive him, when they had scarcely exchanged salutations, he said, "Is all well, Lucius Volumnius? How stand affairs in Samnium? What motive induced you to remove out of your province?" Volumnius answered, that "affairs in Samnium were in a prosperous state; and that he had come thither in compliance with the request in his letter. But, if that were a forged letter, and that there was no occasion for him in Etruria, he would instantly face about, and depart." "You may depart," replied the other; "no one detains you: for it is a perfect inconsistency, that when, perhaps you are scarcely equal to the management of the war allotted to yourself, you should vaunt

of coming hither to succour others." To this Volumnius rejoined, "May Hercules direct all for the best; for his part, he was better pleased that he had taken useless trouble, than that any conjuncture should have arisen which had made one consular army insufficient for Etruria."

XIX. As the consuls were parting, the lieutenants-general and tribunes of Appius's army gathered round them. Some entreated their own general that he would not reject the voluntary offer of his colleague's assistance, which he ought to have solicited: the greater number used their endeavours to stop Volumnius, beseeching him "not, through a peevish dispute with his colleague, to abandon the interest of the commonwealth; and represented to him, that in case any misfortune should happen, the blame would fall on the person who forsook the other, not on the one forsaken; that the state of affairs was such, that the credit and discredit of every success and failure in Etruria, would be attributed to Lucius Volumnius: for no one would inquire, what were the words of Appius, but what the situation of the army. Appius indeed had dismissed him, but the commonwealth, and the army, required his stay. Let him only make trial of the inclinations of the soldiers." By such admonitions and entreaties they, in a manner, dragged the consuls to an assembly. There, longer discourses were made to the same purport, as had passed before in the presence of a few. As Volumnius had the advantage of the argument, so did he show himself not deficient in oratory, in despite of the extraordinary eloquence of his colleague. On which Appius observed with a sneer, that "they ought to acknowledge themselves indebted to him, in having a consul, who, among his other qualifications, possessed eloquence also, instead of being dumb and speechless, as he was in their former consulate; when, particularly during the first months, he was not able so much as to open his lips; but now, in his harangues, even aspired after popularity." Volumnius replied, "How much more earnestly do I wish, that you had learned from me to act with spirit; than I from you to speak with elegance: I now make you a final proposal, which will demonstrate, not which is the better orator, for that is not what the public wants, but which is the better commander. The provinces are Etruria and Samnium: make your choice; I, with my own army, will undertake to manage the

business of either." The soldiers then, with loud clamours, requested that they would, in conjunction, carry on the war in Etruria; when Volumnius perceiving that it was the general wish, said, "Since I have been mistaken in apprehending my colleague's meaning, I will take care that there shall be no room for mistake with respect to the purport of your wishes. Signify by a shout, whether you choose that I should stay or depart." On this, a shout was raised, so loud, that it brought the enemy out of their camp: they snatched up their arms, and marched forward in order of battle. Volumnius likewise ordered the signal to be sounded, and his troops to take the field. It is said that Appius hesitated, perceiving that, whether he fought or remained inactive, his colleague would enjoy the honour of the victory; and that, afterwards, dreading lest his own legions should follow Volumnius with the rest, he gave the signal, at the earnest desire of his men. On neither side were the forces drawn up to advantage: for, on the one, Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, had gone out to forage with a few cohorts, and his men entered on the fight, as the violence of their passions prompted, rather than under any directions, or orders. On the other, the Roman armies, neither marched out together, nor had time sufficient to form: Volumnius began to engage, before Appius came up, consequently their front in the battle was uneven; and by some accidental interchange of their usual opponents, the Etrurians fought against Volumnius; and the Samnites, after delaying some time on account of the absence of their general, against Appius. We are told that Appius, during the heat of the fight, raising his hands towards heaven, so as to be seen in the foremost ranks, prayed thus, "Bellona, if thou grantest us the victory this day, I vow to thee a temple." And that after this vow, as if inspired by the goddess, he displayed a degree of courage equal to that of his colleague, and of the troops. The generals performed every duty, and each of their armies exerted, with emulation, its utmost vigour, lest the other should be first victorious. They therefore quickly broke and defeated the enemy, who were ill able to withstand a force so much superior to any with which they had been accustomed to contend: then pressing them as they gave ground, and pursuing them closely as they fled, they drove them into their camp. There Gellius and his Samnite cohorts, inter-



posing, the fight was renewed for a time with some warmth. But these being likewise soon dispersed, the conquerors advanced to storm the camp; and Volumnius, in person, leading his troops against one of the gates, while Appius, frequently invoking Bellona the victorious, inflamed the courage of his men, neither rampart nor trenches could prevent their breaking in. The camp was taken and plundered, and the spoil, of which great abundance was found, was given up to the soldiers. Of the enemy seven thousand three hundred were slain; and two thousand one hundred and twenty taken.

XX. While both the consuls, with the whole force of the Romans, pointed their exertions principally against their enemies in Etruria, a new army was set on foot in Samnium; and, with design to ravage the frontiers of the Roman empire, passed over through the country of the Vescians, into the Campanian and Falerian territories, where they committed great depredations. Volumnius, as he was hastening back to Samnium, by forced marches, because the term for which Fabius and Decius had been continued in command was nearly expired, heard of this army of Samnites, and of the mischief which they had done in Campania; determining, therefore, to afford protection to the allies, he altered his route towards that quarter. When he arrived in the district of Cales, he found marks of their recent ravages; and the people of that town informed him that the enemy carried with them such a quantity of spoil, that they could scarcely observe any order in their march: and that the commanders then directed publicly, that the troops should go immediately to Samnium, deposit the booty there, and return to the business of the expedition, as an engagement must not be hazarded while they were so heavily laden. Notwithstanding that this account carried every appearance of truth, he yet thought it necessary to obtain more certain information; accordingly he despatched some horsemen, to seize on some of the straggling marauders; from these he learned, on inquiry, that the enemy lay at the river Vulturnus; that they intended to remove thence at the third watch; and that their route was towards Samnium. On receiving this intelligence, which could be depended upon, he put his troops in motion, and sat down at such a distance from the enemy, as was sufficient to prevent their discovering his approach, and, at the same time, left it in his power to surprise

them, as they should be coming out of their camp. A long time before day, he drew nigh to their post, and sent persons, who understood the Oscan language, to discover how they were employed: these, mixing with the enemy, which they could easily do during the confusion in the night, found that the standards had gone out thinly attended; that the booty, and those appointed to guard it, were then setting out, a contemptible train: each busied about his own affairs, without any concert with the rest, or much regard to orders. This the consul judged the fittest time for the attack; and, day-light now approaching, he gave orders to sound the charge, and fell on the enemy as they were marching out. The Samnites being embarrassed with the spoil, and very few armed, were at a loss how to act. Some quickened their pace, and drove the prey before them; others halted, deliberating whether it would be safer to advance, or to return again to the camp; and while they hesitated, they were overtaken and cut off. The Romans had by this time passed over the rampart, and filled the camp with slaughter and confusion: the Samnite army had their disorder increased by a sudden insurrection of their prisoners; some of whom, getting loose, set the rest at liberty, while others snatched the arms which were tied up among the baggage, and, being intermixed with the troops, raised a tumult more terrible than the battle itself. They then performed a memorable exploit: for making an attack on Statius Minacius, the general, as he was passing between the ranks and encouraging his men, they dispersed the horsemen who attended him, gathered round himself, and dragged him, sitting on his horse, a prisoner to the Roman consul. This brought back the foremost battalions of the Samnites, and the battle, which seemed to have been already decided, was renewed: but they could not support it long. Six thousand of them were slain, and two thousand five hundred taken, among whom were four military tribunes, together with thirty standards, and, what gave the conquerors greater joy than all, seven thousand four hundred prisoners were recovered. The spoil which had been taken from the allies was immense, and the owners were summoned by a proclamation, to claim and receive their property. On the day appointed, all the effects, the owners of which did not appear, were given to the soldiers, who were obliged to sell them, in order that they

might have nothing to think of but their duty.

XXI. The depredations, committed on the lands of Campania, had occasioned a violent alarm at Rome; and it happened, that about the same time, intelligence was brought from Etruria, that, after the departure of Volumnus's army, all that country had risen up in arms, together with Gellius Egnatius, the leader of the Samnites; that the Umbrians were invited to join in the insurrection, and the Gauls tempted with high offers. Terrified at this news, the senate ordered the courts of justice to be shut, and a levy to be made of men of every description. Accordingly not only freeborn men, and the younger sort were obliged to enlist, but cohorts were formed of the elder citizens, and the sons of freed men were incorporated in the centuries. Plans were formed for the defence of the city, and the chief command committed to the prætor, Publius Sempronius. However, the senate was exonerated of one half of their anxiety, by a letter from the consul, Lucius Volumnus, informing them that the army, which had ravaged Campania, had been defeated and dispersed: whereupon, they decreed a public thanksgiving for this success, in the name of the victors. The courts were opened, after having been shut eighteen days, and the thanksgiving was performed with much joy. They then turned their thoughts to devising measures for the future security of the country, depopulated by the Samnites; and, with this view, resolved that two colonies should be settled on the frontiers of the Vescian and Falernian territories; one at the mouth of the river Liris which has received the name of Minturnæ; the other in the Vescian forest, which borders on the Falernian territory; where, it is said, stood Sinope, a city of Grecians, called thenceforth by the Roman colonists Sinuessa. The plebeian tribunes were charged to procure an order of the commons, enjoining Publius Sempronius, the prætor, to create triumvirs for conducting the colonies to those places. But it was not easy to find people to give in their names; because, a settlement in those places was considered, nearly, as a perpetual advanced guard in a hostile country, not as a provision of land. From these employments, the attention of the senate was drawn away, by the Etrurian war growing daily more formidable; and by frequent letters from Appius, warning them not

to neglect the disturbances in that quarter. Four nations, he told them, were uniting their arms; the Etrurians, the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Gauls; and they had already formed two separate camps, one spot being insufficient to contain so great a multitude. In consequence, the time of the elections drawing nigh, the consul, Lucius Volumnus, was recalled to Rome, to hold them. Having summoned an assembly of the people before the centuries were called to give their votes, he spoke at length on the great importance of the Etrurian war, and said, that "even at the time, when he himself acted there, in conjunction with his colleague, the war was too weighty to be managed by one general or one army; and that it was now reported, that the enemy had, since that time, gained an accession of the Umbrians, and a numerous body of Gauls." He desired them to "bear in mind, that they were, on that day, to choose consuls, who were to command in a war against four nations. For his own part, were he not confident, that the Roman people would concur, in appointing to the consulship, the man who was allowed, beyond dispute, to be the first commander at present in the world, he would have immediately nominated a dictator."

XXII. No doubt was entertained but that the universal choice would light on Quintus Fabius; and accordingly, the prerogative, and all the first called centuries, named him consul with Lucius Volumnus. Fabius spoke to the same purpose as he had done two years before; but, afterwards, yielding to the general wish, he applied himself to procure Decius to be appointed his confederate: "that," he said, "would be a prop to his declining age. In the censorship, and two consulships, in which they had been associated, he had experienced that there could be no firmer support, in promoting the interest of the commonwealth, than harmony with a colleague. At his advanced stage of life, his mind could hardly conform itself to a new associate in command; and he could more easily act in concert with a temper to which he had been familiarized." Volumnus subscribed to these sentiments, bestowing due praises on Publius Decius, and enumerating, "the advantages resulting from concord between consuls, and the evils arising from their disagreement in the conduct of military affairs;" at the same time remarking, "how near the extremity of danger matters had been brought,



by the late dispute between Appius and himself." He warmly recommended to Decius and Fabius to "live together with one mind and one spirit." Observed that "they were men qualified by nature for military command: great in action, but unpractised in the strife of words, their talents were such as eminently became consuls. As to the artful and the ingenious lawyers and orators, such as Appius Claudius, they ought to be kept at home to preside in the city and the forum; and to be appointed prætors for the administration of justice." In these proceedings that day was spent, and, on the following, the elections both of consuls and prætor were held, and were guided by the recommendations suggested by the consul. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were chosen consuls; Appius Claudius, prætor; all of them absent; and, by a decree of the senate, followed by an order of the commons, Lucius Volumnius was continued in the command for another year.

XXIII. During that year many prodigies happened. To avert the evils which they might portend, the senate decreed a supplication for two days: the wine and frankincense for the sacrifices were furnished at the expense of the public; and numerous crowds of men and women attended the performance. This supplication was rendered remarkable by a quarrel, which broke out among the matrons in the chapel of patrician chastity, which stands in the cattle market, near the round temple of Hercules. Virginia, daughter of Aulus, a patrician, but married to Volumnius the consul, a plebeian, was on that account excluded by the matrons from sharing in the sacred rites: a short altercation ensued, which was afterwards, through the intemperance of passion incident to the sex, kindled into a flame of contention. Virginia boasted with truth that she had a right to enter the temple of patrician chastity, as being of patrician birth, and chaste in her character, and, besides, the wife of one, to whom she was betrothed a virgin, and had no reason to be ashamed either of her husband, or of his exploits or honours: to her high-spirited words, she added importance by an extraordinary act. In the long street, where she resided, she inclosed with a partition a part of the house, of a size sufficient for a small chapel, and there erected an altar. Then, calling together the plebeian matrons, and complaining of the injurious behaviour of the patricians, she said, "This altar I dedicate to plebeian chastity, and

exhort you, that the same degree of emulation which prevails among the men of this state, on the point of valour, may be maintained by the women on the point of chastity; and that you contribute your best care, that this altar may have the credit of being attended with a greater degree of sanctity, and by chaster women than the other." Solemn rites were performed at this altar under the same regulations, nearly, with those at the more ancient one; no person being allowed the privilege of taking part in the sacrifices, except a woman of approved chastity, and who was the wife of one husband. This institution, being afterwards debased by the admission of vicious characters, and not only by matrons, but women of every description, sunk at last into oblivion. During this year the Ogulnii, Cneius and Quintus, being curule ædiles, carried on prosecutions against several usurers; and these being condemned to pay fines out of the produce and for the use of the public, the ædiles made brazen thresholds in the capitol; utensils of plate for three tables, which were deposited in the chapel of Jupiter; a statue of Jupiter in a chariot, drawn by four horses placed on the roof; and images of the founders of the city, in their infant state under the teats of the wolf, at the Ruminal fig-tree. They also paved with square stones, the roads from the Capuan gate to the temple of Mars. The plebeian ædiles likewise, Lucius Ælius Pætus, and Caius Fulvius Corvus, out of money levied as fines on farmers of the public pastures, whom they had convicted of malepractices, exhibited games, and consecrated golden bowls in the temple of Ceres.

XXIV. Then came into the consulship Quintus Fabius, a fifth time, and Publius Decius, a fourth. [Y. R. 457. B. C. 295.] They had been colleagues in the censorship, and twice in the consulship, and were celebrated not more for their glorious achievements, splendid as these were, than for the unanimity which had ever subsisted between them. The interruption, which this afterwards suffered, was, in my opinion, owing to a jarring between the opposite parties rather than between themselves; the patricians endeavouring that Fabius should have Etruria for his province, without casting lots, and the plebeians insisting that Decius should bring the matter to the decision of lots. There was certainly a contention in the senate, and the interest of Fabius, being superior there, the business was brought before the people. Here,

between military men who laid greater stress on deeds than on words, the debate was short. Fabius said, "that it was unreasonable, that after he had planted a tree, another should gather the fruit of it. He had opened the Ciminian forest, and made a way for the Roman arms, through passes until then impracticable. Why had they disturbed his repose, at that time of his life, if they intended to give the management of the war to another?" Then, in the way of a gentle reproof, he observed, that "instead of an associate in command, he had chosen an adversary; and that Decius thought it too much that their unanimity should last through three consulates." Declaring, in fine, that "he desired nothing farther, than that, if they thought him qualified for the command in the province, they should send him thither. He had submitted to the judgment of the senate, and would now be governed by the authority of the people." Publius Decius complained of injustice in the senate; and asserted, that "the patricians had laboured, as long as possible, to exclude the plebeians from all access to the higher honours; and since merit, by its own intrinsic power, had prevailed so far, as that it should not, in any rank of men, be precluded from the attainment of them, they sought every expedient to render ineffectual, not only the suffrages of the people, but even the decisions of fortune; converting all things to the aggrandizement of a few. Former consuls had disposed of the provinces by lots; now, the senate bestowed a province on Fabius at their pleasure. If this was meant as a mark of honour, the merits of Fabius were so great towards the commonwealth, and towards himself in particular, that he would gladly contribute to the advancement of his reputation, in every instance, where its splendour could be increased without reflecting dishonour on himself. But who did not see, that, when a war of difficulty and danger, and out of the ordinary course, was committed to only that one consul, the other would be considered as useless and insignificant. Fabius gloried in his exploits performed in Etruria: Publius Decius wished for a like subject of glory, and perhaps would utterly extinguish that fire, which the other left smothered, in such a manner that it often broke out anew, in sudden conflagrations. In fine, honours and rewards, he would concede to his colleague, out of respect to his age and dignified character: but when danger, when a vigorous strug-

gle with an enemy was before them, he never did, nor ever would, willingly, give place. With respect to the present dispute, this much he would gain at all events, that a business, appertaining to the jurisdiction of the people, should be determined by an order of that people, and not complimented away by the senate. He prayed Jupiter, supremely good and great, and all the immortal gods, not to grant him an equal chance with his colleague, unless they intended to grant him equal ability and success, in the management of the war. It was certainly in its nature reasonable, in the example salutary, and concerned the reputation of the Roman people, that the consuls should be men of such abilities, that either of them was fully equal to the command in a war with Etruria." Fabius, after just requesting of the people, that before the tribes were called in to give their votes, they would hear the letters of the prætor Appius Claudius, written from Etruria, withdrew from the Comitium, and the people, not less unanimously than the senate, decreed to him the province of Etruria, without having recourse to lots.

XXV. Immediately almost all the younger citizens flocked together to the consul, and cheerfully gave in their names, earnestly desirous of serving under such a commander. Seeing so great a multitude collected round him, he said, "My intention is to enlist only four thousand foot, and six hundred horse: such of you as give in your names to-day and to-morrow, I will carry with me. I am more solicitous to bring home all my soldiers rich, than to employ a great multitude." Accordingly, with a competent number of men, who possessed greater hopes and confidence, because a numerous army had not been required, he marched to the town of Abarna, from which the enemy were not far distant, and proceeded to the camp of the prætor Appius. When he came within a few miles of it, he was met by some soldiers, sent to cut wood, attended by a guard. Observing the lictors preceding him, and learning that he was Fabius the consul, they were filled with joy; and expressed warm thanks to the gods, and to the Roman people, for having sent them such a commander. Then, as they gathered round, to pay their respects, Fabius inquired whither they were going, and on their answering they were going to provide wood, "What do you tell me," said he; "have you not a rampart, raised about your camp?"



"They had," they replied, "a double rampart, and a trench; and, notwithstanding, were in great apprehension." "Well then," said he, "you have abundance of wood, go back and level the rampart." They accordingly returned to the camp, and there levelling the rampart, threw the soldiers who had remained in it, and Appius himself, into the greatest fright, until with eager joy each called out to the rest, that, "they acted by order of the consul, Quintus Fabius." Next day, they decamped, and the prætor Appius was dismissed to Rome. From that time, the Romans had no fixed post; the consul affirming, that it was prejudicial to an army to lie in one spot; and that by frequent marches, and changing places, it was rendered more healthy, and more capable of brisk exertions: and this he practised as long as the season permitted, the winter being not yet ended. Then, in the beginning of spring, leaving the second legion near Clusium, which they formerly called the Camertian, and giving the command of the camp to Lucius Scipio, as proprætor, he returned to Rome, in order to adjust measures for carrying on the war; either led thereto by his own judgment, on finding it attended with greater difficulty than he had believed, from report; or, being summoned by a decree of senate; for both accounts are given. Some choose to have it believed, that he was forced to return by the practices of the prætor, Appius Claudius; who, both in the senate, and before the people, exaggerated, as he was wont in all his letters, the danger of the Etrurian war, contending, that "one general, or one army, would not be sufficient to oppose four nations. That whether these directed the whole of their combined force against him alone, or acted separately in different parts, there was reason to fear, that he would be unable to provide, effectually, against every emergency. That he had left there but two Roman legions; and that the foot and horse, who came with Fabius, did not amount to five thousand. It was therefore his opinion, that the consul Publius Decius should, without delay, join his colleague in Etruria; and that the province of Samnium should be given to Lucius Volumnius. But, if the consul preferred going to his own province, that then Volumnius should march a full consular army into Etruria, to join the other commander." The advice of the prætor was

approved by a great part of the members; but Publius Decius recommended that every thing should be kept undetermined, and open for Quintus Fabius; until he should either come to Rome, if he could do so without prejudice to the public, or send some of his lieutenants, from whom the senate might learn the real state of the war in Etruria; and what number of troops, and how many generals, would be requisite for carrying it on.

XXVI. Fabius on his return to Rome, qualified his discourses, both in the senate and before the people, in such a manner as to appear neither to exaggerate, or lessen, any particular relating to the war; and to show, that, in agreeing to another general being joined with him, he rather indulged the apprehensions of others, than guarded against any danger to himself, or the public. "But if they chose," he said, "to give him an assistant, and associate in command, how could he overlook Publius Decius the consul; with whom he was perfectly acquainted, as a colleague, on so many occasions? There was no man living whom he would rather wish to be joined in commission with him: with Publius Decius he should have forces sufficient, and never too many enemies. If, however, his colleague preferred any other employment, let them then give him Lucius Volumnius as an assistant." The disposal of every particular was left entirely to Fabius by the people and the senate, and even by his colleague; while Decius, having declared that he was ready to go either to Etruria, or Samnium, such general congratulation and satisfaction took place, that all men anticipated victory, and felt as if a triumph, not a war, had been decreed to the consuls. I find in some writers, that Fabius and Decius, immediately on their entering into office, set out together for Etruria; and no mention is made of the casting of lots, or of the disputes which I have related. Others, not satisfied with relating those disputes, have added charges of misconduct, laid by Appius before the people against Fabius, when absent; and a stubborn opposition, maintained by the prætor against the consul, when present; and also another contention between the colleagues, Decius insisting that each consul should attend to the care of his own separate province. Certainty however begins to appear from the time when both consuls set out for the campaign. Now, before these arrived in Etruria,

the Senonian Gauls came in a vast body to Clusium, to attack the Roman legion encamped there. Scipio, who commanded in that post, wishing to remedy the deficiency of his numbers, by an advantage in the ground, led his men up a hill, which stood between the camp and the city: but having, in his haste, neglected to examine the place, when he came near the summit, he found it already possessed by the enemy, who had ascended on the other side. The legion was consequently attacked on the rear, and surrounded by several battalions, who pressed it on all sides. Some writers say, that the whole were cut off, so that not one survived to give an account of the disaster; and that no information of the misfortune reached the consuls, who were, at the time, not far from Clusium, until the Gallic horsemen came within sight, carrying the heads of the slain, some hanging before their horses' breasts, others on the points of their spears, and expressing their triumph in songs according to their custom. Others affirm, that the defeat was by Umbrians, not Gauls, and that the loss sustained was not so great. That a party of foragers, under Lucius Manlius Torquatus, lieutenant-general, being surrounded, Scipio, the prætor, brought up relief from the camp, and, renewing the battle, defeated the Umbrians lately victorious, and retook the prisoners and spoil. But it is more probable, that this blow was suffered from a Gallic, than an Umbrian, enemy; because during that year, as was often the case at other times, the danger principally apprehended by the public, was that of a Gallic tumult; for which reason, notwithstanding that both the consuls had marched against the enemy, with four legions, and a large body of Roman cavalry, joined by a thousand chosen horsemen of Campania, supplied on the occasion, and a body of the allies and Latine confederates, superior in number to the Romans, two other armies were posted near the city, on the side facing Etruria; one in the Faliscian, the other in the Vatican territory, Cneius Fulvius and Lucius Postumius Megellus, both prætors, being ordered to keep the troops stationed in those places.

XXVII. The consuls, having crossed the Apennines, came up with the combined forces in the territory of Sentinum, and pitched their camp, distant from them about four miles. Several councils were then held by the enemy, and their plan of operations was thus settled: that

they should not encamp together, nor go out together to battle; the Gauls were united to the Samnites, the Umbrians to the Etrurians. The day of battle was fixed. The part of maintaining the fight was committed to the Samnites and Gauls; and the Etrurians and Umbrians were ordered to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the engagement. This plan was frustrated by three Clusian deserters, who came over by night to Fabius, and after disclosing the above designs, were sent back with presents, in order that they might discover, and bring intelligence of, any new scheme which should be formed. The consuls then wrote to Flavius and Postumius to move their armies, the one from the Faliscian, the other from the Vatican country, towards Clusium; and to ruin the enemy's territory by every means in their power. The news of these depredations drew the Etrurians from Sentinum to protect their own region. The consuls, in their absence, practised every means to bring on an engagement. For two days they endeavoured, by several attacks, to provoke the enemy to fight; in which time, however, nothing worth mention was performed. A few fell on each side, but still the minds of the Romans were so irritated as to wish for a general engagement, yet nothing decisive was hazarded. On the third day, both parties marched out their whole force to the field: here, while the armies stood in order of battle, a hind, chased by a wolf from the mountains, ran through the plain between the two lines: there the animals turned their courses to different sides; the hind towards the Gauls, the wolf towards the Romans: way was made between the ranks for the wolf, the Gauls slew the hind with their javelins; on which one of the Roman soldiers in the van said, "To that side, where you see an animal, sacred to Diana, lying prostrate, flight and slaughter are directed; on this side the victorious wolf of Mars, safe and untouched, reminds us of our founder, and of our descent from that deity." The Gauls were posted on the right wing, the Samnites on the left: against the latter, Fabius drew up, as his right wing, the first and third legions: against the Gauls, Decius formed the left wing of the fifth and sixth. The second and fourth were employed in the war in Samnium, under the proconsul, Lucius Volumnius. The first encounter was supported with strength so equal on both sides, that had the Etrurians and Umbrians been present at the action, either



in the field or at the camp, in whichever place they might have employed their force, the Romans must have been defeated.

XXVIII. However, although the victory was still undecided, fortune not having declared in favour of either party, yet the course of the fight was by no means similar on both right and left wings. The Romans, under Fabius, rather repelled than offered assault; and the contest was protracted until very late in the day: for their general knew very well, that both Samnites and Gauls were furious in the first onset; so that, to prevent their progress, was as much as could well be effected. It was known, too, that in a longer dispute, the spirits of the Samnites gradually flagged, and even the bodies of the Gauls, remarkably ill able to bear labour and heat, became quite relaxed; and although, in their first efforts, they were more than men, yet in their last they were less than women. He, therefore, reserved the strength of his men for the aforesaid reasons, until the time when the enemy were the more likely to be worsted.

Decius, more impetuous, as being in the prime of life, and full flow of spirits, exerted his whole force to the utmost in the first encounter; and thinking the infantry not sufficiently powerful, brought up the cavalry to their aid. Putting himself at the head of a troop of young horsemen, of distinguished bravery, he besought those youths, the flower of the army, to follow him, and charge the enemy; telling them, "they would reap a double share of glory, if the victory should commence on the left wing, and through their means." Twice they compelled the Gallic cavalry to give way. At the second charge they advanced nearer, and were briskly engaged in the midst of the enemy's squadrons, when, by a method of fighting, to which they were utter strangers, they were thrown into dismay. A number of the enemy, mounted on chariots and cars made towards them with such a prodigious clatter from the trampling of the cattle and rolling of wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such tumultuous operations. By this means the victorious cavalry were dispersed, through a panic, and men and horses, in their headlong flight, were tumbled promiscuously on the ground. The same cause produced disorder even in the battalions of the legions: through the impetuosity of the horses, and of the carriages which they dragged through the ranks, many of the soldiers

in the van were trodden or bruised to death; while the Gallic line, as soon as they saw their enemy in confusion, pursued the advantage, nor allowed them time to take breath. Decius, calling aloud, "Whither were they flying, or what hope could they have in running away?" strove to stop them as they turned their backs, but finding that he could not, by any efforts, prevail on them to keep their posts, so thoroughly were they dismayed, he called on the name of his father Publius Decius, and said, "Why do I any longer defer the fate entailed on my family? It is the appointment of destiny to our race, that we should serve as expiatory victims to avert the public danger. I will now offer the legions of the enemy, together with myself, a bloody sacrifice to Earth, and the infernal gods." Having thus said, he commanded Marcus Livius, a pontiff, whom, at his coming out to the field, he had charged not to stir from him, to dictate the form of words in which he was to devote himself, and the legions of the enemy, for the army of the Roman people, the Quirites. He was accordingly devoted with the same imprecations, and in the same habit, in which his father Publius Decius had ordered himself to be devoted at the Vesperis in the Latine war. After this, he added, that "he carried along with him dismay and flight, slaughter and blood, and the wrath of the gods celestial and infernal; that, with the contagious influence of the furies, the ministers of death, whose victim he was, he would infect the standards, the weapons, and the armour of the enemy; and on the same spot, should be accomplished his perdition, and that of the Gauls and Samnites." After uttering these execrations on himself and the foe, he spurred forward his horse, where he saw the line of the Gauls thickest, and, rushing upon the enemy's weapons, met his death.

XXIX. Thenceforward the battle seemed to be fought with a degree of force which could scarcely be deemed human. The Romans, on the loss of their general, a circumstance which, on other occasions, is wont to inspire terror, stopped their flight, and re-assumed spirit to begin the combat afresh. The Gauls, and especially those who encircled the consul's body, as if deprived of reason, cast their javelins at random without execution; some became so stupid as not to think of either fighting or flying: while on the other side, Livius the pontiff, to whom Decius had transferred his lictors, with

orders to act as *proprætor*, cried out aloud, that "the Romans were victorious, being exempted from misfortune by the death of their consul. That the Gauls and Samnites were now the victims of mother Earth, and the infernal gods. That Decius was summoning and dragging to himself the army devoted along with him : and that, among the enemy, all was full of dismay, and the vengeance of all the furies." While the soldiers were busy in restoring the fight, they were joined by Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Marcius, with some reserved troops from the rear, who had been sent by Quintus Fabius, the consul, to the support of his colleague. These, on being made acquainted with the fate of Decius, were powerfully excited to brave every danger in the cause of the public ; but, as the Gauls stood in close order, with their shields formed into a fence before them, little prospect of success appeared from a close fight. The javelins, which lay scattered between the two lines were, therefore, by order of the lieutenants-general, gathered up from the ground, and thrown against the enemy's shields, and as most of them pierced the fence, the long-pointed ones even into their bodies, their compact band was overthrown in such a manner, that a great many, who were unhurt, yet fell as if thunderstruck. Such were the changes of fortune on the left wing of the Romans : on the right, Fabius had at first protracted the time, as we mentioned above, in slow operations ; then, as soon as he perceived that neither the shout, nor the efforts of the enemy, nor the weapons which they threw, retained their former force, ordered the commanders of the cavalry to lead round their squadrons to the wing of the Samnites, and, on receiving the signal, to charge them in flank, with all possible violence, he commanding, at the same time, his infantry to advance leisurely, and drive the enemy from their ground. When he saw that they were unable to maintain their posts, and manifestly spent with fatigue, drawing together all his reserves, whom he had kept fresh for that occasion, he made a brisk push with the legions, giving the cavalry the signal to charge. The Samnites could not support the shock, but fled precipitately to their camp, passing by the line of the Gauls, and leaving their allies to fight by themselves. These stood in close order under cover of their shields : Fabius, therefore, having heard of the death of his colleague, ordered the squadron of Campanian cavalry, in number

about five hundred, to fall back from the ranks, ride round, and attack the rear of the Gallic line, sending the chief strength of the third legion after these, with directions that wherever they should see the enemy's troops disordered by the charge, to follow the blow, and cut them to pieces, before they recovered from their consternation. After vowing a temple, and the spoils which might fall into his hands, to Jupiter the Victorious, he proceeded to the camp of the Samnites, whither all their forces were hurrying in confusion. The gates not affording entrance to such very great numbers, those who were necessarily excluded, attempted resistance just at the foot of the rampart, and here fell Gellius Egnatius the Samnite general. These, however, were soon driven within the rampart ; the camp was taken after a slight dispute ; and at the same time the Gauls were attacked on the rear, and overpowered. There were slain of the enemy on that day twenty-five thousand ; eight thousand were taken prisoners. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood ; for, of the army of Publius Decius, the killed amounted to seven thousand ; of the army of Fabius, to one thousand two hundred. Fabius, after sending persons to search for the body of his colleague, had the spoils of the enemy collected into a heap, and burned them as an offering to Jupiter the Victorious. The consul's body could not be found that day, being hid under a heap of slaughtered Gauls : on the following, it was discovered and brought to the camp, amidst abundance of tears shed by the soldiers. Fabius, discarding all concern about any other business, solemnized the obsequies of his colleague in the most honourable manner, passing on him the high encomiums which he had justly merited.

XXX. During the same period, Cneius Fulvius, *proprætor*, made a progress in Etruria equal to his wishes ; having, besides the immense losses occasioned to the enemy by the devastation of their lands, fought a battle with extraordinary success, in which there were above three thousand of the Perusians and Clusians slain, and twenty military standards taken. The Samnites, in their flight, passing through the Pelignian territory, were attacked on all sides by the Pelignians ; and, out of five thousand, one thousand were killed. The glory of the day in the affair at Sentinum was great, when represented with a strict adherence



to truth: but some have carried their exaggerations of it beyond the bounds of credibility, asserting in their writings, that there were in the army of the enemy forty thousand three hundred and thirty foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand chariots, that is, including the Etrurians and Umbrians, who they affirm were present in the engagement: and, to magnify likewise the number of Roman forces, they add to the consuls another general, Lucius Volumnius, proconsul, and his army to their legions. In the greater number of annals, that victory is ascribed entirely to the two consuls; and it is mentioned that Volumnius was employed at the time in Samnium; that he compelled the army of the Samnites to retreat to mount Tifernus, and not retarded by the difficulty of the ground, routed and dispersed them. Quintus Fabius, leaving Decius's army in Etruria, and leading off his own legions to the city, triumphed over the Gauls, Etrurians, and Samnites; the soldiers attending his triumph. These, in their coarse military verses, celebrated not more highly the conduct of Quintus Fabius, than the illustrious death of Publius Decius; recalling to memory his self-immolated father, of whom the son might be considered as a glorious counterpart, in respect of the issue which resulted both to himself and to the public. Out of the spoil, donations were made to the soldiers of eighty-two *asses*<sup>1</sup> to each, with cloaks and vests; rewards for service, which in that age were far from contemptible.

XXXI. Notwithstanding these successes, peace was not yet established, either among the Samnites or Etrurians: for the latter, at the instigation of the Perusians, resumed their arms, as soon as the consul had withdrawn his troops; and the Samnites made predatory incursions on the territories of Vescia and Formiæ; and also on the other side, on those of Æsernia, and the parts adjacent to the river Vulturinus. Against these was sent the prætor Appius Claudius, with the army formerly commanded by Decius. In Etruria, Fabius, on the revival of hostilities, slew four thousand five hundred of the Perusians, and took prisoners one thousand seven hundred and forty, who were ransomed at the rate of three hundred and ten *asses*<sup>2</sup> each. All the rest of the spoil was bestowed on the soldiers. The legions of the Samnites, though pursued, some by the

prætor Appius Claudius, the others by Lucius Volumnius, proconsul, formed a junction in the country of the Stellatians. Here sat down, on one side, the whole body of the Samnites; and on the other, Appius and Volumnius, with their forces united in one camp. A battle ensued, fought with the most rancorous animosity, one party being spurred on by rage against men who had so often renewed their attacks on them, and the other, now fighting in support of their last remaining hope. The consequence was, that there were slain, of the Samnites, sixteen thousand three hundred, and two thousand and seven hundred made prisoners: of the Roman army fell two thousand and seven hundred. This year, so successful in the operations of war, was filled with distress at home, arising from a pestilence; and with anxiety, occasioned by prodigies: for accounts were received that, in many places, showers of earth had fallen; and that very many persons, in the army of Appius Claudius, had been struck by lightning; in consequence of which, the books were consulted. At this time, Quintus Fabius Gurgus, the consul's son, having prosecuted some matrons before the people on a charge of adultery, built, with the money accruing from the fines which they were condemned to pay, the temple of Venus, which stands near the circus. Still we have the wars of the Samnites on our hands, notwithstanding that the relation of them has already extended, in one continued course, through four volumes of our history, and through a period of forty-six years, from the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Aulus Cornelius, who first carried the Roman arms into Samnium. And, not to recite the long train of disasters sustained by both nations, and the toils which they underwent, which, however, were not sufficient to subdue their stubborn fortitude; even in the course of the last year, the Samnites, with their own forces separately, and also in conjunction with those of other nations, had been defeated by four several armies, and four generals of the Romans, in the territory of Sentinum, in that of the Pelignians, at Tiferinum, and in the plains of the Stellatians; had lost the general of the highest character in their nation; and, now, saw their allies in the war, the Etrurians, the Umbrians, and the Gauls, in the same situation with themselves; but, although destitute of support, either in their own or in foreign resources, yet did they not

desist from the prosecution of hostilities. So indefatigably, though unsuccessfully, did they struggle in defence of liberty ; and, rather than not aspire after victory, chose to subject themselves to repeated defeats. Who does not find his patience tired, either in writing, or reading, of wars of such continuance ; and which yet exhausted not the resolution of the parties concerned ?

XXXII. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were succeeded in the consulship by Lucius Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. [Y. R. 458. B. C. 294.] The province of Samnium was decreed to both in conjunction ; because intelligence had been received that the enemy had embodied three armies ; one for the recovery of Etruria ; another, to repeat their ravages in Campania ; and the third, intended for the defence of their frontiers. Sickness detained Postumius at Rome, but Atilius set out immediately, with design to surprise the enemy in Samnium, before they should have advanced beyond their own borders ; for such had been the directions of the senate. The Romans met the enemy, as if by mutual appointment, at a spot, where, while they could be hindered, not only from ravaging, but even from entering the Samnite territory, they could likewise hinder the Samnites from continuing their progress into the countries which were quiet, and the lands of the allies of the Roman people. While they lay opposite to each other, the Samnites attempted an enterprise, which the Romans, so often their conquerors, would scarcely have ventured to undertake ; such is the rashness inspired by extreme despair : this was an assault on the Roman camp. And although this attempt, so daring, succeeded not in its full extent, yet it was not without considerable effect. There was a fog, which continued through a great part of the day, so thick as to exclude the light of the sun, and to prevent not only the view of any thing beyond the rampart, but scarcely the sight of each other, when they should meet. Depending on this, as a covering to the design, when the sun was but just risen, and the light which he did afford was obscured by the fog, the Samnites came up to an advanced guard of the Romans at one of the gates, who were standing carelessly on their post. In the sudden surprise, these had neither courage nor strength to make resistance : an assault was then made, through the Decuman gate, in the rear of the

camp : the quæstor's quarters in consequence fell into the hands of the enemy, and the quæstor, Lucius Opimius Pansa, was there slain, on which a general alarm was given.

XXXIII. The consul, being roused by the tumult, ordered two cohorts of the allies, a Lucanian and Suessanian, which happened to be nearest, to defend the head-quarters, and led the companies of the legions down the principal street. These ran into the ranks, scarcely taking time to furnish themselves with arms ; and, as they distinguished the enemy by their shout rather than by sight, could form no judgment how great their number might be : thus, ignorant of the circumstances of their situation, they at first drew back, and suffered them to penetrate into the heart of the camp. The consul asking them aloud, whether they intended to let themselves be beaten out beyond the rampart, and then to return again to storm their own camp, they raised the shout, and uniting their efforts, stood their ground ; then made advances, pushed closely on the enemy, and having forced them to give way, drove them back, without suffering their first terror to abate. They soon beat them out beyond the gate and the rampart, but not daring to pursue them, because the darkness of the weather made them apprehend an ambush, and content with having cleared the camp, they retired within the rampart, having killed about three hundred of the enemy. Of the Romans, including the first advanced guard and the watchmen, and those who were surprised at the quæstor's quarters, two hundred and thirty perished. This not unsuccessful piece of boldness raised the spirits of the Samnites so high, that they not only prevented the Romans from marching forward into their country, but even from procuring forage from their lands ; and the foragers were obliged to go back into the quiet country of Sora. News of these events being conveyed to Rome, with circumstances of alarm magnified beyond the truth, Lucius Postumius, the consul, though scarcely recovered from his illness, was obliged to set out for the army. However, before his departure, having issued a proclamation that his troops should assemble at Sora, he dedicated the temple of Victory, for the building of which he had provided, when curule ædile, out of the money arising from fines ; and, joining the army, he advanced from Sora towards Samnium, to the camp of his colleague. The Samnites, despairing of being



able to make head against the two armies, retreated from thence, on which the consuls, separating, proceeded by different routes to lay waste the enemy's lands, and besiege their towns.

XXXIV. Postumius attempted to make himself master of Milonia by storm; but not succeeding with regular works, he carried his approaches to the walls, and thus gained an entrance into the place. The fight was continued in all parts of the city from the fourth hour until near the eighth, and for a great part of the time without any decisive advantage: the Romans at last gained possession of it. Three thousand two hundred of the Samnites were killed, four thousand two hundred taken, besides the other booty. From thence, the legions were conducted to Ferentinum, out of which the inhabitants had, during the night, retired in silence through the opposite gate, with all their effects which could be either carried or driven. The consul, on his arrival, approached the walls with the same order and circumspection, as if he were to meet an opposition here, equal to what he had experienced at Milonia. The troops, perceiving a dead silence in the city, and neither arms nor men on the towers and ramparts, were eager to mount the deserted fortifications; but he restrained them, lest they might fall into a snare. He ordered two divisions of the confederate Latine horse to ride round the walls, and explore every particular. These horsemen observed one gate, and, at a little distance, another on the same side, standing wide open, and on the roads leading from these, every mark of the enemy having fled by night. They then rode up leisurely to the gates, from whence, with perfect safety, they took a clear view through strait streets quite across the city. Returning to the consul, they told him that the city was abandoned by the enemy, as was plain from the solitude, the tracks on their retreat, and the things which, in the confusion of the night, they had left scattered up and down. On hearing this, the consul led round the army to that side of the city which had been examined, and making the troops halt, at a little distance from the gate, gave orders that five horsemen should ride into the city; and, when they should have advanced a good way into it, then, if they saw all things safe, three should remain there, and the other two return to him with intelligence. These

returned and said, that they had proceeded to a part of the town from which they had a view on every side, and that nothing but silence and solitude reigned through the whole extent of it. The consul immediately led some light-armed cohorts into the city; ordering the rest to fortify a camp in the mean time. The soldiers who entered the town, breaking open the doors, found only a few persons, disabled by age or sickness; and such effects remaining as could not, without difficulty, be removed. These were seized as plunder: and it was discovered from the prisoners, that several cities in that quarter had, in pursuance of a concerted plan, resolved on flight; that their townspeople had gone off at the first watch, and they believed that the same solitude would be found in the other places. The accounts of the prisoners proved well-founded, and the consul took possession of the forsaken towns.

XXXV. The other consul, Marcus Atilius, met much greater difficulties in the war wherein he was engaged. As he was marching his legions towards Luceria, to which he was informed that the Samnites had laid siege, the enemy met him on the border of the Lucernian territory. Rage supplied them, on this occasion, with strength to equal his: the battle was stubbornly contested, and the victory doubtful: the issue, however, proved more calamitous on the side of the Romans, both because they were unaccustomed to defeat, and that, on leaving the field, they felt more sensibly, than during the heat of the action, the number of their wounds, and the loss of men which they had sustained. In consequence of this, such dismay spread through the camp, as, had it seized them during the engagement, must have occasioned their overthrow. Even as the matter stood, they spent the night in great anxiety; expecting, every instant, that the camp would be assaulted by the Samnites; or that, at the first light, they should be obliged to stand a battle with an apparently powerful foe. On the side of the enemy, however, although there was less loss, yet there was not greater courage. As soon as day appeared, they wished to retire without any more fighting; but there was only one road, and that leading close by the post of their enemy; so that, on their march, it seemed as if they were advancing directly to attack the camp. The consul, therefore, ordered his men to take arms, and to follow him to the field, giving directions to the lieutenants-generals tri-

bunes, and the prefects of the allies, in what manner he would have each of them act. They all assured him that "they would do every thing in their power, but that the soldiers were quite dejected; that, from their own wounds, and the groans of the dying, they had passed the whole night without sleep; that if the enemy had approached the camp before day, so great were the fears of the troops, that they would certainly have deserted their standards." "Even at present they were restrained from flight merely by shame; and, in other respects, were little better than vanquished men." This account made the consul judge it necessary to go himself among the soldiers, and speak to them; and, as he came up to each, he rebuked them for their backwardness in taking arms, asking, "Why they loitered, and declined the fight? If they did not choose to go out of the camp, the enemy would come into it; and they must fight in defence of their tents, if they would not in defence of the rampart. Men who have arms in their hands, and contend with their foe, have always a chance for victory; but the man who waits naked and unarmed for his enemy, must suffer either death or slavery." To these reprimands and rebukes they answered, that "they were exhausted by the fatigue of the battle of yesterday; and had no strength, nor even blood remaining; and besides, the enemy appeared more numerous than they were the day before." The hostile army, in the meantime, drew near: so that, seeing every thing more distinctly as the distance grew less, they asserted that the Samnites carried with them palisades for a rampart, and evidently intended to draw lines of circumvallation round the camp. On this the consul exclaimed, with great earnestness, against submitting to such an ignominious insult, and from so dastardly a foe. "Shall we even be blockaded," said he, "in our camp, and die, like cowards, by famine, rather than like men, if death must be our lot by the sword? May the gods be propitious! and let every one act in the manner which he thinks becomes him. The consul Marcus Atilius, should no other accompany him, will go out, even alone, to face the enemy; and will fall in the middle of the Samnite battalions, rather than see the Roman camp enclosed by their trenches." The lieutenants-general, tribunes, every troop of the cavalry, and the principal centurions, expressed their

approbation of what the consul said: and the soldiers, at length, overcome by shame, took up their arms, but in a spiritless manner: and in the same spiritless manner, marched out of the camp. In a long train, and that not every where connected, melancholy, and seemingly subdued, they proceeded towards the enemy, whose hopes and courage were not more steady than theirs. As soon therefore as these beheld the Roman standards, a murmur spread from front to rear of the Samnites, that, as they had feared, "the Romans were coming out to oppose their march; that there was no road open, through which they could even fly thence: in that spot they must fall, or else cut down the enemy's ranks, and make their way over their bodies."

XXXVI. They then threw the baggage in a heap in the centre, and, with their arms prepared for battle, formed their line, each falling into his post. There was now but a small interval between the two armies, and both stood, waiting, until the shout and onset should be begun by their adversary. Neither party had any inclination to fight, and they would have separated, and taken different roads, without coming to action, but that each had a dread of being harassed, in retreat, by the other. Notwithstanding this reluctance, an engagement unavoidably began, but without any vigour, and with a shout, which discovered neither resolution, nor steadiness; nor did any move a foot from his post. The Roman consul, then, in order to infuse life into the action, ordered a few troops of cavalry to advance out of the line and charge: most of whom being thrown from their horses and the rest put in disorder, several parties ran forward, both from the Samnite line, to cut off those who had fallen, and from the Roman, to protect their friends: this roused some little spirit in the combatants; but the Samnites had come forward, with more briskness, and also in greater numbers, and the disordered cavalry, with their affrighted horses, trod down their own party who came to their relief. These were, consequently, the first who fled; and their example was followed by the whole Roman line. And now the Samnites had no employment for their arms but against the rear of a flying enemy, when the consul galloping on before his men, to the gate of the camp, posted there a body of cavalry, with orders to treat as an enemy any person who should make towards the rampart, whether



Roman or Samnite; and, placing himself in the way of his men, as they pressed in disorder towards the camp, denounced threats to the same purport: "Whither are you going, soldiers?" said he; "here also you will find both men and arms; nor while your consul lives, shall you pass the rampart, unless you bring victory along with you. Choose therefore which you will prefer, fighting against your own countrymen, or the enemy." While the consul was thus speaking the cavalry gathered round, with the points of their spears presented, and ordered the infantry to return to the fight. Not only his own brave spirit, but fortune likewise aided the consul, for the Samnites did not push their advantage; so that he had time to wheel round his battalions, and to change his front from the camp, towards the enemy. The men then began to encourage each other to return to the battle, while the centurions snatched the ensigns from the standard-bearers and bore them forward, pointing out to the soldiers the enemy, coming on in a hurry, few in number, and with their ranks disordered. At the same time the consul, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and raising his voice so as to be heard at a distance, vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, if the Roman army should rally from flight, and renewing the battle, defeat the Samnites. All divisions of the army, now, united their efforts to restore the fight; officers, soldiers, in short the whole force, both of cavalry and infantry; even the gods seemed to have looked, with favour, on the Roman cause; so speedily was a thorough change effected in the fortune of the day, the enemy being repulsed from the camp, and, in a short time, driven back to the spot where the battle had commenced. Here they stopped, being obstructed by the heap of baggage, lying in their way, where they had thrown it together; and then to prevent the plundering of their effects, formed round them a circle of troops. On this, the infantry assailed them vigorously in front, while the cavalry, wheeling, fell on their rear: and, being thus inclosed between the two, they were all either slain, or taken prisoners. The number of the prisoners was seven thousand three hundred, who were all sent under the yoke; the killed amounted to four thousand eight hundred. The victory was not obtained without loss of blood, on the side of the Romans: when the consul took an account of the loss sustained in the two days, the number returned, of soldiers lost, was seven thousand three hundred. During these trans-

actions in Apulia, the Samnites attempted to seize on Interamna, a Roman colony situated on the Latine road, but, being disappointed in their design on the town, employed their troops in ravaging the country; whence, as they were driving off spoil, consisting of men and cattle, together with the colonists, who fell into their hands, they met the consul returning victorious from Luceria, and not only lost their booty, but marching in disorder, in a long train, and heavily encumbered, were themselves cut to pieces. The consul, by proclamation summoned the owners to Interamna, to claim, and receive again their property, and leaving his army there, went to Rome to hold the elections. On his applying for a triumph, that honour was refused him, because he had lost so many thousands of his soldiers; and also, because he had sent the prisoners under the yoke, without imposing any conditions.

XXXVII. The other consul, Postumius, finding no employment for his arms in Samnium, led over his forces into Etruria, where he, first, laid waste the lands of the Volsinians: and afterwards, on their marching out to protect their country, gained a decisive victory over them, at a small distance from their own walls. Two thousand two hundred of the Etrurians were slain; the rest owed their safety to the city being so near. The army was then led into the territory of Rusella, and there, not only were the lands wasted, but the town itself taken. More than two thousand men were made prisoners, and somewhat less than that number killed on the walls. But a peace, effected that year in Etruria, was still more important and honourable than the war had been. Three very powerful cities of Etruria, (Volsinii, Perugia, and Arretium,) made overtures of peace; and having stipulated with the consul to furnish clothing and corn for his army, on condition of being permitted to send deputies to Rome, they obtained a truce for forty years, and a fine was imposed on each state of five hundred thousand asses,<sup>1</sup> to be immediately paid. Postumius having demanded a triumph from the senate, in consideration of these services, rather in compliance with the general practice, than in hope of succeeding; and finding a strong opposition made to his request; by one party, out of enmity to himself; by another, out of friendship to his colleague, whose disappointment they wished to console

by a similar refusal: some objecting that he had been too dilatory in setting out from the city, others, that he had removed from Samnium into Etruria without orders from the senate; he addressed them thus: "Conscript fathers, I shall not carry my deference to your high dignity to such a length, as to forget that I am consul. The same authority of my office, by which I carried on those wars, shall now, when the wars have been brought to a happy conclusion, Samnium and Etruria being subdued, and victory and peace procured, give me the recompense of a triumph." With these words, he left the senate. On this arose a contention between the plebeian tribunes; some of them declaring that they would protest against his assuming a triumph, in a method unprecedented; others, that they would support his pretensions, in opposition to their colleagues. The affair came at length to be discussed before the people, and the consul being summoned to attend, he first represented, that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, when consuls, and lately Caius Marcus Rutilus, father of the present censor, had triumphed, not by direction of the senate, but by that of the people; and then added, that "he would in like manner have laid his request before the public, had he not known that some plebeian tribunes, the abject slaves of the nobles, would have obstructed their passing an order on it. But he did, and ever should consider the universal approbation, and will of the people, as equivalent to any order whatsoever." Accordingly, on the day following, being supported by three plebeian tribunes, in opposition to the protest of the other seven, and the declared judgment of the senate, he triumphed; and the people paid every honour to the day. In the historical accounts which have been transmitted to us, of this year, there is some confusion; Claudius asserts, that Postumius, after having taken several cities in Samnium, was defeated and put to flight in Apulia; and that, being wounded himself, he was obliged to take refuge with a few attendants in Luceria. That the war in Etruria was conducted by Allius, and that it was he who triumphed. Fabius writes, that the two consuls acted in conjunction, both in Samnium and at Luceria; that an army was led over into Etruria, but by which of the consuls, he has not mentioned; that at Luceria, great numbers were slain on both sides: and that in that battle, the temple of Jupiter Stator

was vowed, the same vow having been formerly made by Romulus, but the fane only, that is, the area appropriated for the temple, had been yet consecrated. However, in this year, the state having been twice bound by the same vow, the senate, to avoid the guilt of neglect in the case of a religious obligation, ordered the fane to be erected.

XXXVIII. In the next year, [Y. R. 459. B. C. 293.] we find a consul, of a character eminently illustrious, distinguished by the united splendour of his own and his father's glory, Lucius Papirius Cursor. We find likewise a war of the utmost importance, and a victory of such consequence, as no man, excepting Lucius Papirius, the consul's father, had ever before obtained over the Samnites. It happened too that these had, with the same care and pains as on the former occasion, decorated their soldiers with the richest suits of splendid armour; and they had, likewise, called in to their aid the power of the gods, having, as it were, initiated the soldiers, by administering the military oath, with the solemn ceremonies practised in ancient times, and levied troops in every part of Samnium, under an ordinance entirely new, that "if any of the younger inhabitants should not attend the meeting, according to the general's proclamation, or shall depart without permission, his head should be devoted to Jupiter." Orders being then issued, for all to assemble at Aquilonia, the whole strength of Samnium came together, amounting to forty thousand men. There a piece of ground, in the middle of the camp, was enclosed with hurdles and boards, and covered overhead with linen cloth, the sides being all of an equal length, about two hundred feet. In this place sacrifices were performed, according to directions read out of an old linen book, the function of priest being discharged by a very old man, called Ovidius Paccius, who affirmed, that he took these ceremonials from the ancient ritual of the Samnites, being the same which their ancestors used, when they had formed the secret design of wresting Capua from the Etrurians. When the sacrifices were finished, the general ordered a beadle to summons every one of those who were most highly distinguished by their birth, or conduct: these were introduced singly. Besides the other exhibitions of the solemnity, calculated to impress the mind with religious awe, there were, in the middle of the covered enclosure, altars erected, about which lay the



victims slain, and the centurions stood around with their swords drawn. The soldier was led up to the altars, rather like a victim, than a performer in the ceremony, and was bound by an oath not to divulge what he should see and hear in that place. He was then compelled to swear, in a dreadful kind of form, containing execrations on his own person, on his family and race, if he did not go to battle, whithersoever the commanders should lead; and, if either he himself fled from the field, or, in case he should see any other flying, did not immediately kill him. At first some, refusing to take the oath, were put to death round the altars, and lying among the carcasses of the victims, served afterwards as a warning to others not to refuse it. When those of the first rank in the Samnite nation had been bound under these solemnities, the general nominated ten, whom he desired to choose each a man, and so to proceed until they should have filled up the number of sixteen thousand. This body, from the covering of the inclosure wherein the nobility had been thus devoted, was called the linen legion. They were furnished with splendid armour, and plumed helmets, to distinguish them above the rest. They had another body of forces, amounting to somewhat more than twenty thousand, not inferior to the linen legion, either in personal appearance, or renown in war, or their equipment for service. This number, composing the main strength of the nation, sat down at Aquilonia.

XXXIX. On the other side, the consuls set out from the city. First, Spurius Carvilius, to whom had been decreed the veteran legions, which Marcus Atilius, the consul of the preceding year, had left in the territory of Interamna, marched at their head into Samnium; and, while the enemy were busied in their superstitious rites, and holding their secret meeting, he took by storm the town of Amitemum. Here were slain about two thousand eight hundred men; and four thousand two hundred and seventy were made prisoners. Papirius, with a new army, which he raised in pursuance of a decree of the senate, made himself master of the city of Duronia. He took fewer prisoners than his colleague; but slew much greater numbers. Rich booty was acquired in both places. The consuls then, overrunning Samnium, and wasting the province of Atinum with particular severity, arrived, Carvilius at Cominium, and Papirius

at Aquilonia, where the main force of the Samnites was posted. Here, for some time, there was neither a cessation of action, nor any vigorous effort. The day was generally spent in provoking the enemy when quiet, and retiring when they offered resistance; in menacing, rather than making an attack. By which practice of beginning, and then desisting, even those trifling skirmishes were continually left without a decision. The other Roman camp was twenty miles distant, and Papirius constantly consulted his absent colleague, on every thing which he undertook, while Carvilius, on his part, directed a greater share of his attention to Aquilonia, where the state of affairs was more critical and important, than to Cominium, which he himself was besieging. When Papirius had fully adjusted every measure, preparatory to an engagement, he despatched a message to his colleague, that "he intended, if the auspices permitted, to fight the enemy on the day following; and that it would be necessary that he (Carvilius) should at the same time make an assault on Cominium, with his utmost force, that the Samnites there might have no leisure to send any succour to Aquilonia." The messenger had the day for the performance of his journey, and he returned in the night, with an answer to the consul, that his colleague approved of the plan. Papirius, on sending off the messenger, had instantly called an assembly, where he descanted, at large, on the nature of the war in general, and on the mode at present adopted by the enemy, in the equipment of their troops, which certainly served for empty parade, but could have no kind of efficacy towards ensuring success; for "plumes," he said, "made no wounds; that a Roman javelin would make its way through shields, however painted and gilt; and that the dazzling whiteness of their tunics would soon be besmeared with blood, when the sword began its work. His father had formerly cut off, to a man, a gold and silver army of the Samnites; and such accoutrements had made a more respectable figure, as spoils, in the hands of the conquering foe, than as arms in those of the wearers. Perhaps it was allotted, by destiny, to his name and family, that they should be opposed in command against the most powerful efforts of the Samnites; and should bring home spoils, of such beauty, as to serve for ornaments to the public places. The immortal gods were certainly on his side, on account of the leagues so often solicited and so

often broken. Besides, if a judgment might be formed of the sentiments of the deities, they never were more hostile to any army, than to that, which, in its abominable sacrifice, was polluted with human blood, mingled with that of cattle; which was in all events devoted to the wrath of the gods, dreading, on the one hand, the deities, who were witnesses to the treaties concluded with the Romans; on the other, the imprecations comprised in the oath which they took, in contradiction to those treaties, which, they had before sworn to observe; an oath which, taken through compulsion, they no doubt abhorred; while they as certainly feared, at once the gods, their countrymen, and their enemies."

XL. The rage of the soldiers was inflamed to a high degree before; but, when the consul had recounted to them all these circumstances, which he had learned from deserters, they then, filled with confidence in both divine and human aid, with one universal shout, demanded the battle; were vexed at the action being deferred; impatient under the intended delay of a day and a night. Papirius, at the third watch, having received his colleague's letter, arose in silence, and sent the keeper of the chickens to take the auspices. There was no one description of men in the camp who felt not earnest wishes for the fight: the highest, and the lowest, were equally eager; the general watching the ardour of the soldiers, and the soldiers that of the general. This universal zeal spread even to those employed in taking the auspices; for the chickens having refused to feed, the auspex ventured to misrepresent the omen, and reported to the consul that they had fed voraciously.<sup>1</sup> The consul, highly pleased, and giving notice that the auspices were excellent, and that they were to act under the direction of the gods, displayed the signal for battle. Just as he was going out to the field, he happened to receive intelligence from a deserter, that twenty cohorts of Samnites, consisting of about four hundred each, had marched towards Cominium. Lest his col-

league should be ignorant of this, he instantly despatched a messenger to him, and then ordered the troops to advance with speed, having already assigned to each division of the army its proper post, and appointed general officers to command them. The command of the right wing he gave to Lucius Volumnius, that of the left to Lucius Scipio, that of the cavalry to the other lieutenant-generals, Caius Cædicius and Caius Trebonius. He ordered Spurius Nautius to take off the panniers from the mules, and to lead them round quickly; together with his auxiliary cohorts, to a rising ground in view; and there to show himself during the heat of the engagement, and to raise as much dust as possible. While the general was employed in making these dispositions, a dispute arose among the keepers of the chickens, about the auspices of the day, which was overheard by some Roman horsemen, who, deeming it a matter too important to be slighted, informed Spurius Papirius, the consul's nephew, that there was a doubt about the auspices. The youth born in an age when that sort of learning, which inculcates contempt of the gods was yet unknown, examined into the affair, that he might not carry an uncertain report to the consul; and then acquainted him with it. His answer was, "I very much applaud your conduct and zeal. However, the person who officiates, in taking the auspices, if he makes a false report, draws on his own head the evil portended; but to the Roman people and their army, the favourable omen reported to me is an excellent auspice." He then commanded the centurions to place the keepers of the chickens in the front of the line. The Samnites likewise brought forward their standards followed by their main body, armed and decorated in such a manner as to afford a magnificent show. Before the shout was raised, or the battle begun, the auspex, wounded by a random cast of a javelin, fell before the standards; which being told to the consul, he said, "The gods are present in the battle; the guilty has met his punishment." While the consul uttered these words, a crow, in front of him, cawed with a clear voice; at which augury, the consul being rejoiced, and affirming, that never had the gods displayed more evident demonstrations of their interposition in human affairs, ordered the charge to be sounded and the shout to be raised.

XLI. A furious conflict now ensued, but

<sup>1</sup> When the auspices were to be taken from the chickens, the keeper threw some of their food upon the ground, in their sight, and opened the door of their coop. If they did not come out; if they came out slowly; if they refused to feed, or eat in a careless manner, the omen was considered as bad. On the contrary, if they rushed out hastily and eat greedily, so that some of the food fell from their mouths on the ground, this was considered as an omen of the best import; it was called *tripudium solistimum*, originally, *terrapivium*, from *terra*, and *pavire*, to strike.



with very unequal spirit in the combatants. The Romans, actuated by anger, hope, and ardour for conquest, rushed to battle, like men thirsting for their enemy's blood; while the Samnites, for the most part reluctantly, as if compelled by necessity and religious dread, rather stood on their defence, than made an attack. Nor would they, familiarized as they were to defeats, through a course of so many years, have withstood the first shout and shock of the Romans, had not another fear, operating still more powerfully in their breasts, restrained them from flying. For they had before their eyes the whole scene exhibited at the secret sacrifice, the armed priests, the promiscuous carnage of men and cattle, the altars besmeared with blood of victims, and of their murdered countrymen, the dreadful curses, and the direful form of imprecation, in which they had called down perdition on their family and race. Thus shackled, they stood in their posts, more afraid of their countrymen, than of the enemy. The Romans pushing the attack with vigour on both the wings, and in the centre, made great havoc among them, deprived, as they were, of the use of their faculties, through their fears of the gods and of men, and making but a faint opposition. The slaughter had now almost reached to their standards, when, on one side, appeared a cloud of dust, as if raised by the marching of a numerous army: this was caused by Spurius Nautius, (some say Octavius Metius,) commander of the auxiliary cohorts: for these took pains to raise a great quantity of dust, the servants of the camp mounted on the mules, dragging boughs of trees, full of leaves, along the ground. Through this obscurity, arms and standards were seen in front, with cavalry closing the rear. This effectually deceived, not only the Samnites, but the Romans themselves: and the consul confirmed the mistake, by calling out among the foremost battalions, so that his voice reached also the enemy, that "Cominium was taken: and that his victorious colleague was approaching;" bidding his men "now make haste to complete the defeat of the enemy, before the other army should come in for a share of the glory." This he said as he sat on horseback, and then ordered the tribunes and centurions to open passages for the horse. He had given previous directions to Trebonius and Cædicius, that, when they should see him waving the point of his spear aloft, they

should cause the cavalry to charge the enemy with all possible violence. Every particular, as previously concerted, was executed with the utmost exactness. The passages were opened between the ranks, the cavalry darted through, and, with the points of their spears presented, rushed into the midst of the enemy's battalions breaking down the ranks wherever they charged. Volumnius and Scipio seconded the blow, and taking advantage of the enemy's disorder, made a terrible slaughter. Thus attacked, the cohorts called *linteata*, regardless of all restraints from either gods or men, quitted their posts in confusion; the sworn, and the unsworn all fled alike, no longer dreading aught but the Romans. The remains of their infantry were driven into the camp at Aquilonia. The nobility and cavalry directed their flight to Bovianum. The horse were pursued by the Roman horse, the infantry by their infantry, while the wings proceeded by different roads; the right, to the camp of the Samnites; the left, to the city. Volumnius succeeded first in gaining possession of the camp. At the city, Scipio met a stouter resistance; not because the conquered troops there had gained courage, but because walls were a better defence against armed men than a rampart. From these, they repelled the enemy with stones. Scipio considering, that unless the business were effected during their first panic, and before they could recover their spirits, the attack of so strong a town would be very tedious, asked his soldiers "if they could endure, without shame, that the other wing should already have taken the camp, and that they, after all their success, should be repulsed from the gates of the city? Then, all of them loudly declaring their determination to the contrary, he himself advanced, the foremost, to the gate, with his shield raised over his head: the rest, following under the like cover of their shields conjoined, burst into the city, and dispersing the Samnites, who were near the gate, took possession of the walls, but were deterred from pushing forward, by the smallness of their number.

XLII. Of these transactions, the consul was for some time ignorant; and was busily employed in calling home his troops, for the sun was now hastening to set, and the approach of night rendered every place suspicious and dangerous, even to victorious troops. Having rode forward a considerable way, he saw on the right, the camp taken, and heard on the left, a shout-

ing in the city, with a confused noise of fighting, and cries of terror. This happened while the fight was going on at the gate. When, on riding up nearer, he saw his own men on the walls, and so much progress already made in the business, pleased at having gained, through the precipitate conduct of a few, an opportunity of striking an important blow, he ordered the troops, whom he had sent back to the camp, to be called out, and to march to the attack of the city: these, having made good their entrance, on the nearest side, proceeded no farther, because night approached. Before morning, however, the town was abandoned by the enemy. There were slain of the Samnites on that day, at Aquilonia, thirty thousand three hundred and forty; taken, three thousand eight hundred and seventy, with ninety-seven military standards. One circumstance, respecting Papirius, is particularly mentioned by historians: that, hardly ever was any general seen in the field with a more cheerful countenance; whether this was owing to his natural temper or to his confidence of success. From the same firmness of mind it proceeded, that he did not suffer himself to be diverted from the war by the dispute about the auspices; and that, in the heat of the battle, when it was customary to vow temples to the immortal gods, he vowed to Jupiter the victorious, that if he should defeat the legions of the enemy, he would, before he tasted of any generous liquor, make a libation to him of a cup of wine and honey. This kind of vow proved acceptable to the gods, and they conducted the auspices to a fortunate issue.

XLIII. Like success attended the operations of the other consul at Cominium: leading up his forces to the walls, at the first dawn, he invested the city on every side, and posted strong guards opposite to the gates to prevent any sally being made. Just as he was giving the signal, the alarming message from his colleague, touching the march of the twenty Samnite cohorts, not only caused him to delay the assault, but obliged him to call off a part of his troops, when they were formed and ready to begin the attack. He ordered Decius Brutus Scæva, a lieutenant-general, with the first legion, twenty auxiliary cohorts, and the cavalry, to go and oppose the said detachment; and in whatever place he should meet the foe, there to stop and detain them, and even to engage in battle, should opportunity offer for it; at all events not to suffer those troops to approach

Cominium. He then commanded the scaling ladders to be brought up to the walls, on every side of the city; and, under a fence of closed shields, advanced to the gates. Thus, at the same moment, the gates were broken open, and the assault made on every part of the rampart. Though the Samnites, before they saw the assailants on the works, had possessed courage enough to oppose their approaches to the city, yet now, when the action was no longer carried on at a distance, nor with missile weapons, but in close fight; and when those, who had with difficulty gained the walls, the most formidable obstruction in their way, fought with ease on equal ground, against an enemy inferior in strength, they all forsook the towers, and strong holds, and were driven to the forum. There for a short time they tried, as a last effort, to retrieve the fortune of the fight; but soon throwing down their arms, surrendered to the consul, to the number of fifteen thousand four hundred; four thousand three hundred and eighty being slain. Such was the course of events at Cominium, such at Aquilonia. In the middle space between the two cities, where a third battle had been expected, the enemy were not found; for, when they were within seven miles of Cominium, they were recalled by their countrymen, and had no part in either battle. At night-fall, when they were now within sight of their camp, and also of Aquilonia, shouts from both places reaching them with equal violence induced them to halt; then, on the side of the camp, which had been set on fire by the Romans, the wide-spreading flames discovered with more certainty the disaster which had happened, and prevented their proceeding any farther. In that same spot, stretched on the ground at random under their arms, they passed the whole night in great inquietude, at one time wishing for, at another dreading the light. At the first dawn, while they were still undetermined to what quarter they should direct their march, they were obliged, (unprotected as they were, either by a rampart or advanced guard,) to betake themselves hastily to flight, being deserted by the cavalry, who had gone in pursuit of the Samnites that left the town in the night. These had likewise been perceived from the walls of Aquilonia, and the legionary cohorts now joined in the pursuit. The foot were unable to overtake them, but the cavalry cut off about two hundred and eighty of their rear



guard. The rest, with less loss than might have been expected in such a disorderly rout, effected their escape to Bovianum, leaving behind, in their consternation, a great quantity of arms, and eighteen military standards.

XLIV. The joy of one Roman army was enhanced by the success of the other. Each consul, with the approbation of his colleague, gave to his soldiers the plunder of the town which he had taken; and, when the houses were cleared, set them on fire. Thus, on the same day, Aquilonia and Cominium were both reduced to ashes. The consuls then united their camps, where mutual congratulations took place between them, and between their soldiers. Here, in the view of the two armies, Carvilius bestowed on his men commendations and presents according to the desert of each; and Papirius likewise, whose troops had been engaged in a variety of actions, in the field, in the assault of the camp, and in that of the city, presented Spurius Nautius, Spurius Papirius, his nephew, four centurions, and a company of the spearmen, with bracelets and crowns of gold—to Nautius, on account of his behaviour at the head of his detachment; when he had terrified the enemy with the appearance as of a numerous army; to young Papirius, on account of his zealous exertions with the cavalry, both in the battle and in harassing the Samnites in their flight by night, when they withdrew privately from Aquilonia; and to the centurions and company of soldiers, because they were the first who gained possession of the gate and wall of that town. All the horsemen he presented with gorgets and bracelets of silver, on account of their distinguished conduct on many occasions. A council was then held to consider of the propriety either of removing both armies, or one at least, out of Samnium; in which it was concluded, that the lower the strength of the Samnites was reduced, the greater perseverance and vigour ought to be used in prosecuting the war, until they should be effectually crushed, that Samnium might be given up to the succeeding consuls in a state of perfect subjection. As there was now no army of the enemy which could be supposed capable of disputing the field, they had only one mode of operations to pursue, the besieging of the cities; by the destruction of which, they might be enabled to enrich their soldiers with the spoil; and, at the same time utterly to destroy the enemy, reduced to the necessity of

fighting, their all being at stake. The consuls, therefore, after despatching letters to the senate and people of Rome, containing accounts of the services which they had performed, led away their legions to different quarters; Papirius going to attack Sepinum, Carvilius to Volana.

XLV. The letters of the consuls were heard with extraordinary exultation, both in the senate-house and in the assembly of the people; and, in a public thanksgiving of four days' continuance, individuals concurred with hearty zeal in celebrating the public rejoicings. These successes were not only important in themselves, but peculiarly seasonable; for it happened, that at the same time, intelligence was brought of the Etrurians being again in arms. The reflection naturally occurred, how it would have been possible, in case any misfortune had happened in Samnium, to have withstood the power of Etruria; which, being encouraged by the conspiracy of the Samnites, and seeing both the consuls, and the whole force of the Romans, employed against them, had made use of that juncture, in which the Romans had so much business on their hands, for reviving hostilities. Ambassadors from the allies being introduced to the senate by the prætor Marcus Atilius, complained that their countries were wasted with fire and sword by the neighbouring Etrurians, because they had refused to revolt from the Romans; and they besought the conscript fathers to protect them from the violence and injustice of their common enemy. The ambassadors were answered, that "the senate would take care that the allies should not repent their fidelity." That the "Etrurians should shortly be in the same situation with the Samnites." Notwithstanding which, the business respecting Etruria would have been prosecuted with less vigour, had not information been received, that the Faliscians likewise, who had for many years lived in friendship with Rome, had united their arms with those of the Etrurians. The consideration of the near vicinity of that nation quickened the attention of the senate; inasmuch that they passed a decree that heralds should be sent to demand satisfaction: which being refused, war was declared against the Faliscians by direction of the senate, and order of the people; and the consuls were desired to determine, by lots, which of them should lead an army from Sam-

nium into Etruria. Carvilius had, in the meantime, taken from the Samnites Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum: Volana after a siege of a few days, Palumbinum the same day on which he approached the walls. At Herculaneum, it is true, the consul had two regular engagements without any decisive advantage on either side, and with greater loss than was suffered by the enemy: but afterwards, encamping on the spot, he shut them up within their works, besieged and took the town. In these three towns were taken or slain ten thousand men, of whom the prisoners composed somewhat the greater part. On the consuls casting lots for the provinces, Etruria fell to Carvilius, to the great satisfaction of the soldiers, who now found the cold too severe in Samnium. Papirius was opposed at Sepinum with a more powerful force: he was obliged to fight often in pitched battles; often, on a march; and often, under the walls of the city, against the irruptions of the enemy; and could neither besiege, nor engage them on equal terms: for the Samnites had not only the advantage of walls, but likewise of numbers of men and arms to protect their walls. At length, after a great deal of fighting, he forced them to submit to a regular siege. This he carried on with vigour, and made himself master of the city by means of his works, and by storm. The rage of the soldiers on this occasion caused the greatest slaughter in the taking of the town; seven thousand four hundred fell by the sword; the number of the prisoners did not amount to three thousand. The spoil, of which the quantity was very great, the whole substance of the Samnites being collected in a few cities, was given up to the soldiers.

XLVI. The snow had now entirely covered the face of the country, and rendered the shelter of houses absolutely necessary: the consul therefore led home his troops from Samnium. While he was on his way to Rome, a triumph was decreed him with universal consent: and accordingly he triumphed while in office, and with extraordinary splendour, considering the circumstances of those times. The cavalry and infantry marched in the procession, adorned with the honourable presents which they had received. Great numbers of crowns were seen, which had been bestowed as marks of honour, for having saved the lives of citizens, or for having first mounted walls or ramparts. People's curiosity was highly gratified

in viewing the spoils of the Samnites, and comparing them, in respect of magnificence and beauty, with those taken by his father, which were well known, from being frequently exhibited as ornaments of the public places. Several prisoners of distinction, renowned for their own exploits, and those of their ancestors, were led in the cavalcade. There were carried in the train two millions and thirty-three thousand *asses* in weight,<sup>1</sup> said to be produced by the sale of the prisoners; and of silver, taken in the cities, one thousand three hundred and thirty pounds. All the silver and brass were lodged in the treasury, no share of this part of the spoil being given to the soldiers. The ill humour which this excited in the commons, was farther exasperated by their being obliged to contribute, by a tax, to the payment of the army; whereas, said they, if the vain parade of conveying the produce of the spoil to the treasury had been disregarded, donations might have been made to the soldiers, and the pay of the army also supplied out of that fund. The temple of Quirinus, vowed by his father when dictator, (for that he himself had vowed it in the heat of battle, I do not find in any ancient writer, nor indeed could he in so short a time have finished the building of it,) the son, in the office of consul, dedicated and adorned with military spoils. And of these, so great was the abundance, that not only that temple and the forum were decorated with them, but quantities were also distributed among the allies and colonies in the neighbourhood, to serve as ornaments to their temples and public places. Immediately after his triumph, he led his army into winter quarters in the territory of Vescia; that country being exposed to the inroads of the Samnites. Meanwhile, in Etruria, the consul Carvilius first laid siege to Troilium, when four hundred and seventy of the richest inhabitants, offering a large sum of money for permission to leave the place, he suffered them to depart: the town, with the remaining multitude, he took by storm. He afterwards reduced, by force, five forts strongly situated, wherein were slain two thousand four hundred of the enemy, and not quite two thousand made prisoners. To the Faliscians, who sued for peace, he granted a truce for a year, on condition of their furnishing an hundred thousand *asses* in weight,<sup>2</sup> and a year's pay for his army. This business com-



pleted, he returned home to a triumph, which, though it was less illustrious than that of his colleague, in respect of his share in the defeat of the Samnites, was yet raised to an equality with it; the whole honour of the campaign in Etruria belonging solely to him. He carried into the treasury three hundred and ninety thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>1</sup> Out of the remainder of the money accruing to the public from the spoils, he contracted for the building of a temple to Fors Fortuna, near to that dedicated to the same goddess by king Servius Tullius; and gave to the soldiers, out of the spoil, one hundred and two *asses*<sup>2</sup> each, and double that sum to the centurions and horsemen: this donative was received the more gratefully, on account of the parsimony of his colleague.

XLVII. The favour of the consul saved from a trial, before the people, Postumius; who on a prosecution being commenced against him by Marcus Scantius, plebeian tribune, evaded, as was said, the jurisdiction of the people, by procuring the commission of lieutenant-general, so that he could only be threatened with it. The year having now elapsed, new plebeian tribunes had come into office; and even these, in consequence of some irregularity in their appointments, had, within five days after, others substituted in their room. The lustrum was closed this year by the censors Publius Cornelius Arvina and Caius Marcius Rutilus. The number of citizens rated was

two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two. These were the twenty-sixth pair of censors since the first institution of that office; and this the nineteenth lustrum. In this year, persons who had been presented with crowns, in consideration of meritorious behaviour in war, first began to wear them at the exhibition of the Roman games. At the same time was first introduced from Greece, the practice of bestowing palms on the victors in the games. In the same year the curule ædiles, who exhibited those games, completed the paving of the road from the temple of Mars to Bovillæ, out of fines levied on the farmers of the public pastures. Lucius Papirius presided at the consular election, and returned consuls Quintus Fabius Gurgus, son of Maximus, and Decius Junius Brutus Scæva. Papirius himself was made prætor. The many prosperous events of this year were scarcely sufficient to afford consolation for one calamity, a pestilence, which afflicted both the city and country, and caused a prodigious mortality. To discover what end, or what remedy, was appointed by the gods for that calamity, the books were consulted, and there it was found that Æsculapius must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus. However, as the consuls had full employment in the wars, no farther steps were taken in that business during this year, except the performing a supplication to Æsculapius, of one day's continuance.

HERE ten books of the original are lost, making a chasm of seventy-five years. The translator's object being to publish the work of Livy only, he has not thought it his duty to attempt to supply this deficiency, either by a compilation of his own, or by transcribing or translating those of others. The reader, however, who may be desirous of knowing the events which took place during this interval, will find as complete a detail of them as can now be given, in Hooke's, or Rollin's Roman History.

The contents of the lost books have been preserved, and are as follows:—

### BOOK XI.

[Y. R. 460. B. C. 292.] Fabius Gurgus, consul, having fought an unsuccessful battle with the Samnites, the senate deliberate about dismissing him from the command of the army; are prevailed upon not to inflict that disgrace upon him, principally by the entreaties of his father, Fabius Maximus, and by his promising

to join the army, and serve, in quality of lieutenant-general, under his son: which promise he performs, and the consul, aided by his counsel and co-operation, obtains a victory over the Samnites, and a triumph in consequence. C. Pontius, the general of the Samnites, led in triumph before the victor's carriage, and afterwards beheaded. A plague at Rome. [Y. R. 461. B. C. 291.] Ambassadors sent to Epidaurus, to bring from thence to Rome the

statue of Æsculapius : a serpent, of itself, goes on board their ship ; supposing it to be the abode of the deity, they bring it with them ; and, upon its quitting their vessel, and swimming to the island in the Tyber, they consecrate there a temple to Æsculapius. L. Postumius, a man of consular rank, condemned for employing the soldiers under his command in working upon his farm. [Y. R. 462. B. C. 290.] Curius Dentatus, consul, having subdued the Samnites, and the rebellious Sabines, triumphs twice during his year of office. [Y. R. 463. B. C. 289.] The colonies of Castrum, Sena, and Adria, established. Three judges of capital crimes now first appointed. A census and lustrum : the number of citizens found to be two hundred and seventy-three thousand. After a long-continued sedition, on account of debts, the commons secede to the Janiculum : [Y. R. 466. B. C. 286.] are brought back by Q. Hortensius, dictator, who dies in office. Successful operations against the Volsinians and Lucanians, [Y. R. 468. B. C. 284.] against whom it was thought expedient to send succour to the Thuringians.

## BOOK XII.

[Y. R. 469. B. C. 283.] The Senonian Gauls having slain the Roman ambassadors, war is declared against them : they cut off L. Cæcilius, prætor, with the legions under his command, [Y. R. 470. B. C. 282.] The Roman fleet plundered by the Tarentines, and the commander slain : ambassadors, sent to complain of this outrage, are ill-treated and sent back ; whereupon war is declared against them. The Samnites revolt ; against whom, together with the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Etruscans, several unsuccessful battles are fought by different generals. [Y. R. 471. B. C. 281.] Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, comes into Italy, to succour the Tarentines. A Campanian legion sent, under the command of Decius Jubellius, to garrison Rhegium, murder the inhabitants, and seize the city.

## BOOK XIII.

[Y. R. 472. B. C. 280.] Valerius Lævinus, consul, engages with Pyrrhus, and is beaten, his soldiers being terrified at the unusual appearance of elephants. After the battle, Pyrrhus, viewing the bodies of the Romans who

were slain, remarks, that they all of them lay with their faces turned towards their enemy. He proceeds towards Rome, ravaging the country as he goes along. C. Fabricius is sent by the senate to treat for the redemption of the prisoners : the king, in vain, attempts to bribe him to desert his country. The prisoners restored without ransom. Cineas, ambassador from Pyrrhus to the senate, demands, as a condition of peace, that the king be admitted into the city of Rome : the consideration of which being deferred to a fuller meeting, Appius Claudius, who, on account of a disorder in his eyes, had not, for a long time, attended in the senate, comes there ; moves, and carries his motion, that the demand of the king be refused. Cneius Domitius, the first plebeian censor, holds a lustrum ; the number of the citizens found to be two hundred and seventy-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two. A second, but undecided battle with Pyrrhus. [Y. R. 473. B. C. 279.] The treaty with the Carthaginians renewed a fourth time. An offer made to Fabricius, the consul, by a traitor to poison Pyrrhus ; [Y. R. 474. B. C. 278.] he sends him to the king, and discovers to him the treasonable offer. Successful operations against the Etruscans, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites.

## BOOK XIV.

Pyrrhus crosses over into Sicily. [Y. R. 475. B. C. 277.] Many prodigies, among which, the statue of Jupiter in the capitol is struck by lightning, and thrown down. [Y. R. 476. B. C. 276.] The head of it afterwards found by the priests. Curius Dentatus, holding a levy, puts up to sale the goods of a person who refuses to answer to his name when called upon. [Y. R. 477. B. C. 275.] Pyrrhus, after his return from Sicily, is defeated, and compelled to quit Italy. The censors hold a lustrum, and find the number of the citizens to be two hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four. [Y. R. 479. B. C. 273.] A treaty of alliance formed with Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Sextilia, a vestal, found guilty of incest, and buried alive. Two colonies sent forth, to Posidonium and Cossa. [Y. R. 480. B. C. 272.] A Carthaginian fleet sails, in aid of the Tarentines, by which act the treaty is violated. Successful operations against the



Lucanians, amnites, and Bruttians. Death of king Pyrrhus.

## BOOK XV.

The Tarentines overcome: peace and freedom granted to them. [Y. R. 481. B. C. 271.] The Campanian legion, which had forcibly taken possession of Rhegium, besieged there; lay down their arms, and are punished with death. Some young men, who had ill-treated the ambassadors from the Apollonians to the senate of Rome, are delivered up to them. Peace granted to the Picentians. [Y. R. 484. B. C. 268.] Two colonies established; one at Ariminum in Picenum, another at Beneventum in Samnium. Silver coin now, for the first time, used by the Roman people. [Y. R. 485. B. C. 267.] The Umbrians and Sallentines subdued. The number of quaestors increased to eight.

## BOOK XVI.

[Y. R. 488. B. C. 264.] Origin and progress of the Carthaginian state. After much debate, the senate resolves to succour the Mammertines against the Carthaginians, and against Hiero, king of Syracuse. Roman cavalry, then, for the first time, cross the sea, and engage, successfully, in battle with Hiero; who solicits and obtains peace. [Y. R. 489. B. C. 263.] A lustrum: the number of the citizens amounts to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four. D. Junius Brutus exhibits the first show of gladiators, in honour of his deceased, father. [Y. R. 490. B. C. 262.] The Æsernian colony established. Successful operations against the Carthaginians and Vulsinians. [Y. R. 491. B. C. 261.]

## BOOK XVII.

[Y. R. 492. B. C. 260.] Cneius Cornelius, consul, surrounded by the Carthaginian fleet; and, being drawn into a conference by a stratagem, is taken. [Y. R. 493. B. C. 259.] C. Duilius, consul, engages with, and vanquishes the Carthaginian fleet; is the first commander to whom a triumph was decreed for a naval victory; in honour of which, he is allowed,

when returning to his habitation at night, to be attended with torches and music. L. Cornelius, consul, fights and subdues the Sardinians and Corsicans, together with Hanno, the Carthaginian general, in the island of Sardinia. [Y. R. 494. B. C. 258.] Atilius Calatinus, consul, drawn into an ambuscade by the Carthaginians, is rescued by the skill and valour of M. Culpurnius, a military tribune, who making a sudden attack upon the enemy, with a body of only three hundred men, turns their whole force against himself. [Y. R. 495. B. C. 257.] Hannibal, the commander of the Carthaginian fleet which was beaten, is put to death by his soldiers.

## BOOK XVIII.

[Y. R. 496. B. C. 256.] Attilius Regulus, consul, having overcome the Carthaginians in a sea-fight, passes over into Africa: kills a serpent of prodigious magnitude, with great loss of his own men. [Y. R. 497. B. C. 255.] The senate, on account of his successful conduct of the war, not appointing him a successor, he writes to them, complaining; and, among other reasons for desiring to be recalled, alleges, that his little farm, being all his subsistence, was going to ruin, owing to the mismanagement of hired stewards. [Y. R. 498. B. C. 254.] A memorable instance of the instability of fortune exhibited in the person of Regulus, who is overcome in battle, and taken prisoner by Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian general. [Y. R. 499. B. C. 253.] The Roman fleet shipwrecked; which disaster entirely reverses the good fortune which had hitherto attended their affairs. Titus Corucanius, the first high priest chosen from among the commons. [Y. R. 500. B. C. 252.] P. Sempronius Sophus, and M. Valerius Maximus, censors, examine into the state of the senate, and expel thirteen of the members of that body. [Y. R. 501. B. C. 251.] They hold a lustrum, and find the number of citizens to be two hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven. [Y. R. 502. B. C. 250.] Regulus being sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to treat for peace, and an exchange of prisoners, binds himself by oath to return if these objects be not attained; dissuades the senate from agreeing to the propositions: and then, in observance of his oath, returning to Carthage, is put to death by torture.

## BOOK XIX.

[Y. R. 502. B. C. 250.] C. Cæcilius Metellus, having been successful in several engagements with the Carthaginians, triumphs with more splendour than had ever yet been seen; thirteen generals of the enemy, and one hundred and twenty elephants, being exhibited in the procession. [Y. R. 503. B. C. 249.] Claudius Pulcher, consul, obstinately persisting, notwithstanding the omens were inauspicious, engages the enemy's fleet, and is beaten; drowns the sacred chickens which would not feed: recalled by the senate, and ordered to nominate a dictator; he appoints Claudius Glicia, one of the lowest of the people, who, notwithstanding his being ordered to abdicate the office, yet attends the celebration of the public games in his dictator's robe. [Y. R. 504. B. C. 248.] Atilius Calatinus, the first dictator who marches with an army out of Italy. An exchange of prisoners with the Carthaginians. Two colonies established at Fregene and Brundisium in the Sallentine territories. [Y. R. 505. B. C. 247.] A lustrum; the citizens numbered amount to two hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two. [Y. R. 506. B. C. 246.] Claudia, the sister of Claudius, who had fought unsuccessfully, in contempt of the auspices, being pressed by the crowd, as she was returning from the game, cries out, *I wish my brother were alive and had again the command of the fleet*: for which offence she is tried and fined. [Y. R. 507. B. C. 245.] Two prætors now first created. Aulus Postumius, consul, being priest of Mars, forcibly detained in the city by Cæcilius Metellus, the high-priest, and not suffered to go forth to war, being obliged by law to attend to the sacred duties of his office. [Y. R. 508. B. C. 244.] After several successful engagements with the Carthaginians, Caius Lutatius, consul, puts an end to the war, [Y. R. 509. B. C. 243.] by

gaining a complete victory over their fleet, at the island of Ægate. The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted to them. [Y. R. 510. B. C. 242.] The temple of Vesta being on fire, the high priest, Cæcilius Metellus, saves the sacred utensils from the flames. [Y. R. 511. B. C. 241.] Two new tribes added, the Veline and Quirine. The Falisci rebel; are subdued in six days.

## BOOK XX.

A colony settled at Spoleto. [Y. R. 512. B. C. 240.] An army sent against the Ligurians; being the first war with that state. The Sardinians and Corsicans rebel, and are subdued. [Y. R. 514. B. C. 238.] Tuccia, a vestal, found guilty of incest. War declared against the Illyrians, who had slain an ambassador; they are subdued and brought to submission. [Y. R. 515. B. C. 237.] The number of prætors increased to four. The Transalpine Gauls make an irruption into Italy: are conquered and put to the sword. [Y. R. 516. B. C. 236.] The Roman army, in conjunction, with the Latines, is said to have amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. [Y. R. 517. B. C. 235.] The Roman army for the first time crosses the Po; fights with and subdues the Insubrian Gauls. [Y. R. 530. B. C. 222.] Claudius Marcellus, consul, having slain Viridomarus, the general of the Insubrian Gauls, carries off the *spolia opima*. [Y. R. 531. B. C. 221.] The Istrians subdued; also the Illyrians, who had rebelled. [Y. R. 532. B. C. 220.] The censors hold a lustrum, in which the number of the citizens is found to be two hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen. The sons of freedmen formed into four tribes; the Esquiline, Palatine, Suburran, and Colline. [Y. R. 533. B. C. 219.] Caius Flaminius, censor, constructs the Flaminian road, and builds the Flaminian circus.





THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXI.

Rise of the second Punic war. Hannibal, contrary to treaty, passes the Iberus : besieges, and, after eight months takes Saguntum. The Romans send an embassy to Carthage ; declare war. Hannibal crosses the Pyrennees ; makes his way through Gaul ; with great fatigue passes the Alps ; defeats the Romans at the river Ticinus, in a fight between the cavalry, in which P. Cornelius Scipio, being wounded, is saved by his son, afterwards Africanus. The Romans again defeated at the Trebia. Cneius Cornelius Scipio defeats the Carthaginian army in Spain, and makes Hanno, their general, prisoner.

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I. To this division of my work, I may be allowed to prefix a remark, which most writers of history make in the beginning of their performance : that I am going to write of a war, the most memorable of all that were ever waged ; that which the Carthaginians, under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people. For never did any other states and nations of more potent strength and resources, engage in a contest of arms : nor did these same nations at any other period, possess so great a degree of power and strength. The arts of war also, practised by each party, were not unknown to the other ; for they had already gained experience of them in the first Punic war ; and so various was the fortune of this war, so great its vicissitudes, that the party, which proved in the end victorious, was, at times, brought the nearest to the brink of ruin. Besides, they exerted, in the dispute, almost a greater degree of rancour than of strength ; the Romans being fired with indignation at a vanquished people presuming to take up arms against their conquerors : the Carthaginians, at the haughtiness and avarice, which they thought the others showed in their imperious exercise of the superiority which they had acquired. We are told

that, when Hamlicar was about to march at the head of an army into Spain, after the conclusion of the war in Africa, and was offering sacrifices on the occasion, his son Hannibal, then about nine years of age, solicited him with boyish fondness, to take him with him, whereupon he brought him up to the altars, and compelled him to lay his hand on the consecrated victims, and swear, that as soon as it should be in his power, he would show himself an enemy to the Roman people. Being a man of high spirit, he was deeply chagrined at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia : for he considered Sicily as given up by his countrymen through too hasty despair of their affairs ; and Sardinia as fraudulently snatched out of their hands by the Romans, during the commotions in Africa, with the additional insult of a farther tribute imposed on them.

II. His mind was filled with these vexatious reflections ; and during the five years that he was employed in Africa, which followed soon after the late pacification with Rome ; and likewise during nine years which he spent in extending the Carthaginian empire in Spain ; his conduct was such as afforded a demonstration that he meditated a more important war



than any in which he was then engaged ; and that, if he had lived some time longer, the Carthaginians would have carried their arms into Italy under the command of Hamilcar, instead of under that of Hannibal. The death of Hamilcar, which happened most seasonably for Rome, and the unripe age of Hannibal, occasioned the delay. During an interval of about eight years, between the demise of the father, and the succession of the son, the command was held by Hasdrubal ; whom, it was said, Hamilcar had first chosen as a favourite, on account of his youthful beauty, and afterwards made him his son-in-law, on account of his eminent abilities ; in consequence of which connection, being supported by the interest of the Barcine faction, which among the army and the commons was exceedingly powerful, he was invested with the command in chief, in opposition to the wishes of the nobles. He prosecuted his designs more frequently by means of policy than of force ; and augmented the Carthaginian power considerably, by forming connections with the petty princes ; and through the friendship of their leaders, conciliating the regard of nations hitherto strangers. But peace proved no security to himself. One of the barbarians, in resentment of his master having been put to death, openly assassinated him, and being seized by the persons present, showed no kind of concern ; nay, even while racked with tortures, as if his exultation, at having effected his purpose, had got the better of the pains, the expression of his countenance was such as carried the appearance of a smile. With this Hasdrubal, who possessed a surprising degree of skill in negotiation, and in attaching foreign nations to his government, the Romans renewed the treaty, on the terms, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of the two empires, and that the Saguntines, who lay between them, should retain their liberty.

III. There was no room to doubt that the suffrages of the commons, in appointing a successor to Hasdrubal, would follow the direction pointed out by the leading voice of the army, who had instantly carried young Hannibal to the head-quarters, and with one consent, and universal acclamations, saluted him general. This youth, when scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, Hasdrubal had invited by letter to come to him ; and that affair had even been taken into deliberation in the senate, where the Barcine faction showed a desire that Hannibal

should be accustomed to military service, and succeed to the power of his father. Hanno, the leader of the other faction, said, " Although what Hasdrubal demands, seems reasonable nevertheless, I do not think that his request ought to be granted ;" and, when all turned their eyes on him, with surprise at this ambiguous declaration, he proceeded, " Hasdrubal thinks that he is justly entitled to demand, from the son, the bloom of youth, which he himself dedicated to the pleasures of Hannibal's father. It would however be exceedingly improper in us, instead of a military education, to initiate our young men in the lewd practices of generals. Are we afraid lest too much time should pass, before the son of Hamilcar acquires notions of the unlimited authority, and the parade of his father's sovereignty : or that after he had, like a king, bequeathed our armies, as hereditary property to his son-in-law, we should not soon enough become slaves to his son ? I am of opinion that this youth should be kept at home, where he will be amenable to the laws and to the magistrates ; and that he should be taught to live on an equal footing with the rest of his countrymen ; otherwise this spark, small as it is, may hereafter kindle a terrible conflagration."

IV. A few, particularly those of the best understanding, concurred in opinion with Hanno ; but, as it generally happens, the more numerous party prevailed over the more judicious. Hannibal was sent into Spain, and on his first arrival attracted the notice of the whole army. The veteran soldiers imagined that Hamilcar was restored to them from the dead, observing in him the same animated look and penetrating eye ; the same expression of countenance, and the same features. Then, such was his behaviour, and so conciliating, that, in a short time, the memory of his father was the least among their inducements to esteem him. Never man possessed a genius so admirably fitted to the discharge of offices so very opposite in their nature as obeying and commanding : so that it was not easy to discern whether he were more beloved by the general or by the soldiers. There was none to whom Hasdrubal rather wished to entrust the command in any case where courage and activity were required ; nor did the soldiers ever feel a greater degree of confidence and boldness under any other commander. With perfect intrepidity in facing danger, he possessed, in the midst of the greatest,

perfect presence of mind. No degree of labour could either fatigue his body or break his spirit: heat and cold he endured with equal firmness: the quantity of his food and drink was limited by natural appetite, not by the pleasure of the palate. His seasons for sleeping and waking were not distinguished by the day, or by the night; whatever time he had to spare, after business was finished, that he gave to repose, which, however, he never courted, either by a soft bed or quiet retirement: he was often seen, covered with a cloak, lying on the ground in the midst of the soldiers on guard, and on the advanced posts. His dress had nothing particular in it, beyond that of others of the same rank; his horses, and his armour, he was always remarkably attentive to: and whether he acted among the horsemen, or the infantry, he was eminently the first of either, the foremost in advancing to the fight, the last who quitted the field of battle. These great virtues were counterbalanced in him by vices of equal magnitude; inhuman cruelty; perfidy beyond that of a Carthaginian; a total disregard of truth, and of every obligation deemed sacred; utterly devoid of all reverence for the gods, he paid no regard to an oath, no respect to religion. Endowed with such a disposition, a compound of virtues and vices, he served under the command of Hasdrubal for three years, during which he omitted no opportunity of improving himself in every particular, both of theory and practice, that could contribute to the forming of an accomplished general.

V. But, from the day on which he was declared chief, he acted as if Italy had been decreed to him as his province, and he had been commissioned to wage war with Rome. Thinking every kind of delay imprudent; lest, while he procrastinated, some unforeseen event might disconcert his design, as had been the case of his father Hamilcar, and afterwards of Hasdrubal, he determined to make war on the Saguntines. And, as an attack on them would certainly call forth the Roman arms, he first led his army into the territory of the Olcadians, a nation beyond the Iberus, which, though within the boundaries of the Carthaginians, was not under their dominion, in order that he might not seem to have aimed directly at the Saguntines, but to be drawn on into a war with them by a series of events, and by advancing progressively, after the conquest of the adjoining nations, from one place to the next contiguous.

Here he took and plundered Althea, the capital of the nation, abounding in wealth; and this struck such terror into the smaller cities, that they submitted to his authority, and to the imposition of a tribute. He then led his army, flushed with a victory, and enriched with spoil, into winter-quarters, at New Carthage. Here, by a liberal distribution of the booty, and by discharging punctually the arrears of pay, he firmly secured the attachment both of his own countrymen and of the allies; and, at the opening of the spring, carried forward his arms against the Vaccæans, from whom he took, by storm, the cities Hermandica and Arbacala. Arbacala, by the bravery and number of its inhabitants, was enabled to make a long defence. Those who escaped from Hermandica, joining the exiles of the Olcadians, the nation subdued in the preceding summer, roused up the Carpetans to arms, and attacking Hannibal, as he was returning from the country of the Vaccæans, not far from the river Tagus, caused a good deal of disorder among his troops, encumbered, as they were, with spoil. Hannibal avoided fighting, and encamped on the bank; then, as soon as the enemy afforded him an opportunity, he crossed the river by a ford, and carried his rampart to such a distance from its edge, as to leave room for the enemy to pass over, resolving to attack them in their passage. He gave orders to his cavalry, that as soon as they should see the troops advance into the water, they should fall upon them: his infantry he formed on the bank, with forty elephants in their front. The Carpetans, with the addition of the Olcadians and Vaccæans, were one hundred thousand in number, an army not to be overcome, if a fight were to take place in an open plain. These being naturally of an impetuous temper, and confiding in their numbers, believing also that the enemy's retreat was owing to fear, and thinking that there was no obstruction to their gaining an immediate victory, but the river lying in their way, they raised the shout, and without orders, rushed from all parts into it, every one by the shortest way. At the same time a vast body of cavalry pushed from the opposite bank into the river, and the conflict began in the middle of the channel, where they fought upon very unequal terms: for in such a situation the infantry, not being secure of footing, and scarcely able to bear up against the stream, were liable to be borne down by any shock



from the horse, though the rider were unarmed, and took no trouble; whereas a horseman having his limbs at liberty, and his horse moving steadily, even through the midst of the eddies, could act either in close fight, or at a distance. Great numbers were swallowed up in the current; while several, whom the eddies of the river carried to the Carthaginians' side, were trodden to death by the elephants. The hindmost, who could more safely retreat to their own bank, attempting to collect themselves into one body, from the various parts to which their terror and confusion had dispersed them, Hannibal, not to give them time to recover from their consternation, marched into the river with his infantry in close order, and obliged them to fly from the bank. Then, by ravaging their country, he reduced the Carpetans also, in a few days, to submission. And now, all parts of the country beyond the Iberus, except the territory of Saguntum, was under subjection to the Carthaginians.

VI. [Y. R. 534. B. C. 218.] As yet there was no war with the Saguntines; but disputes, which seemed likely to be productive of war, were industriously fomented between them and their neighbours, particularly the Turdetans: and the cause of these latter being espoused by the same person, who first sowed the seeds of the contention, and plain proofs appearing, that not an amicable discussion of rights, but open force was the means intended to be used, the Saguntines despatched ambassadors to Rome, to implore assistance in the war, which evidently threatened them with immediate danger. The consuls at Rome, at that time, were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Semprius Longus; who, after having introduced the ambassadors to the senate, proposed, that the state of the public affairs should be taken into consideration. It was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent into Spain, to inspect the affairs of the allies; instructed, if they saw sufficient reason, to warn Hannibal not to molest the Saguntines, the confederates of the Roman people; and also to pass over into Africa, to represent, at Carthage, the complaints of these to the Romans. After this embassy had been decreed, and before it was despatched, news arrived, which no one had expected so soon, that Saguntum was besieged. The business was then laid entire before the senate, as if no resolution had yet passed. Some were of opinion, that the affair should be

prosecuted with vigorous exertions, both by sea and land, and proposed, that Spain and Africa should be decreed as the provinces of the consuls: others wished to direct the whole force of their arms against Spain and Hannibal; while many thought that it would be imprudent to engage hastily in a matter of so great importance, and that they ought to wait for the return of the ambassadors from Spain. This opinion being deemed the safest, was adopted; and the ambassadors, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Bæbius Tamphilus, were on that account despatched, with the greater speed, to Saguntum, to Hannibal; and, in case of his refusing to desist from hostilities, from thence to Carthage, to insist on that general being delivered up, to atone for the infraction of the treaty.

VII. While the Romans were employed in these deliberations and preparatory measures, the siege of Saguntum was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. This city, by far the most wealthy of any beyond the Iberus, stood at the distance of about a mile from the sea: the inhabitants are said to have come originally from the island Zacynthus, and to have been joined by some of the Rutulian race from Ardea. They had grown up, in a very short time, to this high degree of opulence, by means of a profitable commerce, both by sea and land, aided by the increase of their numbers, and their religious observance of compacts, which they carried so far as to maintain the faith of all engagements inviolate, even should they tend to their own destruction. Hannibal marched into their territory in a hostile manner, and, after laying all the country waste, attacked their city on three different sides. There was an angle of the wall which stretched down into a vale, more level and open than the rest of the ground round the place: against this he resolved to carry on his approaches, by means of which the battering ram might be advanced up to the walls. But although the ground, at some distance, was commodious enough for the management of his machines, yet, when the works came to be applied to the purpose intended, it was found to be no way favourable to the design: for it was overlooked by a very large tower; and, as in that part danger was apprehended, the wall had been raised to a height beyond that of the rest. Besides, as the greatest share of fatigue and danger was expected there, it was defended with the greater vigour,

by a band of chosen young men. These, at first with missile weapons, kept the enemy at a distance, nor suffered them to carry on any of their works in safety. In a little time, they not only annoyed them from the tower and the walls, but had the courage to sally out on the works and posts of the enemy; in which tumultuary engagements the Saguntines generally suffered not a greater loss of men than the Carthaginians. But Hannibal himself happening, as he approached the wall with too little caution, to be wounded severely in the forepart of the thigh with a heavy javelin, and falling in consequence of it, such consternation and dismay spread through all the troops around him, that they were very near deserting their posts.

VIII. For some days following, while the general's wound was under cure, there was rather a blockade than a siege. But although, during this time, there was a cessation of arms, there was no intermission of the preparations, either for attack or defence. Hostilities therefore commenced anew, with a greater degree of fury, and the machines began to be advanced, and the battering rams to be brought up, in a greater number of places, so that in some parts there was scarcely room for the works. The Carthaginian had great abundance of men, for it is credibly asserted that the number of his troops was not less than one hundred and fifty thousand: the townsmen were obliged to have recourse to various shifts, in order, with their small numbers, to execute every necessary measure, and to make defence in so many different places; nor were they equal to the task: for now the walls began to be battered with the rams; many parts of them were shattered; in one place, a large breach left the city quite exposed: three towers, in one range, together with the whole extent of wall between them, tumbled down with a prodigious crash, and so great was the breach, that the Carthaginians looked on the town as already taken. On which, as if the wall had served equally for a covering to both parties, the two armies rushed to battle. Here was nothing like the disorderly kind of fight, which usually happens in the assault of towns, each party acting as opportunity offers advantage, but regular lines were formed, as if in the open plain, on the ground between the ruins of the walls and the buildings of the city, which stood at no great distance. Their courage was animated to the

greatest height; on one side by hope, on the other by despair; the Carthaginian believing, that only a few more efforts were necessary to render him master of the place; the Saguntines forming, with their bodies, a bulwark to their native city, instead of its wall, of which it had been stripped; not one of them giving ground, lest he should make room for the enemy to enter by the space. The greater therefore the eagerness of the combatants, and the closer their ranks, the more wounds consequently were received, no weapon falling without taking place, either in their bodies or armour.

IX. The Saguntines had a missile weapon called *Falarica*, with a shaft of fir, round, except towards the end, to which the iron was fastened: this part, which was square, as in a javelin, they bound about with tow and daubed with pitch; it had an iron head three feet long, so that it could pierce both armour and body together: but what rendered it most formidable, was, that being discharged with the middle part on fire, and the motion itself increasing greatly the violence of the flame, though it struck in the shield without penetrating to the body, it compelled the soldier to throw away his arms, and left him, without defence, against succeeding blows. Thus the contest long continued doubtful, and the Saguntines, finding that they succeeded in their defence beyond expectation, assumed new courage; while the Carthaginian, because he had not obtained the victory, deemed himself vanquished. On this, the townsmen suddenly raised a shout, pushed back the enemy among the ruins of the wall, drove them off from that ground, where they were embarrassed and confused, and, in fine, compelled them to fly in disorder to their camp.

X. In the mean time, an account was received, that ambassadors had arrived from Rome; on which Hannibal sent messengers to the sea-shore, to meet them, and to acquaint them, that it would not be safe for them to come to him, through the armed bands of so many savage nations; and besides, that in the present critical state of affairs, he had not leisure to listen to embassies. He saw clearly, that on being refused audience, they would proceed immediately to Carthage: he therefore despatched messengers and letters beforehand, to the leaders of the *Barcine* faction, charging them to prepare their friends to act with spirit,



so that the other party should not be able to carry any point in favour of the Romans. Thus the embassy there proved equally vain and fruitless, excepting that the ambassadors were received and admitted to audience. Hanno alone in opposition to the sentiments of the senate, argued for their complying with the terms of the treaty, and was heard with great attention, rather out of the respect paid to the dignity of his character, than from the approbation of the hearers. He said, that "he had formerly charged and forewarned them, as they regarded the gods, who were guarantees and witnesses of the treaties, not to send the son of Hamilcar to the army. That man's shade," said he, "cannot be quiet, nor any one descended from him; nor will treaties with Rome subsist, as long as one person of the Barcine blood and name exists. As if with intent to supply fuel to fire, ye sent to your armies a young man, burning with ambition for absolute power, to which he could see but one road, the exciting of wars, one after another, in order that he might live surrounded with arms and legions. You yourselves therefore have kindled this fire, with which you are now scorched: your armies now invest aguntum, a place which they are bound by treaty not to molest. In a short time, the Roman legions will invest Carthage, under the guidance of those same deities, who enabled them, in the former war, to take vengeance for the breach of treaties. Are you strangers to that enemy, or to yourselves, or to the fortune attending both nations? When ambassadors came from allies, in favour of allies, your worthy general, disregarding the law of nations, refused them admittance into his camp. Nevertheless, after meeting a repulse, where ambassadors, even from enemies, are not refused access, they have come to you, requiring satisfaction in conformity to treaty. They charge no crime on the public, but demand the author of the transgression, the person answerable for the offence. The more moderation there appears in their proceedings, and the slower they are in beginning a warfare, so much the more unrelenting, I fear, will prove the fury of their resentment, when they do begin. Place before your eyes the islands Ægates and Eryx, the calamities which you underwent, on land and sea, during the space of twenty-four years; nor were your troops then led by this boy, but by his father Hamilcar, another Mars, as those men choose to call

him. But at that time we had not, as we were bound by treaty, avoided interfering with Tarentum in Italy, as, at present, we do not avoid interfering with Saguntum. Wherefore gods and men united to conquer us, and the question which words could not determine, 'Which of the nations had infringed the treaty?' the issue of the war made known, as an equitable judge, giving victory to that side on which justice stood. Hannibal is now raising works and towers against Carthage; with his battering rams he is shaking the walls of Carthage. The ruins of Saguntum (oh! that I may prove a false prophet!) will fall on our heads: and the war commenced against the Saguntines must be maintained against the Romans. Some will say, Shall we then deliver up Hannibal? I am sensible that, with respect to him, my authority is of little weight, on account of the enmity between me and his father. But as I rejoiced at the death of Hamilcar, for this reason, that had he lived, we should now have been embroiled in a war with the Romans, so do I hate and detest this youth as a fury and a firebrand kindling the like troubles at present. Nor is it my opinion, merely, that he ought to be delivered up, as an expiation for the infraction of the treaty, but that, if no one demanded him, he ought to be conveyed away to the remotest coasts, whence no accounts of him, nor even his name, should ever reach us, and where he would not be able to disturb the tranquillity of our state. I therefore move you to resolve, that ambassadors be sent instantly to Rome, to make apologies to the senate; others, to order Hannibal to withdraw the troops from Saguntum, and to deliver up Hannibal himself to the Romans, in conformity to the treaty; and that a third embassy be sent, to make restitution to the Saguntines." When Hanno had ended his discourse, there was no occasion for any one to enter into a debate with him, so entirely were almost the whole body of the senate in the interest of Hannibal, and they blamed him as having spoken with greater acrimony than even Valerius Flaccus, the Roman ambassador. They then answered the Roman ambassadors, that "the war had been begun by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal; and that the Roman people acted unjustly and unwisely, if they preferred the interest of the Saguntines to that of the Carthaginians, their earliest allies."

XI. While the Romans wasted time in send-

ing embassies, Hannibal finding his soldiers fatigued with fighting and labour, gave them a few days to rest, appointing parties to guard the machines and works. This interval he employed in re-animating his men, stimulating them at one time with resentment against the enemy, at another, with hope of rewards; but a declaration which he made in open assembly, that, on the capture of the city, the spoil should be given to the soldiers, inflamed them with such ardour, that, to all appearance, if the signal had been given immediately, no force could have withstood them. The Saguntines, as they had for some days enjoyed a respite from fighting, neither offering nor sustaining an attack, so they had never ceased, either by day or night, to labour hard in raising a new wall, in that part where the city had been left exposed by the fall of the old one. After this, the operations of the besiegers were carried on with much greater briskness than before; nor could the besieged well judge, whilst all places resounded with clamours of various kinds, to what side they should first send succour, or where it was most necessary. Hannibal attended in person, to encourage a party of his men who were bringing forward a moveable tower, which exceeded in height all the fortifications of the city. As soon as this had reached the proper distance, and had, by means of the engines for throwing darts and stones,<sup>1</sup> disposed in all its stories, cleared the ramparts of all who were to defend it, then Hannibal, seizing the opportunity, sent about five hundred Africans, with pick-axes, to undermine the wall at the bottom; which was not a difficult work, because the cement was not strengthened with lime, but the interstices filled up with clay, according to the ancient method of building: other parts of it therefore fell down, together with those to which the strokes were applied, and through these breaches several bands of soldiers made their way into the city. They likewise there took possession of an eminence, and collecting thither a number of engines for throwing darts and stones, surrounded it with a wall, in order that they might have a fortress within the city itself, a citadel, as it were, to command it. The Saguntines on their part raised an inner

wall between that and the division of the city not yet taken. Both sides exerted themselves to the utmost, as well in forming their works as in fighting. But the Saguntines, while they raised defences for the inner parts, contracted daily the dimensions of the city. At the same time the scarcity of all things increased, in consequence of the long continuance of the siege, while their expectations of foreign aid diminished; the Romans, their only hope, being at so great a distance, and all the countries round being in the hands of the enemy. However, their sinking spirits were for a short time revived, by Hannibal setting out suddenly on an expedition against the Oretans and Carpetans. For these two nations, being exasperated by the severity used in levying soldiers, had, by detaining the commissaries, afforded room to apprehend a revolt; but receiving an unexpected check, from the quick exertions of Hannibal, they laid aside the design of insurrection.

XII. In the mean time the vigour of the proceedings against Saguntum was not lessened; Maharbal, son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left in the command, pushing forward the operations with such activity, that neither his countrymen, nor the enemy, perceived that the general was absent. He not only engaged the Saguntines several times with success, but, with three battering rams, demolished a considerable extent of the wall; and when Hannibal arrived, he showed him the whole ground covered with fresh ruins. The troops were therefore led instantly against the citadel, and after a furious engagement, in which great loss was suffered on both sides, part of the citadel was taken. Small as were the hopes of an accommodation, attempts were now made to bring it about by two persons, Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard. Alcon, thinking that he might effect something by submissive entreaties, went over to Hannibal by night, without the knowledge of the Saguntines; but, his piteous supplications making no impression, and the terms offered by his enemy being full of rigour, and such as might be expected from an enraged and not unsuccessful assailant, instead of an advocate, he became a deserter, affirming, that if any man were to mention to the Saguntines an accommodation on such conditions, it would cost him his life;—for it was required that they should make restitution to the Turdetans; should deliver up all their gold and silver; and,

<sup>1</sup> The *ballista* was an engine for throwing large stones; *catapulta*, a smaller one for throwing the *falarion*, and other large kinds of javelins; the *scorpio* was a still smaller one, for throwing darts of lesser size.



departing from the city with single garments, should fix their residence in whatever place the Carthaginian should order. When Alcon declared that his countrymen would never accept these conditions of peace, Alorcus, insisting, that when men's bodily powers are subdued, their spirits are subdued along with them, undertook the office of mediator in the negotiation. Now he was at this time a soldier in the service of Hannibal, but connected with the state of Saguntum in friendship and hospitality. Delivering up his sword to the enemy's guards, he passed openly through the fortifications, and was conducted at his own desire to the prætor. A concourse of people of every kind having immediately assembled about the place, the senate, ordering the rest of the multitude to retire, gave audience to Alorcus, who addressed them in this manner :

XIII. " If your countryman Alcon, after coming to the general to sue for peace, had returned to you with the offered terms, it would have been needless for me to have presented myself before you, as I would not appear in the character either of a deputy from Hannibal, or of a deserter. But since he has remained with your enemy, either through his own fault, or yours : through his own, if he counterfeited fear ; through yours, if he who tells you truth, is to be punished : I have come to you, out of my regard to the ties of hospitality so long subsisting between us, in order that you should not be ignorant that there are certain conditions on which you may obtain both peace and safety. Now, that what I say is merely out of regard to your interest, and not from any other motive, this alone is sufficient proof : that, so long as you were able to maintain a defence by your own strength, or so long as you had hopes of succour from the Romans, I never once mentioned peace to you. Now, when you neither have any hopes from the Romans, nor can rely for defence either on your arms or walls, I bring you terms of peace, rather unavoidable than favourable. And there may be some chance of carrying these into effect, on this condition, that, as Hannibal dictates them, in the spirit of a conqueror, so you should listen to them with the spirit of men conquered ; that you consider not what you part with as loss, for all things are the property of the victor, but whatever is left to you as a gift. The city, a great part of which is already demolished, and almost the whole of

which he has in his possession, he takes from you : your lands he leaves to you, intending to assign a place where you may build a new town : all your gold and silver, both public and private property, he orders to be brought to him : your persons, with those of your wives and children, he preserves inviolate, provided you are satisfied to quit Saguntum, without arms, and with single garments. These are the terms, which, as a victorious enemy, he enjoins : with these, grievous and afflicting as they are, your present circumstances counsel you to comply. I do not indeed despair but that, when the entire disposal of every thing is given up to him, he may remit somewhat of the severity of these articles. But even these, I think it advisable to endure, rather than to suffer yourselves to be slaughtered, and your wives and children seized and dragged into slavery before your eyes, according to the practice of war."

XIV. The surrounding crowd, gradually approaching to hear this discourse, had formed an assembly of the people conjoined with the senate, when the men of principal distinction, withdrawing suddenly before any answer was given, collected all the gold and silver both from their private and public stores, into the forum, threw it into a fire hastily kindled for the purpose, and then most of them cast themselves headlong in after it. While the dismay and confusion, which this occasioned, filled every part of the city, another uproar was heard from the citadel. A tower, after being battered for a long time, had fallen down, and a cohort of the Carthaginians having forced their way through the breach, gave notice to their general, that the place was destitute of the usual guards and watches. Hannibal, judging that such an opportunity admitted no delay, assaulted the city with his whole force, and, instantly, making himself master of it, gave orders that every person of adult age should be put to the sword : which cruel order was proved, however, by the event, to have been in a manner induced by the conduct of the people : for how could mercy have been extended to any of those who, shutting themselves up with their wives and children, burned their houses over their heads ; or who, being in arms, continued fighting until stopped by death ?

XV. In the town was found a vast quantity of spoil, notwithstanding that the greater part

of the effects had been purposely injured by the owners; and that, during the carnage, the rage of the assailants had made hardly any distinction of age, although the prisoners were the property of the soldiers. Nevertheless, it appears, that a large sum of money was brought into the treasury, out of the price of goods exposed to sale, and likewise that a great deal of valuable furniture and apparel was sent to Carthage. Some writers have asserted, that Saguntum was taken in the eighth month from the beginning of the siege; that Hannibal then retired into winter quarters to New Carthage; and that, in the fifth month, after leaving Carthage, he arrived again in Italy. But if these accounts were true, it is impossible that Publius Cornelius, and Tiberius Sempronius could have been the consuls, to whom, in the beginning of the siege, the ambassadors were sent from Saguntum; and who, during their office, fought with Hannibal; the one at the river Ticinus, and both, a considerable time after, at the Trebia. Either all these matters must have been transacted in less time, or Saguntum must have been taken, not first invested, in the beginning of that year wherein Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were consuls. For the battle at the Trebia could not have happened so late as the year of Cn. Servilius and Caius Flaminius; because Caius Flaminius entered on the office of consul at Ariminum, having been elected thereto by Tiberius Sempronius, who, after the engagement at the Trebia, had gone home to Rome for the purpose of electing consuls; and, when the election was finished, returned into winter quarters to the army.

XVI. The ambassadors returning from Carthage, brought information to Rome, that every thing tended to war; and, nearly at the same time, news was received of the destruction of Saguntum. Grief seized the senate, for the deplorable catastrophe of their allies; and shame for not having afforded them succour; rage against the Carthaginians, and such apprehensions for the public safety, as if the enemy were already at their gates; so that their minds being agitated by so many passions at once, their meetings were scenes of confusion and disorder, rather than of deliberation. For "never," they observed, "had an enemy, more enterprising and warlike, entered the field with them; and, at no other period had the Roman power been so unfit for great exertions, or so deficient in practice. As to the Sardinians. Corsicans,

Istrians, and Illyrians, they had only roused the Roman arms, without affording them exercise; and with the Gauls the affair was really a tumult, rather than a war. The Carthaginians, another kind of foe, were crossing the Iberus; trained to arms during twenty-three years, in the most laborious service, among the nations of Spain; accustomed to conquer on every occasion; habituated to the command of a most able general; flushed with their late conquest of a very opulent city, and bringing with them many Spanish states; while the Gauls, ever glad of an opportunity of fighting, would doubtless be engaged in the expedition. War must then be waged against all the world, in the heart of Italy, and under the walls of Rome.

XVII. The provinces had been already named for the consuls, but now they were ordered to cast lots. Spain fell to Cornelius; Africa, with Sicily, to Sempronius. For the service of the year, six legions were decreed, with such a number of the troops of the allies as the consuls should deem requisite, and a fleet as great as could be fitted out. Of Romans were enlisted twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand eight hundred horse; of the allies, forty thousand foot, and four thousand four hundred horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred and twenty ships of five banks of oars, and twenty light galleys. The question was then proposed to the people, whether "they chose and ordered, that war should be declared against the people of Carthage?" This being determined on, a general supplication was performed in the city, and prayers offered to the gods, that the war which the Roman people had ordered might have a prosperous and a happy issue. The forces were divided between the consuls in this manner: to Sempronius were assigned two legions, containing each four thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the allies sixteen thousand foot and one thousand eight hundred horse, with one hundred and sixty ships of war, and twelve light galleys. With these land and sea forces, Tiberius Sempronius was sent to Sicily, with intention that he should cross over to Africa, in case the other consul should be able to prevent the Carthaginians from entering Italy. The army assigned to Cornelius was less numerous, because Lucius Manlius, a prætor, was also sent into Gaul with a considerable force. Of ships, particularly, Cornelius's share was small: sixty quinqueremes only were given him, for it was not



supposed either that the enemy would come by sea, or that he would exert himself on that element. Two Roman legions, with their regular proportion of cavalry, and, of the allies, fourteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, were assigned to him. In this year, the province of Gaul, though not yet threatened with a Carthaginian war, had posted in it two Roman legions, and ten thousand confederate infantry, with one thousand confederate horsemen and six hundred Roman.

XVIII. These adjustments being made, they yet determined, previous to the taking up arms, to send Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Amilius, Caius Licinius, and Quintus Bæbius, men venerable on account of their age, into Africa, as ambassadors, to require an explanation from the Carthaginians, whether Hannibal's attack on Saguntum had been authorised by the state; and, in case they should acknowledge it, as it was expected they would, and defend that proceeding, then to declare war against the people of Carthage. When the Romans arrived at Carthage, and were introduced to an audience of the senate, Quintus Fabius, without enlarging on the subject, simply proposed the question, as stated in their instructions; on which one of the Carthaginians replied, "Romans, in your former embassy, ye were too precipitate, when you demanded that Hannibal should be delivered up, as attacking Saguntum of his own authority. But your present proceeding, though hitherto milder in words, is, in effect, more unreasonably severe. A charge was made against Hannibal, only when you required him to be delivered up: now, you endeavour to extort from us a confession of wrong committed, and at the same instant, as if we had already pleaded guilty, insist on reparation. For myself, I am of opinion that the question proper to be asked is, not whether Saguntum was attacked by public authority, or private, but whether justly or unjustly? For with respect to a subject of our government, whether acting under direction of the public, or not, the right of inquiry, and of punishing, is exclusively our own. The only point, then, that comes into discussion with you, is, whether the act was allowable according to treaty? Wherefore, since you chose that a distinction should be made, between what commanders do by public authority, and what of their own will, there is a treaty subsisting between us, concluded by your consul Lutatius,

in which provision is made for the interest of the allies of both nations. But there is no clause in favour of the Saguntines; for they were not at the time in alliance with you. But then, in the treaty entered into with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are expressly exempted from hostilities. In answer to which, I shall urge nothing but what I have learned from yourselves. For you asserted, that the treaty which your consul Caius Lutatius at first concluded with us, inasmuch as it had been concluded without either the approbation of the senate, or an order of the people, was not binding on you; and that, for that reason, another treaty was ratified anew, under the sanction of public authority. Now, if your treaties do not bind you, unless sanctioned by your approbation and order, surely the treaty of Hasdrubal, under the same circumstances, cannot be binding on us. Cease therefore to talk of Saguntum, and the Iberus; and let your minds at length give birth to the burden of which they are long in labour." The Roman then, folding up a corner of his robe, said, "Here we bring you peace, and war; take which you choose."

Which proposal they answered with an equal degree of peremptory heat, calling out, that "he should give whichever he chose." He then threw open the fold again, and said that "he gave war;" they with one voice replied, that "they accepted it; and, with the same spirit with which they accepted it, would prosecute it."

XIX. This mode of a direct demand, and declaration of war, was deemed suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, even before this time, but more particularly after the destruction of Saguntum, than to enter into a verbal disquisition concerning the construction of treaties. For, if the business were to be decided by argument, what similitude was there between the treaty of Hasdrubal, and the former treaty of Lutatius, which was altered? Since in the latter, there was an express clause inserted, that "it should be valid, provided the people should ratify it;" but in that of Hasdrubal, there was no such provision. Besides, this treaty was confirmed, in such a manner, by the silent approbation of so many years, during the remainder of his life, that even after the death of its author, no alteration was made in it; although, even were the former treaty adhered to, there was sufficient security provided for the Saguntines, by the exempting from hos-

tilities the allies of both nations; there being no distinction made of those who then were, or of those who should afterwards become such. And, as it was evidently allowable to form new alliances, who could think it reasonable, either that persons should not be received into friendship on account of any degree of merit whatever; or, that people, once taken under protection, should not be defended? The only restriction implied was, that the allies of the Carthaginians should not be solicited to revolt, nor, revolting of their own accord, should be received. The Roman ambassadors, in pursuance of their instructions received at Rome, passed over from Carthage into Spain, in order to make application to the several states of that country, and either to engage their alliance, or at least dissuade them from joining the Carthaginians. They came, first, to the Bargusian, by whom being favourably received, because that people were dissatisfied with the Carthaginian government, they roused the spirits of many powers on the farther side of the Iberus, by the flattering prospect of a change in their circumstances. Thence they came to the Volscians, whose answer, which was reported with applause through every part of Spain, deterred the other states from joining in alliance with Rome. For thus the oldest member of their assembly replied, "Where is your sense of shame, Romans, when you require of us, that we should prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians? The Saguntines, who embraced it, have been abandoned by you: in which abandonment you, their allies, have shown greater cruelty, than the Carthaginians, their enemy, showed in destroying them. What I recommend is, that you seek connections where the fatal disaster of Saguntum is unknown. To the states of Spain, the ruins of that city will be both a melancholy, and a forcible warning, not to confide in the faith or alliance of Rome." They were then ordered to depart immediately from the territories of the Volscians; nor did they afterwards meet, from any assembly in Spain, a more favourable reception; therefore, after making a circuit through all parts of that country, without effecting any thing, they passed over into Gaul.

XX. At Ruscino they encountered a new and terrifying spectacle; the people coming in arms to the assembly, for such is the custom of that country. After displaying, in magnificent

terms, the renown and the valour of the Roman people, and the greatness of their empire, they requested that the Gauls would not grant a passage through their cities and territories to the Carthaginian, who was preparing to invade Italy. On which, we are told, such a laugh was raised, accompanied by a general outcry of displeasure, that the magistrates and the elder members of the assembly could, with difficulty, bring the younger men into order, so unreasonable, and so absurd did it appear, to require that the Gauls should not suffer the war to pass into Italy, but should draw it on themselves, and expose their own lands to devastation, instead of those of strangers. When the uproar was at length appeased, an answer was given to the ambassadors, that "the Gauls had never received either any kindness from the Romans, or ill treatment from the Carthaginians, that should induce them to take arms either in favour of the former, or in opposition to the latter. On the contrary, they had been informed, that their countrymen were expelled by the Roman people from the lands, and out of the limits of Italy, compelled to pay tribute, and subjected to indignities of every kind." To the same application, they received the same answer, from the other assemblies in Gaul; nor did they meet any very friendly or peaceable reception until they arrived at Marseilles. There, in consequence of the diligent inquiries made by those faithful allies, they learned, that "the minds of the Gauls had been already prepossessed in favour of Hannibal. But that even he would find that nation not very tractable, so ferocious and ungovernable were their tempers, unless he frequently revived the attachment of their chiefs with gold, of which that people were remarkably greedy." Having thus finished their progress through the states of Spain and Gaul, the ambassadors returned to Rome, shortly after the consuls had set out for their provinces, and found the passions of every man warmly excited by the prospect of the approaching war, for all accounts now agreed, that the Carthaginians had passed the Iberus.

XXI. Hannibal, after taking Saguntum, had retired into winter-quarters, at New Carthage; where, receiving information of all the transactions and resolutions which had passed at Rome, and at Carthage, and that he was not only the leader, but likewise the cause of the war, he determined no longer to defer his measures, and having distributed and sold off the



remains of the plunder, he called together his Spanish troops, and spoke to this effect: "Fellow soldiers, as we have already established peace through all the states of Spain, we must either lay aside our arms, and disband our forces, or transfer the seat of war to other countries. For the way to make these nations flourish, with the blessings not only of peace, but of victory, is, for us to seek glory and spoil from others. Wherefore as we shall soon be called to service, at a distance from home, and as it is uncertain when you may see your families, and whatever is dear to you, if any choose to visit your friends, I now give you leave of absence. At the beginning of spring, I charge you to attend here, in order that, with the aid of the gods, we may enter on a war, from which we shall reap abundance, both of honour and riches." This voluntary offer, of leave to revisit their homes, was highly pleasing to almost every one of them; for they already longed to see their friends, and foresaw a longer absence from them likely to happen. This interval of rest renewed the powers of their minds and bodies, enabling them to encounter every hardship anew; for the fatigues they had already sustained, and those they were soon to undergo, appeared to be little thought of. At the beginning of spring they therefore assembled according to orders. Hannibal, after reviewing the auxiliaries of the several nations, went to Gades, where he fulfilled his vows to Hercules, and bound himself in new ones, in case his future operations should be crowned with success. Then dividing his attention, between the measures requisite for annoying the enemy, and those necessary for defence, lest, while he should be making his way to Italy by land, through Spain and Gaul, Africa should be naked and open to an attack of the Romans from Sicily, he resolved to provide for its security by sending thither a strong body of forces. In the room of these, he required a reinforcement to be sent to him from Africa, consisting chiefly of light armed spearmen. This he did with the view, that the Africans serving in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa, where each would be better soldiers at a distance from home, they might be, as it were, mutual hostages for the good behaviour of each other. He sent into Africa, of infantry, thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty targeteers, with eight hundred and seventy Balearic slingers; of cavalry, collected from many nations, one thou-

sand two hundred. Part of these forces he ordered to garrison Carthage, the rest to be distributed through Africa. At the same time he ordered four thousand chosen young men, whom he had enlisted by means of commissaries sent among the several states, to be conducted to Carthage, both as an addition of strength and as hostages.

XXII. Judging also, that Spain ought not to be neglected, in which opinion he was not the less confirmed by having been acquainted with the tour made through it by the Roman ambassadors, for the purpose of engaging the friendship of the chiefs, he allotted that province to Hasdrubal his brother, a man of talents and activity; and he formed his strength mostly of the troops from Africa, giving him eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty African foot, with three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Balearians. To these bodies of infantry, were added four hundred and fifty horsemen, of the Liby-Phœnicians, a race composed of a mixture of Phœnicians with Africans; of Numidians and Mauritanians, who inhabit the coast of the ocean, to the number of one thousand eight hundred; a small band of the Ilergetans, a Spanish nation, amounting to two hundred horsemen; and, that he might not be destitute of any kind of force, which might be useful in operations on land, fourteen elephants. Also for the defence of the sea-coast, because, as the Romans had been formerly victorious at sea, it was probable that they would now likewise exert themselves in the same line, a fleet was assigned him of fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes; but, of these, only thirty-two quinqueremes, and the five triremes, were fully equipped and manned with rowers. From Gades he returned to Carthage, the winter-quarters of the army. Then putting his troops in motion, he led them by the city of Etovissa to the Iberus, and the sea-coast. Here, as is said, he saw in his sleep a youth of divine figure, who told him that he was sent by Jupiter to guide him into Italy, and bade him therefore to follow, and not turn his eyes to any side. Filled with terror, he followed at first without looking to either side, or behind; but afterwards, out of the curiosity natural to mankind, considering what that could be at which he was forbidden to look back, he could no longer restrain his eyes: he then saw behind him a serpent of immense size, moving along and felling all the bushes and trees in its way: and after it, followed a dark

cloud with loud thundering in the air. On which, asking what was the nature of this great commotion, or what it portended, he was told, that it meant the devastation of Italy: he was then ordered to proceed in his course, and not to inquire farther, but let the decrees of the destinies remain in obscurity.

XXIII. Overjoyed at this vision, he led his forces in three divisions over the Iberus, having sent forward emissaries to conciliate, by presents, the friendship of the Gauls, through whose country the army was to pass, and to explore the passes of the Alps. The number of forces, which he brought across the Iberus, was ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. He then reduced the Illegians, the Bargusians, the Ausetanians, and the province of Lacetania, which lay at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains. The government of all this tract he gave to Hanno, with intention to retain the command of the narrow passes, which lead from Spain into Gaul: and, to enable him to secure the possession of it, assigned him a body of forces, consisting of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. When the army began to pass the defiles of the Pyrenees, and a rumour spread with greater certainty among the barbarians, that the war was intended against the Romans, three thousand of the Carpetan foot left him, and marched away, actuated, as clearly appeared, not so much by dread of the enemy, as of the great length of the march, and the insuperable difficulty of crossing the Alps. Hannibal, considering that to recall or detain them by force, might be attended with dangerous consequences, and wishing to avoid every thing that might irritate the ferocious tempers of the rest, sent home above ten thousand men, in whom he had discovered an equal aversion from the service, pretending that he had in like manner dismissed the Carpetans.

XXIV. Then, lest delay and idleness should inspire them with improper notions, he crossed the Pyrenees, with the rest of his forces, and pitched his camp near the town of Illiberis. The Gauls had been told that his operations were directed against Italy; nevertheless, having been informed, that the Spaniards on the other side of the Pyrenees had been reduced by force, and that a powerful guard was stationed in their country, they were so much alarmed for their liberty, that they hastily took arms, and several states formed a general meeting at

Ruscino. When Hannibal was informed of this, dreading delay more than the power of the enemy, he despatched envoys to their petty princes, acquainting them, that he wished to confer with them in person, and proposing, that either they should come nearer to Illiberis, or that he would advance to Ruscino; that he would with great pleasure, receive them in his camp, or without hesitation go himself to theirs: for he came into Gaul as a friend, not as an enemy; and meant not to draw a sword, if the Gauls would allow him to hold his resolution, until he arrived in Italy. This passed through messengers: but the Gauls immediately removed their camp to Illiberis, came without reluctance to the Carthaginian, and were so highly captivated by his presents, that, with great cheerfulness, they conducted his army, by the town of Ruscino, through their territories.

XXV. In Italy, at this time, nothing farther was known, than that Hannibal had passed the Iberus, intelligence of which had been brought to Rome by ambassadors from Marseilles; yet, as if he had already passed the Alps, the Boians engaging the concurrence of the Insubrians began a revolt, their motive for which, was not their ancient enmity towards the Roman people, but the offence which they lately conceived, at the establishment of the colonies on the Po, at Cremona, and Placentia, within the limits of the Gallic territories. For this reason, they hastily took arms, and making an irruption into those very soils, caused such terror and confusion, that not only the country people, but even the Roman commissioners, who had come thither to distribute the lands, doubting their safety within the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina. These were Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius, and Titus Annius. There is no doubt about the name of Lutatius; but some annals, instead of Caius Servilius and Titus Annius, have Quintus Acilius and Caius Herrenius: others, Publius Cornelius Asina, and Caius Papirius Maso. There is also an uncertainty, whether ambassadors, sent to expostulate with the Boians, suffered violence, or whether the ill treatment was offered to the commissioners, who were measuring out the lands. While they were shut up in Mutina, and the besiegers, a people quite unskilled in the arts of attacking towns, and remarkably lazy with respect to all military operations, lay inactive round the walls, which they could not injure, a pretended treaty for an accommodation



was set on foot, and the ambassadors being invited out to a conference by the chiefs of the Gauls, were, in violation not only of the laws of nations, but of the faith pledged on the occasion, seized and put into confinement, the Gauls declaring, that they would not set them at liberty, unless their own hostages were returned to them. On hearing of this treatment of the ambassadors, and the danger which threatened Mutina and the garrison, Lucius Manlius the prætor, inflamed with resentment, led his army in a rapid march towards that city. The ground, on both sides of the road, was, at that time, covered with woods, and mostly uninhabited. Advancing into these places, without having examined the country, he fell into an ambush, and with much difficulty, after losing a great number of men, made his way into the open plains. Here he fortified a camp, which the Gauls not having resolution to attack, the soldiers recovered their spirits, though it was evident that their strength was greatly diminished: they then began their march anew, and, as long as their road lay through open grounds, the enemy never appeared; but falling on their rear, when the Romans again entered the woods, they threw all into fright and disorder, slew eight hundred soldiers, and carried off six standards. As soon as the troops had got clear of that difficult and troublesome pass, the Gauls ceased from their attempts, and the Romans from their fears, and the latter afterwards, easily securing the safety of their march through the open country, proceeded to Tanetum, a small town on the Po. Here, by means of a temporary fortification, which they raised, the supply of provisions conveyed by the river, and the aid of the Brescian Gauls, they maintained their ground against the numerous forces of the enemy, though daily augmented.

XXVI. When news of this sudden insurrection arrived at Rome, and the senate understood, that, besides the Carthaginian war, they had another to maintain with the Gauls, they ordered Caius Atilius, a prætor, to march to the relief of Manlius with one Roman legion, and five thousand allied troops, enlisted by the consul in the late levy; with these he arrived at Tanetum without any interruption, for the enemy, through fear, had retired at his approach. At the same time Publius Cornelius, having raised a new legion, in the room of that which had been sent with the prætor, set out

from the city with sixty ships of war; and coasting along Etruria, Liguria, and the Salyan mountains, he arrived at Marseilles, and pitched his camp on the nearest mouth of the Rhone, for that river, dividing itself, flows into the sea through several channels; scarcely believing, yet, that Hannibal had passed the Pyrenean mountains. But when he learned that he was, even then, employed in preparations for passing the Rhone, being unable to determine in what place he might meet him, and his men being not yet sufficiently recovered from the fatigue of the voyage, he despatched three hundred chosen horsemen, guided by some Massilians and auxiliary Gauls, to gain information of every particular, and to take a view of the enemy, without danger. Hannibal procuring, either by threats or presents, an unmolested passage through the other provinces, had arrived at the country of the Volcæ, a powerful state. These possessed territories on both sides of the Rhone, but, doubting their ability to repel the Carthaginian from the country on the hither side, in order to avail themselves of the river as a defence, they had transported almost all their effects beyond it, and were ready in arms to defend the opposite bank. Hannibal, by means of presents, prevailed on the inhabitants of the other districts contiguous to the river, and even on those of that very state, who staid in their own habitations, to collect ships from every quarter, and to build others; themselves being desirous that his army should be transported, and their country freed, as speedily as might be, from the burthen of such a multitude of men. A vast number of vessels therefore were brought together, and of boats rudely constructed for the purpose of short passages. Others were formed by hollowing single trees, the Gauls first showing the way; and afterwards the soldiers themselves, encouraged by the plenty of timber, and likewise by the easiness of the work, hastily formed clumsy hulks to transport themselves and their effects, regardless of every other circumstance, provided they would but float, and contain a burthen.

XXVII. And now, when all preparatory measures for effecting their passage were completed, the enemy, on the farther side, threatened them with a violent opposition, covering the whole bank with horse and foot. But in order to remove these out of his way, Hannibal ordered Hanno, son of Bomilcar, to set out by night, at the first watch, with a body of

forces composed mostly of Spaniards, to march up the river to the distance of one day's journey, and then crossing it, as secretly as possible, to lead round his detachment with all expedition, that he might fall on the rear of the enemy when so required. The Gauls, who were given him as guides on the occasion, informed him that, at the distance of about twenty-five miles above that place, the river, spreading round a small island, showed the passage, where it divided itself, broader, and the channel consequently shallower. At this place, felling timber with the utmost haste, they formed rafts for carrying over the men, horses, and other weighty matters. As to the Spaniards, they took no trouble about any means of conveyance, but thrusting their clothes into leathern bags, and resting their bodies on their bucklers placed under them, swam over the river. The rest of the troops, having also passed over on the rafts joined together, they encamped near the river, and being fatigued by the march during the night, and by the labour of the work, refreshed themselves with rest for one day, while their leader was earnestly studying how to execute the design in proper season. Next day, having marched from thence, they made a signal, by raising a smoke, that they had effected their passage, and were not far distant; which being perceived by Hannibal, he gave the signal for his troops to pass the river. The infantry had the boats equipped and in readiness, and a line of larger vessels, with the horsemen, most of whom had their horses swimming near them, crossed higher up the river, in order to break the force of the current, and thereby render the water smooth for the boats passing below. The horses for the most part were led after the sterns by collars, those only excepted which had been put on board the ships bridled and accoutred, in order that the riders, on their landing, might have them ready for instant use.

XXVIII. The Gauls ran down to the bank to meet them, with various kinds of cries and songs, according to their custom, tossing their shields above their heads, and with their right hands brandishing their javelins, notwithstanding the terrible appearance of such a vast number of ships, together with the loud roaring of the river, and the confused clamours of the mariners and soldiers, both of those who were struggling to force their way through the violent current, and of those who, from the opposite

bank, encouraged their friends on their passage. While they saw sufficient cause of terror on their front, a more terrifying shout assailed them from behind, where their camp was taken by Hanno. Presently he came up; so that they were encompassed by dangers; such a vast number of soldiers being brought by the ships, and another army quite unexpected pressing on their rear. The Gauls finding that, instead of being the assailants as they had intended, they were even driven from their own ground, made off hastily through the clearest opening that they could find, and in the utmost confusion dispersed to their several towns. Hannibal now looked with contempt on the boisterous menaces of this people, and bringing over the rest of his forces at leisure, encamped on the spot. Varicus plans, I should suppose, were projected for conveying the elephants across the river, at least the accounts transmitted of the manner in which it was performed are various. Some relate, that being brought all together to the river side, the fiercest among them was provoked to anger by his keeper, who pursued him by swimming as he fled into the water: that this drew down the rest of the herd; and that each, as soon as he lost the bottom, was by the mere force of the stream hurried to the opposite bank. But it is more generally agreed, that they were carried over on rafts; and as this must have appeared the safer method, it is now more easy to believe, that the business was so effected. One raft, of two hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, was extended from the bank into the river, the upper part of it being firmly fastened to the shore with several strong cables, to prevent its being carried down with the stream, and this was covered with a layer of earth, like a bridge, in order that the beasts might, without fear, walk on it as on solid ground. Another raft of equal breadth, and one hundred feet long, was fastened to this, and when the elephants, being driven over the fixed raft as on a road, the females going foremost, passed over to the smaller one which was joined to it, then the ropes with which this latter had been slightly tied were instantly loosed, and it was towed away by several light vessels to the other bank. When the first were thus landed, it was brought back for the rest. As long as they were driven, as it were, on a bridge connected with the land, they showed no signs of fear: they first began to be frightened when, the raft being set loose, they were sepa-



rated from the rest, and dragged into the deep: then pressing close on one another, as those on the outside drew back from the water, they occasioned a good deal of disorder; but terrified by seeing the water on every side of them, they soon became quiet. Some indeed, becoming outrageous, tumbled into the river, but their own weight rendering them steady, though their riders were thrown off, they cautiously searched out the shallow parts, and came safe to land.

XXIX. While thus employed in transporting the elephants, Hannibal had despatched five hundred Numidian horsemen towards the camp of the Romans, to discover where they lay, what were their numbers, and, if possible, what their designs. This detachment of cavalry was met by the three hundred Roman horse, sent, as mentioned above, from the mouth of the Rhone. A battle ensued, more furious than common, between such small numbers: for, besides many wounds, there was a great loss of lives, nearly equal on both sides, and it was not until the Romans were thoroughly fatigued, that the dismay and flight of the Numidians yielded them the victory. On the side of the conquerors fell one hundred and sixty, not all Romans however, some of them being Gauls; and of the vanquished more than two hundred. As this prelude, and omen likewise of the war, portended to the Romans a favourable issue on the whole, so did it a victory not unbloody, nor to be purchased without a dangerous struggle. After this action, the parties returned to their respective commanders. On the one hand, Scipio could form no determination, farther than to regulate his measures by the designs and proceedings of the enemy; and, on the other, Hannibal was in doubt, whether he should continue his march into Italy without intermission, or come to an engagement with the first Roman army that threw itself in his way. However, from the thoughts of an immediate engagement he was diverted by the arrival of ambassadors from the Boians, and of a chieftain called Magalus, who, assuring him that they would be his guides on the march, and companions in the dangers, recommended him to reserve the first essay of his entire force for the attack of Italy, and not previously, to hazard any diminution of his strength. His troops feared indeed the enemy, for the memory of the former war was not yet obliterated; but much more did they dread the extreme difficulty of the march, and the passage

of the Alps, a matter exceedingly formidable, at least by report, and to people unacquainted with those mountains.

XXX. Hannibal, therefore, as soon as he had determined to proceed forward, and direct his operations against Italy, called an assembly of the soldiers, and endeavoured, by the different methods of reproof and exhortation, to mould their minds to his purpose. "He wondered," he said, "what sudden terror could have taken possession of breasts hitherto always undaunted. During such a number of years in which they carried arms, they were constantly victorious; nor had left Spain until all the nations and countries comprehended between the two opposite seas were under subjection to Carthage. Then, seized with indignation at the Roman people demanding that every person, concerned in the siege of Saguntum, should be delivered into their hands as criminals, they had passed the Iberus, resolved to exterminate the Roman race, and to set the world at liberty. No one, at that time, thought the march too long, though they were to continue it from the setting place of the sun to that of its rising. Now, when they saw by far the greater part of the journey accomplished, after conquering the obstructions of the Pyrenean forests, in the midst of the fiercest nations; after effecting their passage over so great a river as the Rhone, in the face of so many thousands of Gauls opposing them; nay, when they had the Alps within view, the other side of which was a part of Italy; just in the gates of their enemy's country, they grew weary and halted—Was it that they conceived the Alps to be any thing more than high mountains? Suppose them higher than the summits of the Pyrenees: surely no part of the earth reached to the heaven, nor was of a height insuperable by mankind. These eminences in reality were inhabited, cultivated, produced and supported animals. Were they passable by small parties, and impassable by armies? Those very ambassadors, before their eyes, had not been carried aloft on wings over the Alps. Neither had their ancestors been natives of the soil, but settlers, who came from other countries into Italy, and who crossed with safety those same hills, often in vast bodies, with their wives and children, as other colonies emigrate. To a soldier carrying nothing with him but the implements of war, what could be impassable or insuperable? In order to gain possession of Sagun-

tum, what toils, what dangers did they not undergo, for the space of eight months? Now, when their object was Rome, the capital of the world, what difficulty or danger should be deemed capable of retarding the enterprise? The Gauls formerly made themselves masters of those very places which the Carthaginians despaired of approaching. Either, therefore, they must yield the superiority in spirit and courage to that nation, which, during a short time past, they had so frequently overcome; or they must look for the termination of their march, in the field lying between the Tiber and the walls of Rome."

XXXI. When by these exhortations he had re-animated their courage, he ordered them to take refreshment, and prepare for a march. On the following day, he proceeded upwards along the bank of the Rhone, directing his route towards the interior parts of Gaul; not because that was the more direct road to the Alps, but because he thought that the farther he withdrew from the sea, the less probability there would be of his meeting with the Romans, with whom he did not intend to come to battle, until he should have arrived in Italy. After a march of four days, he came to the Island. Here the rivers Isara and Rhone, which run down from different parts of the Alps, after encompassing a pretty large tract of ground, unite their streams, and the plain enclosed between them is called the Island. The adjacent country is inhabited by the Allobroges, a nation, even in those times, inferior to none in Gaul in power and reputation, but at that juncture weakened by discord. Two brothers disputed the sovereignty. The elder, who had been invested with the government, by name Brancus, was dispossessed by the younger brother, and a combination of the younger men; on which side, though there was less justice, there was more strength. Most opportunely, the parties in this dissension referred their pretensions to the judgment of Hannibal, who being appointed arbitrator of the disputed sovereignty, gave a decision agreeable to the sense of the senate, and of the principal men in the state: that the government should be restored to the elder. In requital of which favour, he was assisted with a supply of provisions, and plenty of all kind of necessaries, particularly of clothing, which the terrible accounts of the cold of the higher regions made it necessary to provide. After settling the disputes of the Allobroges,

I.

though now bent on proceeding to the Alps, he took not the direct road thither, but turned to the left into the country of the Tricastines; thence, through the extreme boundaries of the Vocontian territory, he advanced into that of the Tricorians, meeting no obstruction until he came to the river Druentia. This also, deriving its source from the Alps, is, of all the rivers in Gaul, the most difficult to pass; for, though conveying a vast body of water, it admits not the use of ships; because, being confined by no banks, it flows in several, and not always the same channels, continually forming new shallows, and new whirlpools, so that a person is in danger of missing his way; and besides, rolling down loose gritty stones, the footing is unsteady. Happening too, at that time, to be swelled by rains, it caused the utmost disorder among the troops on their passage, and which was much increased by their own hurry and confused clamours.

XXXII. In about three days after Hannibal's moving from the bank of the Rhone, the consul Publius Cornelius had come with his forces, in order of battle, to the camp of the enemy, intending to fight them without delay. But finding the fortifications abandoned, and concluding that, as they had got the start of him so far, it would be difficult to overtake them, he marched back to the sea, where his ships lay; for he judged that he might thus with greater ease and safety meet Hannibal on his descent from the Alps. However, not to leave Spain, the province which the lots had assigned to his care, destitute of the aid of Roman troops, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio, with the greater part of his forces, against Hasdrubal, with the expectation not merely of protecting old allies, and acquiring new, but of driving him out of Spain. He himself, with a very small force, repaired to Genoa, proposing, with the army which was stationed on the Po, to provide for the security of Italy. From the Druentia, Hannibal, passing through a tract in general level, without any molestation from the Gauls inhabiting those regions, arrived at the Alps. And now, notwithstanding that the men had already conceived notions of the scene from report, which, in cases capable of misrepresentation, generally goes beyond the truth, yet the present view exhibited such objects as renewed all their terrors; the height of the mountains, the snows almost touching the sky, the wretched huts standing on the cliffs, the cattle and



beasts shivering with the cold, the people squalid and in uncouth dress, all things, in short, animate and inanimate, stiffened with frost, besides other circumstances more shocking to the sight than can be represented in words. As they marched up the first acclivities, they beheld the eminences which hung over them covered with parties of the mountaineers, who, if they had posted themselves in the valleys out of view, and, rushing out suddenly, had made an unexpected attack, must have occasioned the most terrible havoc and dismay. Hannibal commanded the troops to halt, and having discovered from some Gauls, whom he sent forward to examine the ground, that there was no passage on that side, encamped in the widest valley which he could find, where the whole circuit around consisted of rocks and precipices. Then, having gained intelligence by means of the same Gauls, (who differed not much from the others in language or manners, and who had entered into conversation with them,) that the pass was blocked up only by day, and that, at night, they separated to their several dwellings, he advanced at the first dawn to the eminences, as if with the design of forcing his way through the pass. This feint he carried on through the whole day, his men at the same time fortifying a camp in the spot where they were drawn up. As soon as he understood that the mountaineers had retired from the heights, and withdrawn their guards, he made, for a show, a greater number of fires than was proportioned to the troops who remained in the camp, and, leaving behind the baggage, with the cavalry and the greatest part of the infantry, he himself, with a light-armed band, composed of the most daring men in the army, pushed rapidly through the pass, and took post on those very eminences of which the enemy had been in possession.

XXXIII. At the first dawn of the next day, the rest of the army began to march forward. By this time the mountaineers, on a signal given, were coming together out of their fortresses to their usual station; when, on a sudden, they perceived a part of the enemy over their heads in possession of their own strong post, and the rest passing along the road. Both these circumstances striking them at once, they were for some time incapable of thought, or of turning their eyes to any other object. Afterwards, when they observed the confusion in the pass, and that the body of the enemy

was disordered on their march, by the hurry among themselves, and particularly by the unruliness of the affrighted horses, it was imagined that, to augment in any degree the terror under which they already laboured, were effectually to destroy them; they therefore ran down the rocks in an oblique direction through pathless and circuitous ways, which habitual practice rendered easy to them: and now the Carthaginians had to contend at once, with the Gauls and the disadvantage of the ground; and there was a greater struggle among themselves than with the enemy, for every one strove to get first out of danger. But the greatest disorder was occasioned by the horses, which affrighted at the dissonant clamours, multiplied by the echoes from the woods and valleys, became nearly unmanageable; and when they happened to receive a stroke or a wound, grew so unruly as to overthrow numbers of men, and heaps of baggage of all sorts; and as there were abrupt precipices on each side of the pass, their violence cast down many to an immense depth, so that the fall of such great masses produced a dreadful effect. Although these were shocking sights to Hannibal, yet he kept his place for a while, and restrained the troops that were with him, lest he should increase the tumult and confusion. Afterwards, seeing the line of the army broken, and that there was danger of their being wholly deprived of their baggage, in which case the effecting of their passage would answer no purpose, he hastened down from the higher ground; and while, by the mere rapidity of his motion, he dispersed the forces of the enemy, he at the same time increased the confusion among his own. But this, when the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers, was instantly remedied, and the whole army was soon brought through the pass not only without disturbance, but almost without noise. He then seized a fort, which was the capital of that district, and several villages that lay round it, and fed his army for three days with cattle taken from the fugitives. During these three days, as he was not incommoded by the mountaineers, nor much by the nature of the ground, he made a considerable progress in his march.

XXXIV. He then reached the territory of another state, which was thickly inhabited for a mountainous country: there, he was very near suffering a defeat, not by open force, but by his own arts, treachery, and ambush. Some

men of advanced age, governors of their forts, came to the Carthaginian as ambassadors, with humble representations, that "as the calamities of others had afforded them a profitable lesson, they wished to make trial of the friendship, rather than of the strength of the Carthaginians. That they were, therefore, resolved to yield obedience to all his commands, and requested him to accept of provisions and guides on his march, and hostages to insure the performance of their engagements." Hannibal neither hastily crediting, nor yet slighting their offers, lest, if rejected, they might declare openly against him, after returning a favourable answer, accepted the hostages, and made use of the provisions which they had, of their own accord, brought to the road: but followed the guides, not as through a friendly country, but with the strictest order in his march. The elephants and cavalry composed the van, and he himself followed with the main body of the infantry, carefully inspecting every particular. On their coming into a road narrower than the rest, confined, on one side, by an impending hill, the barbarians rising up on all sides from places where they had lain concealed, assailed them in front and rear, in close and in distant fight, rolling down also huge rocks on the troops. The most numerous body pressed on the rear. There, the main force of infantry was ready to oppose them; but had not that been very strong, it must undoubtedly, in such a difficult pass, have suffered very great loss; even as the case stood, it was brought to the extremity of danger, and almost to destruction. For whilst Hannibal hesitated to lead down his horsemen into the narrow road, though he had left no kind of support at the back of the infantry, the mountaineers, rushing across and breaking through between the two divisions of the army, took possession of the pass, and Hannibal spent one night separated from his cavalry and baggage.

XXXV. Next day, the barbarians having relaxed the violence of their attacks in the centre, the troops were re-united, and carried through the defile, but not without loss; the destruction, however, was greater among the beasts of burthen than among the men. Thenceforward, the mountaineers made their attacks in smaller parties, more like robbers than an army; at one time, on the van; at another, on the rear; just as the ground happened to afford

them an advantage, or as stragglers advancing before the rest, or staying behind, gave them an opportunity. As the driving the elephants through the narrow roads, even with all the haste that could be made, occasioned much loss of time, so wherever they went, they effectually secured the troops from the enemy, who being unaccustomed to such creatures, dared not to come near them. On the ninth day the army completed the ascent to the summit of the Alps, mostly through pathless tracts and wrong roads, into which they had been led, either by the treachery of their guides, or, when these were not trusted, rashly, on the strength of their own conjectures, following the courses of the valleys. On the summit they remained encamped two days, in order to refresh the soldiers, who were spent with toil and fighting; and, in this time, several of the beasts, which had fallen among the rocks, following the tracts of the army, came into the camp. Tired as the troops were, of struggling so long with hardships, they found their terrors very much increased by a fall of snow, this being the season of the setting of the constellation of the Pleiades.<sup>1</sup> The troops were put in motion with the first light; and as they marched slowly over ground which was entirely covered with snow, dejection and despair being strongly marked in every face, Hannibal went forward before the standards, and ordering the soldiers to halt on a projecting eminence, from which there was a wide extended prospect, made them take a view of Italy, and of the plains about the Po, stretching along the foot of the mountains; then told them, that "they were now scaling the walls, not only of Italy, but of the city of Rome. That all the rest would be plain and smooth, and after one, or, at most, a second battle, they would have the bulwark and capital of Italy in their power and disposal." The army then began to advance, the enemy now desisting from any farther attempts on them, except by trifling parties for pillaging, as opportunity offered. But the way was much more difficult than it had been in the ascent; the declivity, on the Italian side of the Alps, being, in most places, shorter, and consequently more perpendicular; while the whole way was narrow and slippery, so that the soldiers could not prevent their feet from sliding, nor, if they made the least false step, could they, on falling, stop themselves in

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of November.



the place ; and thus men and beasts tumbled promiscuously over one another.

XXXVI. They then came to a ridge much narrower than the others, and composed of rock so upright, that a light-armed soldier, making the trial, could with much difficulty, by laying hold of bushes and roots, which appeared here and there, accomplish the descent. In this place the precipice, originally great, had by a late falling away of the earth, been increased to the depth of at least one thousand feet. Here the cavalry stopped, as if at the end of their journey, and Hannibal, wondering what could be the cause of the troops halting, was told that the cliff was impassable. Then going up himself to view the place, it seemed clear to him that he must lead his army in a circuit, though ever so great, and through tracts never trodden before. That way, however, was found to be impracticable. The old snow, indeed, had become hard, and being covered with the new of a moderate depth, the men found good footing as they walked through it ; but when that was dissolved by the treading of so many men and beasts, they then trod on the naked ice below. Here they were much impeded, because the foot could take no hold on the smooth ice, and was besides the more apt to slip, on account of the declivity of the ground ; and whenever they attempted to rise, either by aid of the hands or knees, these slipping, they fell again ; add to this, that there were neither stumps nor roots within reach, on which they could lean for support ; so that they wallowed in the melted snow on one entire surface of slippery ice. This the cattle sometimes penetrated as soon as their feet reached the lower bed, and sometimes, when they lost their footing, by striking more strongly with their hoofs in striving to keep themselves up, they broke it entirely through ; so that the greatest part of them, as if caught in traps, stuck fast in the hard and deep ice.

XXXVII. At length, after men and beasts were heartily fatigued to no purpose, they fixed a camp on the summit, having with very great difficulty cleared even the ground which that required, so great was the quantity of snow to be dug and carried off. The soldiers were then employed to make a way down the steep, through which alone it was possible to effect a passage ; and, as it was necessary to break the mass, they felled and lopped a number of huge trees which stood near ; which they raised into

a vast pile, and as soon as a smart wind arose, to forward the kindling of it, set it on fire, and then, when the stone was violently heated, made it crumble to pieces by pouring on vinegar. When the rock was thus disjointed, by the power of the heat, they opened a way through it with iron instruments, and inclined the descents in such a manner, that not only the beasts of burthen, but even the elephants, could be brought down. Four days were spent about this rock, during which the cattle were nearly destroyed by hunger ; for the summits are, for the most part, bare, and whatever little pasture there might have been was covered by the snow. In the lower parts are valleys and some hills, which, enjoying the benefit of the sun, with rivulets at the side of the woods, are better suited to become the residence of human beings. There the horses were sent out to pasture, and the men, fatigued with their labour on the road, allowed to rest for three days. They then descended into the plains, where the climate, and likewise the temper of the inhabitants, were of a still milder cast.

XXXVIII. In this manner, as nearly as can be ascertained, they accomplished their passage into Italy, in the fifth month, according to some authors, after leaving New Carthage, having spent fifteen days in crossing the Alps. As to what number of forces Hannibal had when he arrived in Italy, writers by no means agree. Those who state them at the highest make them amount to one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse ; while those who state them at the lowest say twenty thousand foot, and six of horse. The authority of Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who writes that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would have the greatest weight with me, did he not confound the number, by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. He says that, including these, (who it is more probable, however, flocked to him afterwards, and so some writers assert,) there were brought into Italy eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse ; and that he heard from Hannibal himself, that from the time of his passing the Rhone, he had lost thirty-six thousand men, together with a vast number of horses, and other beasts of burthen, before he left the country of the Taurinians, the next nation to the Gauls, as he went down into Italy. That he came through this state, is agreed on by all. I am therefore the more surprised at its remaining doubtful by what

road he crossed the Alps; and that the opinion should commonly prevail, that he passed over the Pennine hill, and that from thence that summit of these mountains got its name. Coelius says, that he passed over the hill of Cremona. Either of these passes would have led him, not into the territory of the Taurinians, but through that of the mountaineers, called Salassians, to the Libuan Gauls. Nor is it probable that those roads into hither Gaul should, at that time, have been open: those, especially, which lead to the Pennine hill would have been blocked up by nations half German. And besides, if the assertions of the inhabitants be admitted as an argument of any weight, it must be allowed, that the Veragrians, the inhabitants of that very hill, deny that the name was given to these mountains from any passage of the Carthaginians, and allege that it was so named from a person, called by the mountaineers Peninus, worshipped as a divinity on the highest top.

XXXIX. Hannibal had now a favourable opportunity for commencing his operations; the Taurinians, the nation lying nearest in his way, being at war with the Insubrians. But he could not put his forces under arms to assist either party, because they now felt most sensibly, while endeavouring to remedy them, the maladies which they had before contracted. For rest after toil, plenty after scarcity, and care of their persons after a course of filth and nastiness, produced little effect in the various disorders of those whose bodies were grown squalid and filthy to a degree of brutality. This consideration induced the consul Publius Cornelius, as soon as he arrived with the fleet at Pisæ, though the army which he received from Manlius and Atilius was composed of raw troops, and dispirited by their late disgraces, to hasten to the Po, in order that he might engage the enemy before he should recover his vigour. But by the time the consul came to Placentia, Hannibal had moved from his post, and had taken by storm a city of the Taurinians, the metropolis of the nation, because it had refused an offer of his friendship; and he would have drawn over to his side, either by their fears or inclinations, all the Gauls dwelling near the Po, had not the sudden arrival of Cornelius, when they were watching for an occasion of revolting, put a stop to their measures. Hannibal likewise advanced towards them from the country of the

Taurinians, in expectation that, as they had not yet resolved what party they would join, his presence might determine them in his favour. The armies were now almost within view of each other, and the leaders, though not yet thoroughly acquainted, brought with them a degree of mutual admiration: for the name of Hannibal, even before the destruction of Saguntum, was highly famed among the Romans; and the very circumstance of Scipio having been particularly chosen for the command, supposed him a person of extraordinary merit. They were exalted still higher in each other's opinion: Scipio, by the celerity with which, though left behind in Gaul, he had met Hannibal at his coming down into Italy: Hannibal, by having not only formed but executed the daring design of passing over the Alps. Scipio, however, first crossed the Po, and removed his camp to the river Ticinus; where, wishing to encourage his soldiers before he led them out to battle, he addressed them in a speech to this effect.

XL. "Soldiers, if I were marching to battle at the head of the army which I had with me in Gaul, I should have thought it needless to use any words to you: for why exhort either those horsemen, who, without difficulty defeated the enemy's cavalry at the river Rhone; or those legions, with whom I pursued this same enemy, and obtained, by their refusing to fight, and actually flying before us, an acknowledgment of victory? In the present state of things, as that army, which was enlisted for the province of Spain, is employed with my brother Cneius Scipio, under my auspices, in the place where it was the will of the senate, and people of Rome, that it should be employed: and that I, in order that you might have a consul to lead you against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have taken a voluntary part in this contest: as a new commander, I think it requisite to speak a few words to soldiers who are new to me. Now that you should not be unacquainted either with the nature of the war, or with the enemy; know, soldiers, that you are to fight against men whom, in the former war, you conquered both on land and sea; from whom you have exacted tribute for twenty years past; from whom you took, and still hold, Sicily and Sardinia, the prizes of your victory. In the present dispute, consequently, the spirit of the parties will be—yours, that of conquerors; theirs, that of men conquered. Nor is it confidence, but necessity,



which now prompts them to fight: unless you suppose, that those, who avoided fighting, when their force was entire, have acquired greater confidence, after the loss of two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry, in the passage over the Alps; after greater numbers have perished than survive. But it may be said, they are few indeed, but vigorous in mind and body, having a power and strength no force can withstand. On the contrary, they are but the resemblance, mere shadows of men, rendered lifeless by hunger, cold, filth, and nastiness: battered and disabled among the rocks and precipices. Add to this, their joints numb, their sinews stiffened, their limbs, shrivelled by the frost, their armour shattered and broken, their horses lamed and enfeebled. Such is the infantry, such the cavalry, with whom you are to fight. You will have to deal, not with enemies, but the remains of enemies. And nothing do I fear more, than lest, before you come to a battle, the Alps may appear to have conquered Hannibal. But perhaps it was right that it should be so; that, against a nation and commander, guilty of a breach of treaties, the gods themselves should commence the war, and break the force of the enemy; and that we who, next to the gods, were the party injured, should then take it up, and carry it on to a conclusion.

XLII. "In what I say on this head, I am not afraid of being suspected of ostentatious boasting, for the purpose of encouraging you, while my real sentiments are different. I might have proceeded with my army into Spain, my own province, to which I had gone part of the way; where I should have had my brother to assist me in council, and to share the danger; and, instead of Hannibal, I should have had Hasdrubal to contend with; and, certainly, a less difficult war to manage. Nevertheless, as I sailed along the coast of Gaul, having heard of the approach of this enemy, I landed, sent forward my cavalry, and moved my camp to the Rhone. In a battle, fought by the cavalry, the only part of my forces which had an opportunity of fighting, the enemy was routed; and because I could not, on land, overtake their body of infantry, which was carried away with all the rapidity of flight, I returned to my ships, and with the utmost expedition that I could make, through such a long circuit by sea and land, I have met him at the foot of the Alps. Now, whether do I appear to have fallen in unawares with this formidable foe, while I

wished to decline a contest with him, or to have designedly thrown myself in the way of his route, to challenge and force him to a trial of strength? I feel a strong desire to try whether, in these twenty years past, the earth has all at once produced a new breed of Carthaginians; or whether they are the same with those who fought at the islands Ægates, whom you ransomed at Eryx at a valuation of eighteen denarii<sup>1</sup> a-head; and whether this Hannibal be, as he represents himself, another Hercules, equally renowned for his expeditions; or one left by his father, a subject, a tributary, and slave to the Roman people; who, if he were not struck with madness, as a punishment for the guilt of his behaviour at Saguntum, would reflect, if not on the conquest of his country, at least on the acts of his own family; on his father, on the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar; who, in obedience to the commands of our consul, withdrew his forces from Eryx; who, agitated with extreme sorrow, accepted the burthensome conditions imposed on the conquered Carthaginians, and signed an engagement to evacuate Sicily, and to pay tribute to the Roman people. Wherefore, soldiers, I wish that you may fight, not only with the same spirit which you usually show against other foes, but with a degree of resentment and indignation, as if you saw your own slaves suddenly taking arms against you. We might have kept them shut up at Eryx, until they perished with hunger, the severest suffering that man can undergo; we might have carried over our victorious fleet to Africa; and in the space of a few days, without opposition, have demolished Carthage. At their supplications, we granted pardon: we gave them liberty to depart from the place where we held them confined; after conquering them, we made peace with them; afterwards, when they were distressed by a war in Africa, we considered them as entitled to our protection. In return for these favours, they follow the lead of a hot-brained youth, and come to invade our country. I wish, that on our side, this contest was merely for glory, and not for safety. We are not to fight about the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, the subjects of the former dispute, but in defence of Italy; neither is there another army behind us, which, if we fail to conquer, might withstand the enemy; nor are there other Alps, during his

passage over which new forces might be procured. Here, soldiers, we must make a stand, as if we were fighting under the walls of Rome. Let every one persuade himself, that he is protecting with his arms, not only his own person, but his wife, and his infant children. Nor let him consider, solely, his own domestic concerns, but frequently reflect, that the senate and people of Rome look for safety at our hands; that our strength, and our courage, are now to determine, what will henceforth be the condition of that city and of the Roman empire."

XLII. Thus, on the side of the Romans, was the consul employed. Hannibal, choosing to rouse the courage of his soldiers by the exhibition of facts before he made use of words, formed his troops in a circle, and then placed in the middle the prisoners taken on the mountains, bound in fetters; when, such arms as are used by the Gauls being thrown at their feet, he ordered an interpreter to ask, whether any of them were willing, on the condition of being released from bonds,—and, in case of proving victorious, of receiving each a horse and armour,—to hazard his life in a combat; they all, to a man, called for arms and the combat, and when lots were cast, to single out the parties, every one wished himself to be the fortunate person who should be chosen for the trial: while he on whom it had fallen, dancing according to their custom, eagerly snatched up the arms, full of spirit, and exulting with joy, his companions congratulating him on his good fortune. While they were fighting, such were the sensations excited in the breasts, not only of their comrades, but of the spectators in general, that the fate of those who died bravely, was deemed not less happy than that of the successful combatants.

XLIII. The minds of his men being thus affected by the sight of several pairs of combatants, he dismissed the remainder; and then, summoning an assembly, addressed them, it is said, in the following manner: "If, soldiers, you form a judgment of your own circumstances, on the same principles which actuated you just now, on the exhibition of a case wherein others were concerned, we are conquerors. For that spectacle was not intended as a gratification to you, but a picture in some sort of your own situation. Indeed, I know not whether fortune has not imposed on you still stronger bonds, and a more powerful necessity, for using arms than on your prisoners. You

are inclosed, on the right and left, by two seas, without so much as even a single ship to aid an escape: hemmed in on the front by the Po, a river larger and more violent than the Rhone; and behind by the Alps, which, in your full strength and vigour, you passed not without the utmost difficulty. Here, soldiers, where you have first met the enemy, you must conquer or die: and the same fortune which compels you to fight, holds out to you prizes of victory; greater than which, men seldom wish for at the hands of the immortal gods. Were we, by our bravery, to recover only Sicily and Sardinia, ravished from our fathers, these would be a very ample recompence. But whatever the Romans have acquired and amassed, in consequence of their numerous triumphs, the whole of this, together with the owners, is to become your property. Animated, then, by the prospect of so rich a spoil, take arms, with the favour of the gods. You have been, hitherto, employed in the pursuit of cattle through the waste mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia, without any prospect of emolument from so many toils and dangers. It is now time to make profitable and rich campaigns; and that, after measuring such a length of way, through so many mountains and rivers, and so many armed nations, you be at last abundantly rewarded for your labour. Here fortune has fixed the period of your toils; here, on your finishing your course of service, will she give you ample retribution. And do not imagine the victory to be as difficult, as the character of the war is important. Often has a despised enemy maintained a bloody contest, and renowned nations and kings been vanquished by exertions of very moderate force. For, setting aside singly the present splendour of the Roman name, in what one particular are they to be compared with you? Not to mention your service, for the last twenty years, performed with so great bravery and so great success, you have effected a march to this place from the pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, and the remotest limits of the world; opening your way, with your victorious arms, through so many of the fiercest nations of Spain and Gaul. You will now fight with an army of raw troops, who, during this very summer, were beaten, routed, and besieged by the Gauls; who, as yet, neither know nor are known by their commanders. Ought I, if not born, at least educated, in the very tent of that most illustrious general my fa-



ther; I, who have subdued both Spain and Gaul; the conqueror, likewise, not only of the Alpine tribes, but what is much more, of the Alps themselves; ought I to put myself in comparison with such a commander as theirs: a general of six months' standing, who ran away from his own army; to whom, if any one, taking away the ensigns from both, should show this day the Carthaginians, and the Romans, I am confident that he would not know of which army he was consul. On my part, soldiers, I esteem it a circumstance of no trivial import, that there is not one of you who has not often been an eye-witness of my performing some military exploit; and to whom, on the other hand, I cannot, as having been a spectator and witness of his bravery, recount his own honourable acts, with the marks of time and place. At the head of troops whom I have a thousand times honoured with praises and presents, I, who have been a pupil to you all, before I became your commander, shall enter the field against men unknowing and unknown to each other.

XLIV. "On whatever side I turn my eyes I see spirit and firmness; a veteran body of infantry, cavalry composed of the most gallant nations: you, our most brave and faithful allies, and you, Carthaginians, ready to fight in the cause of your country, and at the same time with the justest resentment. We are the assailants in the war, and are carrying an invasion into Italy; we shall fight, therefore, with so much the greater boldness and courage, as he who makes the attack, has ever more confidence and spirit than he who stands on the defensive. Besides, we are inflamed and stimulated by reflections on past sufferings, by injuries and indignities: for, first, they insisted, that I, your leader, should be delivered up to punishment, with every one concerned in the siege of Saguntum. Had we been put into their hands, there is no degree of torture which they would not have made us suffer. That nation, so unbounded are its cruelty and arrogance, would have the whole world at its disposal; thinks it has a right to impose regulations on us, and to prescribe with whom we are to have peace, with whom war; circumscribes and shuts us up within boundaries of mountains and rivers, which we must not pass; yet observes not itself the limits which it establishes. You must not pass the Iberus; you must not meddle with the Saguntines; Saguntum is on our side of the Iberus;

you must not stir a foot. Is it not enough that you take Sicily and Sardinia, provinces which have been mine from the earliest times? Will you take Spain also? when I shall have retired thence, you will pass over into Africa. Will pass, did I say! of the two consuls of the present year they have sent one to Africa, the other to Spain. There is nothing left to us any where, unless we make good our claim by arms. They may be timid and dastardly, who can look for refuge behind them, who can fly through safe and quiet roads, and be received into their own territories and their own lands. For your part, necessity obliges you to be brave; and, since every mean between victory and death is sunk out of reach, you must resolve to conquer, or should fortune be unfavourable, to meet death in battle rather than in flight. If this determination be firmly fixed in every one of your breasts, I affirm again, you are conquerors. The immortal gods never gave to man a more invigorating incentive to conquest."

XLV. The courage of the soldiers on both sides being animated to the contest by these exhortations, the Romans threw a bridge over the Ticinus, and erected a fort on it for its security. While they were employed in this work, the Carthaginian sent Maharbal, with a squadron of five hundred Numidian horse, to ravage the lands of the allies of the Roman people. He ordered him to spare the Gauls, as much as possible, and to endeavour, by persuasion, to bring over their chiefs to his side. When the bridge was finished, the Roman army marched over into the country of the Insubrians, and sat down at the distance of five miles from Victumvæ. At this place lay Hannibal's camp, who, perceiving the approach of a battle, hastily recalled Maharbal, and the horsemen, and thinking that he could never apply too many arguments and encouragements to inspire his soldiers, called them to an assembly, with promises of several kinds of rewards to be conferred on them, that the certain hope of these might animate their exertions in the fight. "He would give them land," he told them, "in Italy, Africa, or Spain, wherever they should choose; exempt from all charges, to the person who should receive it, and to his children. Should any prefer money to land, he would give him an equivalent in silver. To such of the allies as wished to become citizens of Carthage, that privilege should be granted. With regard to those who chose rather to return to their native

homes, he would take care that they should not have cause to wish for an exchange of situation with any one of their countrymen." To the slaves also who attended their masters he promised liberty, engaging to give the owners two slaves, in the room of each of these. Then, to give them full security for the performance of all this, holding in his left hand a lamb, and in his right hand a flint stone, he prayed to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, that if he did not fulfil these engagements, they would slay him, in like manner as he slew that lamb; and after this imprecation, he broke the animal's head with the stone. This had such an effect, that all the soldiers, as if they had now received the surety of the gods for the ratification of their hopes, and thinking that nothing delayed the enjoyment of their wishes, but the battle not being begun, with one mind, and one voice, demanded the fight.

XLVI. Nothing like the same alacrity appeared among the Romans, who, besides other matter, were dispirited by some late prodigies. A wolf had entered the camp, and after tearing such as he met, made his escape unhurt. A swarm of bees also had pitched on a tree, which hung over the general's tent. After expiating these prodigies, Scipio, at the head of his cavalry and light spearmen, set out towards the camp of the enemy, in order to discover, by a near view of their forces, how great and of what kind they were; and was met by Hannibal, who had likewise advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre the adjacent grounds. For some time neither party descried the other. Afterwards the dust being raised in thicker clouds by the moving of so many men and horses, gave notice of approaching enemies: both detachments halted, and made ready for battle. Scipio placed his spearmen and Gallic cavalry in front, keeping the Romans and the body of allies which accompanied him as a reserve. Hannibal drew the bridled cavalry into the centre, strengthening his wings with the Numidians. The shout was scarcely raised before the spearmen fled to the second line; then the battle was maintained by the cavalry, for a considerable time with doubtful success; but afterwards, in consequence of the confusion caused among the horses by the footmen being intermixed with them, many of the riders fell from their seats, and others, on seeing their friends surrounded and distressed, dismounted to assist them; so that the fight was now carried on mostly on foot, un-

til the Numidians, posted on the wings, taking a small compass, showed themselves on the rear. This terrified and dismayed the Romans, whose fears were augmented by a wound received by the consul, who was rescued from farther danger by the speedy intervention of his son, just arrived at the age of maturity. This is the same youth, who is afterwards to enjoy the renown of terminating this war, and to receive the title of Africanus, on account of his glorious victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. However, very few fled precipitately, except the spearmen, on whom the Numidians made the first charge. The rest formed a compact body of cavalry; who, taking the consul into their centre, and covering him, not only with their arms, but with their bodies, without any disorder or precipitation in their retreat, brought him back to the camp. Cælius attributes the honour of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian: but I rather wish the account to be true which gives it to his son; and so the fact is represented by most authors, and generally believed.

XLVII. Such was the first battle with Hannibal, in which it manifestly appeared that the Carthaginian was superior in cavalry; and, consequently, that open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps, were unfavourable to the Romans in their operations. Wherefore the consul, on the night following, ordering his men to prepare in silence for a march, decamped from the Ticinus, and hastened to the Po, in order that, before the rafts should be loosened, of which he had formed the bridge over that river, he might carry over his forces without tumult or interruption from the enemy's pursuit. They got as far as Placentia, before Hannibal received any certain information of their departure from the Ticinus. Nevertheless, he made prisoners six hundred men, who delayed on the hither bank, spending too much time in unbinding the raft. He could not pass over the bridge, because, as soon as the extremities were untied, the whole collection of rafts floated down with the current. Cælius relates, that Mago, with the cavalry and the Spanish infantry, immediately swam over the river; and that Hannibal himself led over the rest of the army, through fords somewhat higher up, forming the elephants in a line above them, to break the force of the current. These accounts can hardly gain credit with people acquainted with the river Po: for



it is not credible, that the cavalry could stem such a violent current, without losing their arms and horses, even allowing that all the Spaniards were conveyed over on leathern bags inflated; besides, that it would have cost a circuit of many days' march to find fords in the Po, through which an army, heavily encumbered with baggage, could make a passage. Those authors seem to me more worthy of credit, who relate, that, with difficulty, after two days' search, a place was found where a bridge of rafts could be constructed; and that over this the cavalry and light-armed Spaniards were sent forwards under Mago. While Hannibal, who waited on the same side of the river to give audience to embassies from the Gauls, was bringing over the heavy troops, Mago and his horsemen, in one day's march after passing the river, came up with the enemy at Placentia. In a few days after, Hannibal fortified a camp within six miles of Placentia; and next day, drawing up his forces in the enemy's view, offered them battle.

XLVIII. On the night following, there was a violent outrage committed in the Roman camp by the auxiliary Gauls; which, however, was attended with greater tumult than loss of lives. A number of them, amounting to two thousand foot and two hundred horse, killing the guards at the gates, deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian received them with expressions of much kindness; and after animating their zeal by prospects of vast rewards, dismissed them to their respective states, to engage the rest of their countrymen in his interest. Scipio, apprehending that this outrage was a signal for a general revolt of the Gauls; and that, infected with the same treacherous spirit, they would run like madmen to arms, though still very ill of his wound, marched away in silence, at the fourth watch of the following night, toward the river Trebia, and removed his camp to higher grounds, and hills less advantageous to the operations of cavalry. His departure was not so secret as at the Ticinus; Hannibal, therefore, sending on first the Numidians, afterwards all his cavalry, would have caused great disorder, at least in the rear of the army, had not the Numidians, out of their greediness for plunder, turned aside into the forsaken camp of the Romans. While searching narrowly every part of it, without finding any prize to compensate for the loss of time, they let the enemy slip out of their hands. Af-

terwards, coming within sight of the Romans, when they had already passed the Trebia, and were pitching their camp, they cut off a few, who loitered behind the rest on that side of the river. Scipio, unable to endure any longer the pain of his wound, which was exasperated by the rough motion in travelling, and at the same time judging it prudent to wait for his colleague, (for he had by this time heard that he was recalled from Sicily,) chose a spot near the river, which seemed the safest for a fixed station, and there fortified his camp. Hannibal took post at a small distance; and though he felt much joy at the success of his cavalry, yet finding no less cause of anxiety in the scarcity of necessaries, daily increasing as he marched through an enemy's country without magazines prepared, he sent a detachment to the small town of Clastidium, where the Romans had collected a large store of corn. Here, while the troops were preparing for an assault, a prospect offered of the town being betrayed to them, and accordingly the commander of the garrison, one Dasius, a Brundusian, for a bribe of no great amount, only four hundred pieces of gold,<sup>1</sup> surrendered Clastidium to Hannibal. This served the Carthaginians as a granary, while they lay encamped on the Trebia. The prisoners, who fell into his hands on the surrender of the garrison, he treated without severity, being desirous that, at the commencement of his proceedings, a good opinion should be conceived of his clemency.

XLIX. While the operations of the land forces on the Trebia were at a stand, much was effected by land and sea, in and round Sicily, and the other islands adjacent to Italy, both by Sempronius the consul, and before his arrival. Of twenty quinqueremes, sent by the Carthaginians with one thousand soldiers, to ravage the coast of Italy, nine arrived at Lipare, eight at the island of Vulcan, and three were driven by the current into the streight. As soon as these were seen from Messina, twelve ships were despatched by Hiero, king of Syracuse, who happened to be then in that city waiting for the Roman consul, and these took them without opposition, and brought them into port to Messina. From the prisoners it was discovered that, besides the fleet of twenty ships, to which they belonged, and which had been sent against Italy, another of thirty-five quin-

queremes was on its way to Sicily, to rouse their ancient allies in their cause; that their principal object was the getting possession of Lilybæum, and it was the opinion of the prisoners that the same storm by which they had been dispersed, had driven the other fleet to the islands Ægates. This intelligence, just as he received it, the king despatched in a letter to Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, whose province Sicily was, and cautioned him to secure Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Immediately the lieutenants-general and tribunes, who were with the prætor, were sent off to the several states, with orders to keep their men attentive and alert in guarding their posts; and that, above all things, Lilybæum should be effectually secured. A proclamation was also published, that, besides every warlike preparation, the mariners' should bring on board the ships provisions for ten days ready dressed, so that no one should have any delay to prevent his embarking the moment the signal should be given; and that, through the whole extent of the coast, those stationed at the watch-towers should be vigilant in looking out for the approach of the enemy's fleet. In consequence of these precautions, notwithstanding that the Carthaginians purposely slackened the course of their ships, designing to reach Lilybæum a little before day, they were observed on their approach; for the moon shone through the whole night, and they came with their sails aloft; in the same instant the signal was made on the watch-towers, the alarm given in the town, and the men embarked in the ships; one half of the soldiers mounted guard on the walls and at the gates, the other were on board the fleet. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, perceiving that preparations were made for their reception, remained until day-break at the mouth of their harbour, employing the intermediate time in taking down their rigging, and fitting their ships for action. When day appeared, they drew back their fleet into the open sea, in order that they might have room for fighting, and give the enemy's ships free egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans decline an engagement, being emboldened by the recollection of their

former successes near that very spot, and by confidence in the number and bravery of their men.

L. When they got into the open sea, the Romans showed a desire of coming up with the enemy, and trying their strength with them in close fight. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, wished to elude their attacks, to effect the business by skill, not by force, and to make it a contest of ships, not of men or arms: for there was on board their fleet an abundance of mariners, but a scarcity of soldiers, and when a ship was grappled, their number of fighting men to defend it was by no means equal to that of the enemy. This circumstance being discovered, the Romans assumed additional courage from the fulness of their numbers; and while the others were dispirited by their deficiency in that respect, seven Carthaginian ships were quickly surrounded, and the rest betook themselves to flight. In the captured ships, there were of soldiers and mariners one thousand seven hundred, among whom were three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet without loss returned into the harbour, one ship only being bulged, and even that brought into port. Very soon after this battle, before those who were at Messina had heard of it, Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, came to that city. On his entering the strait, king Hiero, with a fleet completely equipped, sailed to meet him, and going from the royal galley on board that of the consul, congratulated him on his safe arrival with his ships and army. After praying for a successful and happy issue to his expedition into Sicily, he represented to him the state of the island and the attempt lately made by the Carthaginians, assuring him, that, as he had, in the early part of his life, supported the Roman people in the former war, so would he now, advanced as he was in years, support them still with the same degree of spirit; that he would, at his own expense, furnish the consul's legions, and the crews of his ships, with corn and clothing; and then, acquainting him that Lilybæum and all the maritime states were exposed to imminent danger, he informed him that there were many to whom a revolution would be highly agreeable. For these reasons the consul judged that he ought without making any delay, to sail on directly to Lilybæum, whither he was accompanied by the king and his fleet. On their passage, they received the news of the fight of

1 *Socii navales*. These words sometimes, as here, mean merely the mariners, such as the rowers, and others whose business it is to navigate the ship: at other times, they mean the soldiers, who served regularly on board the fleet, as those corps who, with us, are distinguished by the name of 'Marines.'



Lilybæum, of the discomfiture of the enemy, and the capture of their ships.

LI. From Lilybæum, the consul, after dismissing king Hiero with his fleet, and leaving the prætor to defend the coast of Sicily, sailed over to the island of Melita, which was in the possession of the Carthaginians. Immediately on his arrival, Hamilcar, son of Gisgo, commander of the garrison, and somewhat less than two thousand soldiers, together with the town and the island, were surrendered into his hands. From thence he returned in a few days to Lilybæum, where all the prisoners taken by the consul, and by the prætor, except those who were of distinguished birth, were sold by public auction. When the consul thought that side of Sicily sufficiently secured, he sailed over to the islands of Vulcan, because there was a report that the Carthaginian fleet lay there; but he met with none at those islands, for it happened that they had already passed over to ravage the coast of Italy, and, after laying waste the territory of Vibo, were now threatening that city. When he was on his return to Sicily, he was informed of the descent made by the enemy on the territory of Vibo. Letters were at the same time delivered to him from the senate, containing an account of Hannibal's having entered Italy, and also orders to come to the support of his colleague with all possible expedition. So many objects demanding his attention at once, he instantly embarked his troops, and sent them by the upper sea to Ariminum; appointed Sextus Pomponius, lieutenant-general, with twenty ships of war, to defend the territory of Vibo and the sea-coast of Italy; made up a fleet of fifty sail for the prætor Marcus Æmilius; and, after settling the affairs of Sicily, sailed himself with ten ships along the coast of Italy to Ariminum, from whence he marched his army to the river Trebia, and formed a junction with his colleague.

LII. And now, both the consuls and the whole of the Roman strength being opposed to Hannibal, afforded sufficient reason to suppose either that the Roman empire would be effectually protected by that force, or that there would be no room for any further hopes. Nevertheless, Scipio, dispirited by the event of the battle between the cavalry, and by his own wound, wished to defer coming to action; while Sempronius, whose spirit had yet met no check, and who therefore possessed the greater confidence, was impatient of any delay. The

lands between the Trebia and the Po were at that time inhabited by Gauls, who during this struggle between two such potent nations, showed no partiality to either party, evidently intending to court the favour of the conqueror. With this conduct the Romans were well satisfied, provided they kept themselves entirely quiet; but the Carthaginian was highly displeased, giving out that he had come thither on an invitation from the Gauls, to set them at liberty. In order to gratify his resentment on that account, and at the same time to maintain his troops with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and one thousand horse, mostly Numidians, with some Gauls intermixed, to ravage the whole country, from thence onward to the banks of the Po. The Gauls, destitute of support, though they had hitherto kept their inclinations doubtful, being now compelled by necessity, declared against the authors of their sufferings in favour of those who were to avenge them; and sent ambassadors to the consul to implore the aid of the Romans for a country which was suffering severely, in consequence of the too faithful attachment of its inhabitants to the people of Rome. Scipio approved not either of the cause or of the season for undertaking it; for he doubted the sincerity of that people, both on account of many instances of treacherous behaviour, and particularly, though the others through length of time might have been forgotten, on account of the recent perfidy of the Boians. Sempronius, on the contrary, was of opinion, that it would be the strongest tie on the fidelity of the allies, to let them see that the first who stood in need of aid had found protection. He then, while his colleague hesitated, despatched his own cavalry, joined by one thousand foot, mostly light spearmen, over the Trebia, to protect the lands of the Gauls. These falling unexpectedly on the enemy, while they were straggling in disorder, and most of them loaded with spoil, caused great consternation, slew many, and drove the rest flying before them to their camp. Though repulsed by the multitude which sallied out, yet, as soon as the rest of their party came up, they again renewed the fight. Success afterwards remained doubtful; sometimes they retreated, sometimes pursued; but though, at last, the advantages were equal on both sides, yet the honour of the victory was more generally attributed to the Romans.

LIII. But to no one did it appear more

important and complete, than to the consul himself. He was transported with joy, at having obtained a victory with that part of the troops, which, under his associate, had been defeated. "The spirits of the soldiers," he said, "were now revived; nor was there any one, except his colleague, who wished a delay of action. He, more disordered in mind than in body, and reflecting on his wound, shuddered at the thoughts of fighting and of arms. But others ought not to sink into feebleness along with a sick man. For to what purpose was farther delay, or waste of time? What third consul or what other army was to be waited for? The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy, almost within sight of the city. Their designs did not aim at Sicily and Sardinia, which were taken from them, nor at the parts of Spain on this side of the Iberus, but at the expulsion of the Romans from the land of their fathers, from the soil in which they were born. What sighs would it draw from these," said he, "who were accustomed to carry war to the very walls of Carthage, if they were to see us, their offspring, at the head of consular armies, skulking within our camp in the heart of Italy; and a Carthaginian possessed of the dominion over the whole extent of country between the Alps and the Apennine?" In this manner did he argue, sitting with his colleague, and also at the head quarters, as if he were haranguing an assembly. He was, besides, incited to expeditious measures by the approach of the time of the elections, for he feared lest the war should be protracted until the new consuls came into office; wishing, likewise, to secure the present opportunity, and while his colleague was indisposed, of engrossing to himself the whole of the glory. For these reasons, while Scipio remonstrated in vain, he issued orders to the soldiers to be ready for battle at a short warning. Hannibal, plainly perceiving what line of conduct would be more advantageous to the enemy, scarcely entertained any distant hope that the consuls would enter on any action without caution and foresight: but understanding, first from report, and afterwards from experience, that the temper of one of them was fiery and presumptuous, and supposing his presumption augmented by the success of the battle with the plundering party, he then made little doubt but that he should soon have an opportunity of coming to action—an occasion which he was earnestly solicitous to improve,

while the troops of the enemy were raw, while the more able of their commanders was, by his wound, rendered incapable of exertion, and while the Gauls were disposed to act with vigour; for he well knew that these, whose number was very great, would follow him with the less zeal, in proportion as they were drawn away to a greater distance from home. Thus wishing for a speedy engagement, he intended, should any delay be given, to use every means to bring it about. The Gauls, whom he employed as spies, (because they were the better fitted for it, especially as men of that nation served in both camps,) brought intelligence that the Romans were prepared for battle; on which the Carthaginian began to look about for a place where he might form an ambuscade.

LIV. In the middle, between the camps, ran a rivulet, whose banks were uncommonly steep; the adjacent ground was covered with such herbs as grew in marshes, with bushes and brambles, which usually overspread uncultivated ground. On examining the place himself, and finding it to be capable of concealing even horsemen, he said to Mago his brother, "This is the spot which you must occupy. Choose out from the whole number of horse and foot an hundred men of each, and come with them to me at the first watch. It is now time to take refreshment." Thus, the attending officers were dismissed. In some little time Mago came with his chosen band, and Hannibal said, "I see you are very able men; but that you may be strong, not only in spirit, but in number, let each of you choose nine like yourselves out of the troops and companies; Mago will show you the place where you are to lie in wait. You will have to deal with an enemy who is blind with respect to these stratagems of war." Having thus sent off this detachment of one thousand horse and one thousand foot under Mago, Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry to cross the river Trebia at the first light; to ride up to the enemy's gates, and, discharging their weapons against their men on guard, to draw them out to battle, and then, as soon as the fight should be commenced, to retreat leisurely, and by that means draw them on to the other side of the river. These were his orders to the Numidians. To the other officers, both of cavalry and infantry, he gave directions to cause their men to take refreshment; and then, under arms, and with their horses accoutred, to wait the



signal. On the alarm first given by the Numidians, Sempronius, eager for action, led out, first, all the cavalry, being full of confidence in that part of his force; then six thousand foot, and at last the whole body of infantry, to the ground previously fixed upon in the plan which he had adopted. It was then winter, and the weather snowy, in those places which lie between the Alps and the Apennine, and the cold was rendered exceedingly intense by the proximity of rivers and marshes. Besides this, both men and horses being drawn out in a hurry, without having first taken food, or used any precaution to guard against the intemperature of the air, were quite chilled, and as they approached the river, the more piercing were the blasts which assailed them. But having, in pursuit of the flying Numidians, entered the river, which by rain in the night was swelled so high as to reach their breasts, their bodies, on coming out, were all so perfectly benumbed, that they were scarcely capable of holding their arms, and, as the day advanced, they also grew faint through hunger.

LV. Meanwhile Hannibal's soldiers had fires made before their tents; oil was distributed to every company to lubricate their joints, and they had at leisure refreshed themselves with food. As soon, therefore, as intelligence was brought, that the enemy had passed the river, they took arms with sprightly vigour both of mind and body, and thus advanced to battle. Hannibal placed in the van the Balearians and light-armed troops, amounting to about eight thousand; and, in a second line, his heavier-armed infantry, the main power and strength of his army. The flanks he covered with ten thousand cavalry; and, dividing the elephants, placed half of them on the extremity of each wing. The consul seeing his cavalry, who pressed the pursuit with disorderly haste, taken at a disadvantage by the Numidians suddenly turning upon them, recalled them by the signal for retreat, and posted them on the flanks of the foot. His army consisted of eighteen thousand Romans, twenty thousand of the allies and Latine confederates, besides the auxiliary troops of the Cenomanians, the only Gallic state that continued faithful to their cause. This was the force employed in that engagement. The battle was begun by the Balearians, who being too powerfully opposed by the legions, the light-armed troops were hastily drawn off to the wings; which circumstance

proved the cause of the Roman cavalry being quickly overpowered: for being in number but four thousand, they had before been hardly able to maintain their ground against ten thousand; especially as they were fatigued, and the others mostly fresh; but now they were overwhelmed under a cloud as it were of javelins thrown by the Balearians. Besides this, the elephants, advancing in the extremities of the wings, so terrified the horses, as to occasion a general rout. The fight between infantry was maintained by an equality of spirit rather than of strength: for with respect to the latter, the Carthaginians had brought theirs fresh into the battle, invigorated by food; the Romans, on the contrary were enfeebled by fasting and fatigue, and their limbs stiffened and benumbed with cold. They would, notwithstanding, have maintained their ground by dint of courage, had the conflict rested solely between them and the infantry. But the Balearians, after the discomfiture of the cavalry, poured darts on their flanks, and the elephants had now made their way to the centre of the line of the infantry; while Mago, with his Numidians, as soon as the army had passed by their lurking place without observing them, started up at once, and caused dreadful confusion and terror in the rear.

LVI. Encompassed by so many perils, the line, notwithstanding, stood for a long time unbroken, even (which was most surprising to all) by the attack of the elephants. The light infantry, stationed for that purpose, plying these briskly with iron javelins, made them turn back; and then, following them behind, darted their weapons into them, under the tails, in which part, the skin being softest, it is easy to wound them. When they were by these means put into disorder, and ready to vent their fury on their own party, Hannibal ordered them to be driven away from the centre towards the extremity of the left wing against the auxiliary Gauls. These they instantly put to open flight, which spread new terror among the Romans. They were now obliged to fight in the form of a circle; when about ten thousand of them, having no other means of escape, forced their way, with great slaughter, through the centre of the African line, which was composed of the Gallic auxiliaries; and, as they could neither return to their camp, from which they were shut out by the river, nor, by reason of the heavy rain, discover in what part they could assist their friends, they proceeded

straight to Placentia. After this, several similar irruptions were made from all quarters, and those who pushed towards the river were either drowned in the eddies, or hesitating to enter the water, were cut off. Some, who, in their flight, dispersed themselves over the country, falling in with the tracks of the body of troops which had retreated, followed them to Placentia; others, from their fears of the enemy, assumed boldness to attempt the stream, and, accomplishing their passage, arrived at the camp. The rain, mixed with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, destroyed great numbers of men and horses, and almost all the elephants. The Carthaginians continued the pursuit no farther than the river Trebia, and returned to their camp so benumbed with the cold, as to be scarcely capable of feeling joy for the victory; insomuch that though, during the following night, the guard of the Roman camp, and a great part at least of their soldiers, passed the Trebia on rafts, the Carthaginians either perceived nothing of the matter through the noise made by the rain, or being, by weariness and wounds, disabled to move, pretended that they did not perceive it; and the enemy lying quiet, the consul Scipio led the troops in silence to Placentia, and thence across the Po to Cremona, lest the two armies, wintering in one colony, should be too great a burden.

LVII. The news of this disaster caused such consternation in Rome, that people supposed the enemy would come directly to attack the city; and they could see no hope nor aid to enable them to repel an assault from the walls and gates. One consul had been defeated at the Ticinus, the other recalled from Sicily; and now that both the consuls, and two consular armies had been defeated, what other commanders, what other legions were there whom they could call to their support? While they were possessed by such desponding fears, the consul Sempronius arrived; for though the enemy's cavalry were scattered over the whole face of the country in search of plunder, yet he had passed through the midst of them with the utmost hazard, and with a greater degree of boldness than of prudence, or of hope either of escaping notice, or of being able to make resistance in case he were discovered. After holding the election of consuls, the only business which rendered his presence particularly necessary at the time, he returned to his winter-quar-

ters. The consuls elected were Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. Even in their winter-quarters the Romans were not allowed to rest, the Numidian cavalry spreading themselves round on every side; the Celtiberians and Lusitanians doing the same, where the ground was too difficult for the horse; so that no provisions of any kind could be brought in, except what were conveyed on the Po in ships. There was, near Placentia, a magazine fortified with strong works, and supplied with a numerous garrison. In hopes of gaining possession of this stronghold, Hannibal marched at the head of his cavalry and light infantry; and judging that the success of the enterprise would depend, principally, on the design being kept secret, made the attack by night; but he did not escape the vigilance of the guards, as a shout was instantly raised so loud that it was heard even at Placentia. In consequence of this, the consul came to the spot before day with his cavalry, having ordered the legions to follow in order of battle.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the action began between the cavalry, in which Hannibal being wounded, and retiring from the fight, his men became dispirited; and the defence of the fortress was effectually maintained. After this, taking but a few days to rest, and scarcely allowing time for his wound to be thoroughly healed, he set out to lay siege to Victumvise. This had been fortified by the Romans for a magazine, in the time of the Gallic war. Afterward, numbers of people, from all the neighbouring states, fixing their residence round it, made it a populous place, and at this juncture, fear of the enemy's depredations had driven into it the greater part of the country people. The multitude, thus composed, being excited to a warmth of courage by the report of the gallant defence made by the garrison near Placentia, snatched up arms, and marched out to meet Hannibal. The parties engaged on the road, in the order of march, rather than of battle, and as there was, on one side, nothing more than a disorderly crowd, on the other a leader confident of his soldiers, and a soldiery confident of their leader, a number, not less than thirty five thousand, was routed by a small party. Next day they

<sup>1</sup> *Agmen quadratum* signifies not a regular line of battle, but the troops marching in the same order in which they were formed in the field of battle, the *Velites* in front, and then the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, in their order.



capitulated, and received a garrison within their walls. They were then ordered to deliver up their arms, with which they had no sooner complied, than a signal was suddenly given to the conquerors to sack the city, as if taken by storm. Nor have writers, in cases of the like nature, mentioned any one calamity which was not suffered on this occasion: every outrage, which lust, cruelty, and inhuman insolence could dictate, being practised on those wretched people. Such were Hannibal's enterprises during the winter.

LVIII. After this he gave rest to his troops, but not for any great length of time, only while the cold was intolerable. Upon the first and even uncertain appearances of spring, he left his winter quarters, and marched towards Etruria, determined, either by force or persuasion, to prevail on that nation to join him, as he had already managed the Gauls and Ligurians. As he was attempting to cross the Apennine, he was encountered by a storm so furious, that its effects almost equalled in severity the disasters of the Alps. The rain, which was attended with a high wind, being driven directly into the men's faces, they at first halted, because they must either have cast away their arms; or, if they persisted to struggle forward, would be whirled round by the hurricane, and thrown on the ground. Afterwards, scarcely able to respire, they turned their backs to the wind, and for awhile sat down. But now the whole atmosphere resounded with loud thunder, and lightnings flashed between the tremendous peals, by which all were stunned, and reduced, by terror, nearly to a state of insensibility. At length the violence of the rain abating, and the fury of the wind increasing, the more necessary it was judged to pitch their camp on the very spot, where they had been surprised by the tempest. But this was, in a manner, beginning their toils anew. For neither could they well spread their canvass, nor fix the poles; and such tents as they did get raised, they could not keep standing, the wind tearing and sweeping off every thing in its way. And soon after, the water being raised aloft by the force of the wind, and congealed by the cold which prevailed above the summits of the mountains, came down in such a torrent of snowy hail, that the men, giving over all their endeavours, threw themselves flat on their faces, buried under, rather than protected by, their coverings. This was followed by cold so in-

tense, that when they wished to rise from among the wretched crowd of prostrated men and cattle, they were for a long time unable to effect it, their sinews being so stiffly frozen that they were scarcely able to bend their joints. In some time, when, after many efforts, they at length regained the power of motion, and recovered some degree of spirits, and when fires began to be kindled in a few places, every one who was unable to assist himself had recourse to the aid of others. Two days they remained in that spot, as if pent up by an enemy. Great numbers of men and cattle perished, and likewise seven of the elephants, which had survived the battle at the Trebia.

LIX. Descending therefore from the Apennine, he directed his route back towards Placentia; and, having marched ten miles, pitched his camp. Next day he led out against the enemy twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Nor did the consul Sempronius (for he had by this time returned from Rome) decline a battle; and, during that day, the armies lay encamped within three miles of each other. On the following, they fought with the greatest bravery, and with variable success. At the first onset, the superiority was so great on the side of the Romans, that they not only had the better in the fight, but drove the enemy from their ground, pursued them to their camp, and presently attacked the camp itself. Hannibal, after posting a few to defend the rampart and gates, collected the rest in close order, in the middle of the camp, ordering them to watch attentively the signal for sallying forth. It was now near the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman, having fatigued his troops without effect, and seeing no prospect of success, gave the signal for retreat. As soon as Hannibal perceived that they slackened their efforts, and were retiring from the camp, he instantly sent out his cavalry against them, on the right and left; and he himself, at the head of the main body of infantry, rushed out in the middle. Seldom has there been a fight more desperate, and never perhaps, one more remarkable for the loss on both sides than this would have been, had the day-light allowed it to continue; but night put a stop to the battle, while its fury was at the highest. The numbers slain, therefore, were not great, in proportion to the violence of the conflict; and as both parties had met nearly equal success, so they separated with equal loss. On

neither side fell more than six hundred foot, and half that number of horse. But the loss of the Romans was more considerable in regard of the quality, than of the number of their slain; for among the killed were several of equestrian rank, five military tribunes, and three præfects of the allies: Immediately after this battle, Hannibal removed into Liguria; Sempronius, to Luca. On Hannibal's arrival among the Ligurians, that people, in order to convince him of their sincerity in the treaty of peace and alliance which they had concluded, delivered into his hands two Roman quæstors, Caius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, with two military tribunes, and five persons of equestrian rank, mostly the sons of senators, all of whom they had seized in a treacherous manner.

LX. While these transactions passed in Italy, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent with the fleet and army into Spain, after his departure from the mouth of the Rhone, sailing round the Pyrenean mountains, put into Emporise, where he disembarked his army; and beginning with the Lacetans, partly by renewing old treaties, partly by forming new ones, he brought under the dominion of the Romans the whole coast, as far as the river Iberus. The reputation of clemency, which he acquired by these means, had the most powerful effect, not only on the maritime states, but on the more barbarous nations in the interior and mountainous parts; insomuch that, besides agreeing to terms of peace, they concluded also an alliance with him, and several strong cohorts of auxiliaries were raised among them. The country on this side the Iberus was the province of Hanno, whom Hannibal had left behind for the defence of that tract. Seeing, therefore, a necessity, before the whole country should join the enemy, of exerting himself to obviate that evil, he encamped his forces within sight of them, and offered them battle; this offer the Roman did not hesitate to accept; for, knowing that he must fight Hanno and Hasdrubal, he was better pleased to engage each of them separately, than to have to deal with both together. Nor was the dispute very strongly contested. Six thousand of the enemy were slain and two thousand taken, besides the guard of the camp, for that also was stormed, and the general himself, and many principal officers made prisoners. The town of Scissis too, which stood not far from

the camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The spoil of this town consisted of articles of trifling value; the furniture was mean, suiting barbarians, and the slaves of little price. But the camp amply enriched the soldiers with the effects, not only of the army just now conquerors, but likewise with those of the army serving under Hannibal, who, to avoid being encumbered on their march with heavy baggage, had left almost all their valuable substance on that side of the Pyrenees.

LXI. Hasdrubal, before any certain account of this disaster reached him, had crossed the Iberus with eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, intending to meet the Romans at their first arrival; as soon as he was informed of the ruin of affairs at Scissis, and the loss of the camp, he turned his route towards the sea. Not far from Tarraco, meeting the soldiers belonging to the fleet, and the mariners scattered and straggling through the country, among whom success, as is usual, had begotten negligence, he detached his cavalry in several parties against them, and with great slaughter and greater affright drove them to their ships. But not daring to continue longer in that quarter, lest he might be surprised by Scipio, he withdrew to the other side of the Iberus. On the other hand Scipio, on hearing of this new enemy, hastened to the spot with all expedition, and after punishing a few of the commanders of ships, and leaving a small garrison at Tarraco, returned with the fleet to Emporise. Scarcely had he departed, when Hasdrubal arrived, and having prevailed on the state of the Illergetans, which had given hostages to Scipio to change sides, he, with the young men of that state, ravaged the lands of those who adhered with fidelity to their alliance with the Romans. Afterwards, on finding that Scipio was roused thereby from his winter-quarters, he again entirely evacuated the country on this side of the Iberus. Scipio, leading his army to take vengeance on the Illergetans, thus abandoned by the author of their revolt, and driving them all into Athanagia, invested the city, which was the capital of the state. In the space of a few days he reduced them to entire submission and obedience, compelled them to give a greater number of hostages than before, and also to pay a sum of money as a fine. From thence he proceeded against the Ausetanians near the Iberus, who had likewise joined in a league with the Carthaginians. After he had invested their



city, the Lacetans attempted by night to bring succour to their neighbours; but he surprised them by an ambuscade, when they were close to the city and just about to enter; twelve thousand of them were slain, and the rest, mostly without their arms, dispersing up and down through the country, fled to their homes by different ways. Neither would the besieged have been able to make a defence, but for the severity of the winter, which obstructed the operations of the besiegers. The siege lasted thirty days, during which the snow lay seldom less than four feet deep, and it had covered over the machines and engines of the Romans, in such a manner, as that of itself alone it proved a sufficient defence against the fires which were often thrown on them by the enemy. At last, Hamusitus their chieftain, having fled away to Hasdrubal, they capitulated on the terms of paying twenty talents of silver.<sup>1</sup> The army then returned into winter-quarters at Tarraco.

LXII. During this winter, at Rome, and in its vicinity, many prodigies either happened, or, as is not unusual when people's minds have once taken a turn towards superstition, many were reported and credulously admitted. Among others, it was said, that an infant of a reputable family, and only six months old, had, in the herb-market, called out, "Io, Triumpho;" that, in the cattle-market, an ox had, of his own accord, mounted up to the third story of a house, whence, being affrighted by the noise and bustle of the inhabitants, he threw himself down; that a light had appeared in the sky in the form of ships; that the temple of Hope, in the herb-market, was struck by lightning; that, at Lanuvium the spear of Juno had shaken of itself; and that a crow had flown into the temple of Juno and pitched on the very couch; that, in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men in white garments had been seen at a distance, but had not come close to any body; that in Picenum, a shower of stones had fallen; at Cære, the divining tickets were diminished in size; in Gaul, a wolf snatched the sword of a soldier on guard out of the scabbard, and ran away with it. With respect to the other prodigies, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the books: but on account of the shower of stones in Picenum, the nine days' festival was ordered to be celebrated, and the expiating of the rest, one

after another, was almost the sole occupation of the state. In the first place was performed a purification of the city; victims, of the greater kinds, were offered to such gods as were pointed out by directions. An offering of forty pounds weight of gold was carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium, and the matrons dedicated a brazen statue to Juno on the Aventine. A lectisternium was ordered at Cære, where the divining tickets were diminished; also a supplication to Fortune at Algidum. At Rome, likewise, a lectisternium was ordered in honour of the goddess Youth, and a supplication to be performed, by individuals, at the temple of Hercules, and then, by the whole body of the people, at all the several shrines. To Genius five of the greater victims were offered; and the prætor Caius Atilius Seranus was ordered to vow certain performances, in case the commonwealth should continue for ten years in its present state. These expiations and vows being performed, in conformity to the directions of the Sibylline books, people's minds were, in a good measure, relieved from the burthen of religious apprehensions.

LXIII. Flaminius, one of the consuls elected to whom had fallen by lot the legions which wintered at Placentia, sent an edict and letter to the consul, desiring that those troops should be ready in camp at Ariminum on the ides of March. His design was to enter on the office of consul in his province; for he remembered his old disputes with the patricians, the contests in which he had engaged with them when tribune of the commons, and afterwards, when consul, first about the consulship, his election to which they wanted to annul, and then about a triumph. He was besides hated by the patricians on account of a new law, prejudicial to the senators, introduced by Caius Claudius, a plebeian tribune, to which Caius Flaminius alone, of all the patricians, had given his support, that no senator, or son of a senator, should be owner of a ship fit for sea-voyages, which contained more than three hundred amphoras.<sup>2</sup> This size was thought sufficient for conveying the produce of their farms, and every kind of traffic was deemed unbecoming a senator. This business had been contested with the utmost degree of heat, and had procured to Flaminius, the advocate for the law, great hatred among the nobility, but as

great popularity among the commons, and, in consequence of this, a second consulship. For these reasons, suspecting that they would, by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of celebrating the Latine festival, and other impediments to which a consul was liable, detain him in the city, he pretended a journey, and, while yet in a private capacity, went secretly into the province. This step, when it became known, added fresh resentment to the animosity which, before this, possessed the breasts of the senators; they exclaimed, that "Caius Flaminius now waged war, not only with the senate, but with the immortal gods. That formerly having been made consul under propitious auspices, though gods and men united in recalling him when ready to give battle, he had refused obedience; and now, conscious of having treated them with disrespect, had fled to avoid the capitol, and the customary offering of vows; unwilling, on the day of his entering into office, to approach the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; to see and consult the senate, to whom he knew that he was odious; and that he was the only person by whom they were hated; that he had failed to proclaim the Latine festival, and to perform on the Alban mount the customary sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, to go up to the capitol, under the direction of auspices, in order to offer vows, and thence to proceed to his province in the habit of a commander, and attended by lictors. Instead of which, he had gone off, without

badges of authority, without lictors, like a soldier's servant, privately and by stealth: just as if he were quitting his country to go into exile; supposing, no doubt, that he might assume his office in a manner more suitable to the dignity of supreme magistrate at Ariminum, than at Rome, and put on the consular robe in a public inn better than in his own dwelling." They resolved unanimously, that he should be recalled; that his return should be insisted upon, and that he should be compelled to perform, in person, all duties both to gods and men, before he went to his province. On this embassy (for it was resolved that ambassadors should be sent) went Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius, whose arguments had no more weight with him than had the letter sent to him by the senate in his former consulate. In a few days after, he entered on his office, and as he was offering a sacrifice on the occasion, a calf, after receiving a stroke, made its escape out of the hands of those who officiated at the sacrifice, and sprinkled many of the by-standers with its blood. The confusion and disorder was great, but still greater among those at a distance, who knew not the cause of the disturbance. This was generally interpreted as an omen of dreadful import. Then, after receiving two legions from Sempronius, the consul of the former year, and two from the prætor, Caius Atilius began his march towards Etruria through the passes of the Apennines.





# THE HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXII.

Hannibal, after a laborious march of four days and three nights, without repose, through the marshes, in which he lost an eye, arrives in Etruria. Caius Flaminius, consul, a man of rash and inconsiderate conduct, is involved, by the artifice of Hannibal, in a dangerous defile, and cut off, with the greatest part of his army. Fabius Maximus created dictator, and sent against Hannibal; avoids fighting, and baffles Hannibal's efforts. The master of the horse, Marcus Minucius, excites general dissatisfaction against the dictator's dilatory conduct; is made equal to him in authority; engages the enemy with his half of the forces, and is saved from utter destruction by Fabius coming opportunely to his relief, with the other half of the Roman army; acknowledges his misconduct, and puts himself again under the command of the dictator. Hannibal, shut up by Fabius in a valley at Cassilinum, extricates himself by a stratagem of tying fire-brands to the horns of oxen. Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro utterly defeated at Cannæ, the former being slain, with forty-five thousand men, of whom were eighty senators, and thirty who had served the office of consul, prætor, or ædile. A project of abandoning Italy quashed by Publius Cornelius Scipio, a military tribune, who afterwards acquired the surname of Africanus. Prosperous events in Spain. The Romans enlist slaves; refuse to ransom the prisoners; go out in a body to meet Varro, and thank him for not despairing of the commonwealth.

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I. AT the first approach of spring, Hannibal quitted his winter station. [Y. R. 535. B. C. 217.] He had been foiled before, in his attempt to pass over the Apennine, by the intolerable severity of the cold; for he would gladly have effected it, exposed as he was, during his stay in quarters, to the utmost degree of apprehension and danger. For, when the Gauls, whom the hopes of spoil and pillage had allured to his standard, perceived, that, instead of carrying off booty from the lands of others, their own had become the seat of war, and that they were burthened with the winter residence of both the contending armies, they turned upon Hannibal the enmity which they had harboured against the Romans. Many plots were formed against him, by their chiefs, from the effects of which he was preserved, by their treacherously betraying one another, and discovering their designs, through the same inconstancy which led them to conspire against him. But still he was careful to guard himself against their plots, by frequent disguises; changing sometimes his dress, sometimes the covering of

his head. However, his fears on this account were his principal motives for leaving his winter quarters earlier than usual. In the mean time at Rome, Cneius Servilius entered on the office of consul on the ides of March. He proposed to the senate to take under consideration the state of the commonwealth; whereupon the clamour against Caius Flaminius was renewed. "They created," they said, "two consuls, yet had but one. For what legal authority, what auspices did the other possess? These the magistrates carried with them from home, from their own tutelary gods; and also those of the public, the Latine festival being celebrated, the sacrifices on the Alban mount performed, and vows duly offered in the capitol. Setting out in a private capacity, he could not carry the auspices with him, neither could he take them new, and, for the first time, in a foreign soil." Their apprehensions were increased by reports of prodigies, brought from various places at once. In Sicily, a number of arrows, and in Sardinia, the truncheon of a horseman, as he was going the rounds of



the watch on the walls of Sulci, took fire, as was said; many fires were seen blazing on the shore; two shields sweated blood; several soldiers were struck by lightning; and the sun's orb appeared to be contracted. At Præneste, red-hot stones fell from the sky. At Arpi, bucklers were seen in the air, and the sun fighting with the moon. At Capena, two moons appeared in the day-time. At Cære, the streams of water were mixed with blood; and even the fountain of Hercules was tinged with bloody spots. In the district of Antium, while people were reaping, bloody ears of corn fell into a basket. At Falerii, the sky seemed to be rent asunder with a very wide cleft, and through the opening a strong light burst forth; the divining tickets, without any apparent cause, were diminished in size, and one fell out, which had this inscription, 'Mars brandishes his spear.' About the same time, at Rome, the statue of Mars, on the Appian road, and the images of the wolves, sweated. At Capua, the sky appeared as if on fire, and the moon as falling amongst rain. Afterwards, prodigies of lesser note were heard of: some asserted that goats were converted into sheep; that a hen was turned into a male, and a cock into a female. The consul, laying before the senate all these matters, as reported, and bringing the authors of the reports into the senate-house, proposed to their consideration the affairs of religion. They decreed, that those prodigies should be expiated, some with the greater, some with the lesser victims; and that a supplication for three days should be performed at all the shrines; that, when the decemvirs should have inspected the books, all other particulars should be conducted in such manner as the gods should declare, in their oracles, to be agreeable to them. By the direction of the decemvirs, it was decreed, that, first, a golden thunderbolt, of fifty pounds' weight, should be made as an offering to Jupiter; and that offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva; that sacrifices of the greater victims should be offered to Juno Regina, on the Aventine, and to Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium; that the matrons contributing such sums of money as might be convenient to each, should carry an offering to Juno Regina, to the Aventine, and celebrate a lectisternium to her: and that even the descendants of freed women should make a contribution, in proportion to their abilities, out of which an offering should be made to

Feronia. When these orders were fulfilled, the decemvirs sacrificed, with the greater victims, in the forum at Ardea: and, lastly, so late as the month of December, sacrifices were offered at the temple of Saturn in Rome, and a lectisternium was ordered: on which occasion the couches were laid out by senators, and also a public banquet. Proclamation was likewise made through the city, of a feast of Saturn, to be celebrated during a day and a night, and the people were commanded to keep that day as a festival, and to observe it for ever.

II. While the consul was employed at Rome in endeavouring to procure the favour of the gods, and in levying troops, Hannibal set out from his winter quarters, and hearing that the consul Flaminius had already arrived at Arretium, he chose—notwithstanding that another road, less difficult, but longer, was pointed out to him,—the shorter one through marshes, which, at that time, were overflowed by the river Arnus, to an unusual height. He ordered the Spaniards and Africans, the main strength of his veteran troops, to march in the van, with their baggage between their divisions; that, in case they should be obliged to halt, they might not be at a loss for a supply of necessaries; then the Gauls to follow, so that they should compose the centre of the line, the cavalry in the rear; and after them Mago, with the light-armed Numidians, as a rear guard, to prevent the troops from straggling; particularly to hinder the Gauls, if weary of the labour, or of the length of the journey, from attempting either to slip away, or to stay behind: for that people, it had been found, want firmness to support fatigue. The troops in the van, though almost swallowed in mud, and frequently plunging entirely under water, yet followed the standards wherever their guides led the way, but the Gauls could neither keep their feet, nor, when they fell, raise themselves out of the gulfs, which were formed by the river from the steepness of its banks. They were destitute of spirits and almost hope; and while some, with difficulty, dragged on their enfeebled limbs, others, exhausted by the length of way, having once fallen, lay there, and died among the cattle, of which great numbers also perished. But what utterly overpowered them, was the want of sleep, which they had now endured for four days and three nights; for no dry spot could be found on which they might stretch their wearied limbs, so that they could only

throw their baggage into the water in heaps, on the top of which they laid themselves down. Even the cattle, which lay dead in abundance along the whole course of their march afforded them a temporary bed, as they looked for no further accommodation for sleeping, than something raised above the water. Hannibal himself, having a complaint in his eyes, occasioned, at first, by the unwholesome air of the spring, when changes are frequent from heat to cold, rode on the only elephant which he had remaining, in order to keep himself as high as possible above the water; but at length, the want of sleep, the damps of the night, with those of the marshes, so disordered his head, that, as he had neither place nor time to make use of remedies, he lost one of his eyes.

III. At length, after great numbers of men and cattle had perished miserably, he got clear of the marshes; and, on the first dry ground at which he arrived, pitched his camp. Here, from scouts, whom he had sent forward, he learned with certainty, that the Roman army lay round the walls of Arretium. He then employed the utmost diligence in inquiring into the disposition and designs of the consul, the nature of the several parts of the country, the roads, and the sources from which provisions might be procured, with every other circumstance requisite to be known. As to the country, it was one of the most fertile in Italy: the Etrurian plains, which lie between Fæsulæ and Arretium, abounding with corn and cattle, and plenty of every thing useful. The consul was inflated with presumption since his former consulate, and too regardless, not only of the laws and the dignity of the senate, but even of the gods. This headstrong self-sufficiency, natural to his disposition, fortune had cherished, by the prosperous course of success which she had granted him, in his administration of affairs, both civil and military. There was, therefore, sufficient reason to suppose, that without regarding the sentiments of gods or men, he would act on all occasions with presumption and precipitancy; and the Carthaginian, in order the more effectually to dispose him to follow the bias of his natural imperfections, resolved to irritate and exasperate him. With this view, leaving the enemy on his left, and pointing his route towards Fæsulæ, he marched through the heart of Etruria, ravaging the country, and exhibiting to the consul, at a distance, a view of the great-

est devastations that could be effected by fire and sword. Flaminius, even had the enemy lain quiet, would not have been content to remain inactive; but now, seeing the property of the allies plundered and destroyed before his eyes, he thought that on him must fall the disgrace of Hannibal's overrunning the middle of Italy, and even marching, without opposition to attack the very walls of Rome. Notwithstanding that every member of his council recommended safe, rather than specious measures; that he should wait the arrival of his colleague, when they might enter on the business with joint forces, and with united spirit and judgment; and that, in the meantime, the enemy should be restrained from his unbounded license in plundering, by means of the cavalry and light auxiliaries; he burst away in a rage, and displayed, at once, the signals both for marching and fighting. "We must lie, then," said he, "under the walls of Arretium, because here is our native city, and our household gods; let Hannibal slip out of our hands, ravage Italy, and, after wasting and burning all the rest, sit down before Rome; not stir from hence, in short, until the senate summons Caius Flaminius from Arretium, as formerly Camillus from Veii." While he upbraided them in this manner, he ordered the standards to be raised with speed; and having mounted on horseback, the animal, by a sudden plunge, displaced him from his seat, and threw him over his head. All present were greatly dismayed by such an inauspicious omen, at the opening of the campaign; and, to add to their uneasiness, an account was brought, that one of the standards could not be pulled out of the ground, though the standard-bearer endeavoured it with his utmost strength. The consul, turning to the messenger, said, "Do you also bring a letter from the senate, forbidding me to act? Go, bid them dig up the standard, if fear has so benumbed their hands, that they cannot pull it out." The army then began to march, while the principal officers, besides being averse from the design, were terrified at the two prodigies; but the generality of the soldiers rejoiced at the presumptuous conduct of the general; for they looked no farther than the confidence which he displayed, and never examined the grounds on which it was founded.

IV. Hannibal, the more to exasperate the enemy and provoke him to seek revenge for the



sufferings of his allies, desolated, with every calamity of war, the whole tract of country between the city of Cortona and the lake Thrasimenus. And now the army had arrived at a spot, formed by nature for an ambuscade, where the Thrasimenus approaches closest to the Crotonian mountains. Between them is only a very narrow road, as if room had been designedly left for that purpose; farther on, the ground opens to somewhat a greater width, and, beyond that, rises a range of hills. On these, he formed a camp in open view, where himself, with the African and Spanish infantry only, was to take post. The Balearians, and other light-armed troops, he drew round behind the mountains, and posted the cavalry near the entrance of the defile, where they were effectually concealed by some rising grounds; with design, that as soon as the Romans entered the pass, the cavalry should take possession of the road, and thus the whole space be shut up, between the lake and the mountains. Flaminius, though he arrived at the lake about sunset, took no care to examine the ground, but next morning, before it was clear day, passed through the narrow way, and when the troops began to spread into the wider ground, they saw only that party of the enemy which fronted them; those in ambush on their rear, and over their heads, quite escaped their notice. The Carthaginian, having now gained the point at which he aimed, the Roman being pent up between the mountains and the lake, and surrounded by his troops, immediately gave the signal for the whole to charge at once. They accordingly poured down, every one by the shortest way he could find, and the surprise was the more sudden and alarming, because a mist, rising from the lake, lay thicker on the low grounds than on the mountains; while the parties of the enemy, seeing each other distinctly enough from the several eminences, were the better able to run down together. The Romans, before they could discover their foe, learned, from the shouts raised on all sides, that they were surrounded; and the attack began on their front and flank, before they could properly form a line, or get ready their arms, and draw their swords.

V. In the midst of the general consternation, the consul, perilous as the conjuncture was, showed abundance of intrepidity; he restored, as well as the time and place would allow, the ranks, which were disordered by the men turning themselves about at all the various shouts,

and wherever he could come or be heard, encouraged, and charged them to stand steady, and to fight; telling them, that "they must not expect to get clear of their present situation by vows and prayers to the gods, but by strength and courage. By the sword men opened a way through the midst of embattled foes; and, in general, the less fear the less danger." But such was the noise and tumult, that neither his counsel nor commands could be heard with distinctness; and so far were the soldiers from knowing each his own standard, his rank, and post, that scarcely had they sufficient presence of mind to take up their arms, and get ready for fighting, so that many, while they were rather encumbered than defended by them, were overpowered by the enemy. Besides, the darkness was so great, that they had more use of their ears than of their eyes. The groans of the wounded, the sound of blows on the men's bodies or armour, with the confused cries of threatening and terror, drew attention from one side to another. Some attempting to fly, were stopped by running against the party engaged in fight; others, returning to the fight, were driven back by a body of runaways. At length, after they had made many fruitless essays in every quarter, and enclosed, as they were, by the mountains and lake on the sides, by the enemy's forces on the front and rear, they evidently perceived that there was no hope of safety but in their valour and their weapons. Every one's own thoughts then supplied the place of command and exhortation to exertion, and the action began anew, with fresh vigour; but the troops were not marshalled according to the distinct bodies of the different orders of soldiers, nor so disposed, that the van-guard should fight before the standards, and the rest of the troops behind them; or that each soldier was in his own legion, or cohort, or company: chance formed their bands, and every man's post in the battle, either before or behind the standards, was fixed by his own choice. So intense was the ardour of the engagement, so eagerly was their attention occupied by the fight, that not one of the combatants perceived a great earthquake, which, at the time, overthrew large portions of many of the cities of Italy, turned rapid rivers out of their courses, carried up the sea into the rivers, and by the violence of the convulsion, levelled mountains.

VI. They fought for near three hours, and.

furiously in every part: but round the consul the battle was particularly hot and bloody. The ablest of the men attended him, and he was himself surprisingly active in supporting his troops, wherever he saw them pressed, or in need of assistance; and, as he was distinguished above others by his armour, the enemy pointed their utmost efforts against him, while his own men defended him with equal vigour. At length, an Insubrian horseman, (his name Decario) knowing his face, called out to his countrymen, "Behold, this is the consul, who cut to pieces our legions, and depopulated our country and city. I will now offer this victim to the shades of my countrymen, who lost their lives in that miserable manner;" then, giving spurs to his horse, he darted through the thickest of the enemy; and, after first killing his armour-bearer, who threw himself in the way of the attack, ran the consul through with his lance. He then attempted to spoil him of his arms, but the veterans, covering the body with their shields, drove him back. This event first caused a great number of the troops to fly; and now, so great was their panic, that neither lake nor mountain stopped them; through every place, however narrow or steep, they ran with blind haste, and arms and men were tumbled together in promiscuous disorder. Great numbers, finding no room for farther flight, pushed into the lake, and plunged themselves in such a manner, that only their heads and shoulders were above water. The violence of their fears impelled some to make the desperate attempt of escaping by swimming; but this proving impracticable, on account of the great extent of the lake, they either exhausted their strength, and were drowned in the deep, or, after fatiguing themselves to no purpose, made their way back, with the utmost difficulty, to the shallows, and were there slain, wherever they appeared, by the enemy's horsemen wading into the same. About six thousand of the van-guard, bravely forcing their way through the opposite enemy, got clear of the defile, and knowing nothing of what was passing behind them, halted on a rising ground, where they could only hear the shouting, and the din of arms, but could not see, by reason of the darkness, nor judge, with any certainty, as to the fortune of the day. At length, after the victory was decided, the increasing heat of the sun dispelling the mist, the prospect was opened. The mountains and plains showed the desperate condition of their affairs, and the

shocking carnage of the Roman army: wherefore, lest on their being seen at a distance, the cavalry should be sent against them, they hastily raised their standards, and hurried away with all possible speed. Next day, when, besides their other distresses, they were threatened with the extremity of hunger, Maharbal, who, with the whole body of cavalry, had overtaken them during the night, pledging his faith, that if they surrendered their arms, he would suffer them to depart with single garments, they delivered themselves into his hands. But this capitulation Hannibal observed with Punic sincerity, and threw them into chains.

VII. Such was the memorable fight at the Thrasimenus, and the severe blow there received by the Romans, remarkable among the few disasters of the kind which the nation has ever undergone. Of the Romans, fifteen thousand were slain in the field; ten thousand, who fled, and dispersed themselves through every part of Etruria, made their way afterwards, by different roads, home to the city. Of the enemy, one thousand five hundred perished in the fight, and a great many afterwards of their wounds. By some writers, the loss of men on both sides is represented as vastly greater: for my part, besides that I wish to avoid the magnifying any particular whatever, an error to which writers are in general too prone, I think it reasonable to give the preference to the authority of Fabius, who lived in the very time of this war. Hannibal dismissed, without ransom, such of the prisoners as were natives of Latium, the Romans he loaded with chains. He then ordered that the bodies of his own men should be collected from among the heaps of the enemy, and buried; directing, at the same time, that the body of Flaminius should be sought for, with intention to honour him with a funeral; but after a most diligent search, it could not be found. As soon as the first news of this disaster arrived at Rome, the people, in great terror and tumult, crowded together into the forum. The matrons, running up and down the streets, asked every one who came in their way, what sudden calamity was said to have happened; in what state was the army? At length, after a crowd, not less numerous than that of a full assembly of the people, had collected in the comitium, and about the senate-house, calling on the magistrates for information, a little before sun-set, Marcus Pompo-



ninus, the prætor, told them, "We have been defeated in a great battle." Though nothing more particular was heard from him, yet the people, catching up rumours, one from another, returned to their houses with accounts, that, "the consul was slain, together with a great part of his army; that few survived, and that these were either dispersed through Etruria, or taken by the enemy." Every kind of misfortune, which had ever befallen vanquished troops, was now pictured in the anxious minds of those, whose relations had served under the consul Caius Flaminius, having no positive information on which they could found either hope or fear. During the next, and several succeeding days, a multitude, composed of rather more women than men, stood round the gates, watching for the arrival, either of their friends, or of some who might give intelligence concerning them; and whenever any person came up, they crowded about him with eager inquiries; nor could they be prevailed on to retire, especially from such as were of their acquaintance, until they had examined minutely into every particular. Then, when they did separate from about the informants, might be seen their countenances expressive of various emotions, according as the intelligence, which each received, was pleasing or unfavourable; and numbers, surrounding them, returned to their houses, offering either congratulations or comfort. Among the women, particularly, the effects both of joy and grief were very conspicuous: one, as we are told, meeting, unexpectedly, at the very gate, her son returning safe, expired at the sight of him: another, who sat in her house, overwhelmed with grief, in consequence of a false report of her son's death, on seeing that son returning, died immediately, through excess of joy. The prætors, during several days, kept the senate assembled in their house, from the rising to the setting of the sun, deliberating by what commander, or with what forces, opposition could be made to the victorious Carthaginians.

VIII. Before they had fully determined on the plans to be pursued, they received an account of another unexpected disaster: four thousand horsemen, who had been sent by Servilius, the consul, to the aid of his colleague, under the command of Caius Centenius, pro-prætor, were cut off by Hannibal in Umbria, whither, on hearing of the fight at the Thrasimenus, they had marched to avoid him. The

news of this event affected people differently: some, having their minds occupied by grief, for misfortunes of a momentous kind, certainly deemed the loss of the cavalry light, in comparison: others judged not of the accident by its own intrinsic importance; but considered, that as in a sickly constitution, a slight cause is attended with more sensible effects, than a more powerful one in a constitution possessed of vigour; so any kind of misfortune, happening to the commonwealth in its present debilitated condition, ought to be estimated, not by the magnitude of the affair itself, but by the enfeebled state of the same, which could not endure any degree of aggravation to its distresses. Accordingly, the state had recourse to a remedy, which for a long time past had neither been used nor wanted, the nomination of a dictator: and because the consul, who alone was supposed to possess the power of nominating that officer, was abroad, and it was difficult to send either messenger or letter, through those parts of Italy, occupied, as they were, by the Carthaginian arms; and as the people could not create a dictator, no precedent having yet existed for it, they therefore, in an assembly, created a pro-dictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and a master of the horse, Marcus Minucius Rufus. These received a charge from the senate, to strengthen the walls and towers of the city; to post troops in proper places, and to break down the bridges on the rivers; since, having proved unequal to the defence of Italy, they must fight at their own doors in defence of the city.

IX. Hannibal marched straight forward, through Umbria, as far as Spoletum; which town, after he had utterly wasted all the adjoining country, he attempted to take by storm; but, being repulsed, with the loss of a great number of men, and judging, from the strength of that single colony, his attempt on which had ended so little to his advantage, what great difficulties he had to surmount, before he could master the city of Rome, he changed the direction of his route toward the territory of Picenum, which not only abounded with provisions of all sorts, but was, besides, well stored with booty, which his needy and rapacious soldiers greedily seized. There he remained during several days, in one fixed post, and refreshed his men, who had been severely fatigued by their long marches in the winter season, and through the marshes, as well as by the battle, which

though favourable in the issue, was not gained without danger and fatigue. After allowing sufficient rest to his troops, who, however, delighted more in plundering and ravaging, than in ease and repose, he put them in motion, and spread devastation through the territories of Prætulia and Adria, the country of the Marsians, Manucianians, and Pelignians, and the neighbouring tract of Apulia, round Arpi and Luceria. The consul, Cneius Servilius, had fought some slight battles with the Gauls, and taken one town of no great consequence; when, hearing of the disaster of his colleague, and the troops under his command, and being filled with apprehensions for the capital of his country, he resolved not to be out of the way, in a conjuncture of such extreme danger; he therefore marched directly towards Rome. Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator, a second time, on the day wherein he entered into office, assembled the senate, when he commenced his administration with attention to the gods. Having proved, to the conviction of the assembly, that the faults committed by Caius Flaminius, the consul, through his neglect of the established sacred rites, and the auspices, were even greater than those which arose from his rashness and want of judgment; and that it was necessary to learn, from the gods themselves, what atonements would appease their wrath, he prevailed on them to pass an order, which was not usual, except when some terrible prodigies were announced, that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline leaves. These, after inspecting those books of the fates, reported to the senate, that, "the vow made to Mars, on occasion of the present war, had not been duly fulfilled; that it must be performed anew, and that in a more ample manner; that the great games must be vowed to Jupiter; and temples to Venus Erycina and Mens; that a supplication and lectisternium must be performed, and a sacred spring vowed, in case success attended their arms, and that the commonwealth remained in the same state in which it had been when the war began." The senate, considering that Fabius would have full employment in the management of the war, ordered that Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, should take care, that all these matters might be performed in due time, according to the directions of the college of pontiffs.

X. On the passing of these decrees of the senate, the chief pontiff, Lucius Cornelius

Lentulus, being advised with by the college of prætors, gave his opinion, that before any other steps were taken, the people should be consulted with respect to the sacred spring; for that a vow of that import could not be made without their order. Accordingly, the question was proposed to the people in these words: "Do ye choose and order, that what I am going to propose shall be performed in this manner: that in case the commonwealth of the Roman people, the Quirites, shall, (as I wish it may) be preserved in safety, during the next five years, from these wars, namely, the war which subsists between the Roman people and the Carthaginians; and the wars subsisting with the Gauls, who dwell on this side of the Alps; then the Roman people, the Quirites, shall present, as an offering, whatever the spring shall produce, from the herds of swine, sheep, goats, or oxen; of which produce, accruing from the day when the senate and people shall appoint, whatever shall not have been appropriated by consecration, shall be sacrificed to Jupiter. Let him who makes the offering, make it at what time, and in what form he shall choose: in whatsoever manner he does it, let the offering be deemed proper: if that which ought to be sacrificed die, let it be deemed as unconsecrated; and let no guilt ensue. If any person undesignedly shall break, or kill it, let him incur no penalty. If any shall steal it, let not guilt be imputed to the people, nor to him from whom it is stolen. If any, unknowingly, offer the sacrifice on a forbidden day, let the offering be deemed good. Whether the offering shall be made by night or by day, whether by a freeman or a slave, let it be deemed good. If the senate and people shall order it to be made on an earlier day than a person shall make it, let the people be acquitted and free from the guilt thereof." On the same account, a vow was made to celebrate the great games, at the expense of three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three asses and one third; besides three hundred oxen to be offered to Jupiter; and white oxen, and other victims, to many other deities. The vows being duly made, a proclamation was issued, for a supplication, in the performance of which joined not only the inhabitants of the city, with their wives and children, but also those of the country, who, having any property of their own,



were interested in the welfare of the public. Then was performed the lectisternium, during the space of three days, under the direction of the decemvirs of religious rites. There were six couches exhibited to view, one for Jupiter and Juno, another for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, and the sixth for Mercury and Ceres. The temples were then vowed; that to Venus Erycina, by Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator; for such was the direction found in the books of the fates, that the person who held the highest authority in the state should vow it. Titus Otacilius, the prætor, vowed the temple to Mens.

XI. The business relating to religion being thus concluded, the dictator then proposed to the senate, to take into consideration the state of the commonwealth and the war; and to determine how many, and what legions should be employed to stop the progress of the victorious enemy. They passed a decree, that "he should receive the army from the consul, Cneius Servilius; in addition to which, he should levy among the citizens and allies, such numbers of horse and foot as he should judge requisite; and in every other particular, should act and manage in such a manner as he should see conducive to the public good." Fabius declared his intention to make an addition of two legions to the army of Servilius; these he ordered to be levied by the master of the horse, and appointed a day on which they were to assemble at Tibur. Then, having published a proclamation that those who dwelt in towns or forts which were incapable of defence, should remove into places of safety; and that all the inhabitants of that tract, through which Hannibal was to march, should likewise remove out of the country, after first burning the houses, and destroying the fruits of the earth, to prevent his meeting any kind of supply; he himself set out, by the Flaminian road, to meet the consul and the army. Coming within sight of the troops, on their march on the bank of the Tiber, near Oriculum, and observing the consul, with some horsemen, advancing, he sent a beadle to acquaint him, that he must approach the dictator without lictors. This order he obeyed; and their meeting raised an exalted idea of the dictatorship in the minds both of citizens and allies; who had now, in consequence of the long disuse, al-

most forgotten that office. Here he received a letter from the city, with intelligence, that the transport, carrying ships supplies from Ostia to the army in Spain, had been captured by a fleet of the enemy near the port of Cossa: in consequence of which, the consul was ordered to proceed immediately to Ostia, to man all the ships which were at the city of Rome, or at Ostia, with soldiers and mariners, to pursue the enemy, and guard the coasts of Italy. Great numbers of men had been levied at Rome; even the sons of freedmen, who had children, and were of military age, had enlisted. Of these troops, such as were under thirty-five years of age were put on board the ships; the rest were left to guard the city.

XII. The dictator, receiving the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant-general, came through the Sabine territory to Tibur, on the day which he had appointed for the assembling of the new-raised troops; thence he went back to Præneste, and, crossing the country to the Latine road, led forward his army; examining, with the utmost care, the country through which he was to pass, being determined, in no case, to subject himself to the disposal of fortune, except so far as necessity might constrain him. When he first pitched his camp within the enemy's view, not far from Arpi, the Carthaginian on the same day, without delaying an hour, led out his forces, and offered battle; but, seeing every thing quiet, and no hurry or bustle in the Roman camp, he returned within his lines, observing, with a sneer, that the spirit which the Romans boasted to have inherited from Mars, was at length subdued; that they had given over fighting, and made open acknowledgment of their abatement in courage and love of glory. His mind, however, was sensibly affected, on finding that he had now to deal with a commander very unlike Flaminius and Sempronius; and that the Romans, instructed by misfortunes, had at length chosen a leader which was a match for Hannibal: and he quickly perceived that, in the dictator, he had to dread provident skill more than vigorous exertion. Having however not yet fully experienced his steadiness, he attempted to rouse and provoke his temper by frequently removing his camp, and ravaging under his eyes the lands of the allies; at one time withdrawing out of sight by a hasty march; at another, halting in a place of concealment at a

turn of the road, in hopes of taking him at a disadvantage on his coming down into the plain. Fabius led his forces along the high grounds at a moderate distance from the enemy : so as not to let him be out of reach, nor yet to come to an engagement. His men were confined within their camp, except when called forth by some necessary occasion ; and his parties, sent for forage and wood, were neither small in number, nor were they allowed to ramble. An advanced guard of cavalry and light infantry, properly equipped, and formed for the purpose of repressing sudden alarms, rendered every place safe to those of their own side, and dangerous to such of the enemy as straggled in search of plunder. Thus, a decisive trial in a general engagement was avoided. At the same time slight skirmishes of no great importance commenced on safe ground, and where a place of retreat was at hand, which accustomed the soldiers, dispirited by former misfortunes, to place more confidence both in their own courage and their fortune. But he found not Hannibal more inclined to disconcert such wise plans than his own master of the horse, whom nothing but being subordinate in command prevented from plunging the commonwealth into ruin. Confident and precipitate in his measures, and allowing his tongue an exorbitant license, he used, at first in small circles, afterwards openly in public, to call the dictator sluggish instead of cool ; timid instead of cautious ; imputing to him as faults what had the nearest affinity to virtues. Thus, by the practice of depressing the merit of his superior,—a practice of the basest nature, and which has become too general, in consequence of the favourable success so often attending it,—he exalted himself.

XIII. Hannibal led away his forces from the territory of Arpi into Samnium, ravaged the lands of Beneventum, took the city of Telesia, and used every means to irritate the Roman general ; in hopes that by so many indignities, and the sufferings of his allies, he might be provoked to hazard an engagement on equal ground. Among the multitude of the allies of Italian birth, who had been made prisoners by the Carthaginian at Thrasimenus, and set at liberty, were three Campanian horsemen. Hannibal on that occasion, by many presents and promises, engaged them to conciliate the affections of their countrymen in his favour. These now informed him, that if he brought his army

into Campania, he would have an opportunity of getting possession of Capua. The affair was of much moment, and seemed to demand more weighty authority. Hannibal hesitated, inclining at one time to confide in their assurances, at another to distrust them, yet they brought him to a resolution of marching from Samnium into Campania ; and he dismissed them, with repeated charges to fulfil their promises by deeds, and with orders to return to him with a greater number and with some of their principal men. He then commanded his guide to conduct him into the territory of Casinum ; having learned from persons acquainted with the country, that if he seized on the pass there, the Romans would be shut out, so as to prevent their bringing succour to their allies. But speaking with the Carthaginian accent, and mispronouncing the Latin words, the guide misapprehended him as having said Casilinum instead of Casinum ; so that, turning from the right road, he led him through the territories of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales, down into the plain of Stella. Here Hannibal looking round, and perceiving the place inclosed between mountains and rivers, called the guide, and asked him where he was ; and the other answering, that he would lodge that night at Casilinum, he at last discovered the mistake, and that Casinum lay at a very great distance, in a quite different direction. On this, having scourged and crucified the guide, in order to strike terror into others, he pitched and fortified his camp, and despatched Maharbal, with the cavalry, to ravage the territory of Falerii. Here the depredations were carried as far as the waters of Sinuessa, the Numidians committing dreadful devastations, and spreading fear and consternation to a still wider extent. Yet did not this terror, great as it was, and though their whole country was involved in the flames of war, induce the allies to swerve from their allegiance. They had no desire to change their rulers, for they lived under a mild and equitable government ; and there is no bond of loyalty so strong.

XIV. The Carthaginians encamped at the river Vulturnus, and the most delightful tract in Italy was seen wasted with fire, the country-seats on every side smoking in ruins. While Fabius led his army along the tops of the Massic mountains, the discontent in it was inflamed anew, and to such a degree, as to fall little short of a mutiny. During a few days past, as their



march had been conducted with more expedition than usual, they had been in good temper, because they had supposed that this haste was owing to an intention to protect Campania from further ravages. But when they had gained the heights, and the enemy appeared under their eyes, setting fire to the houses of the Falernian district, with the colony of Sinuessa, and that still no mention was made of fighting, Minucius exclaimed, "Are we come hither to view the burning and slaughter of our allies, as to a spectacle grateful to the sight? If no other circumstance strikes us with shame, do we feel none with regard to these our countrymen, whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa, to secure this frontier from the inroads of the Samnites? And now the frontier is wasted with fire, not by the Samnites, a neighbouring state, but by Carthaginians, a foreign race, who, from the remotest limits of the world, have effected their progress hither, in consequence of our dilatory and slothful proceedings. Shamefully are we degenerated from our ancestors, who considered it as an affront to their government, if a Carthaginian fleet happened to sail along this coast; for we now behold the same coast filled with the enemy's troops, and possessed by Moors and Numidians. We, who lately felt such indignation at siege being laid to Saguntum that we appealed, not only to mankind, but to treaties and to the gods, now look on without emotion, while Hannibal is scaling the walls of a Roman colony. The smoke from the burning houses and lands is carried into our eyes and mouths; our ears ring with the cries and lamentations of our allies, invoking our aid oftener than that of the immortal gods; yet, hiding ourselves here in woods and clouds, we lead about our army like a herd of cattle, through shady forests and desert paths. If Marcus Furius had adopted the design of rescuing the city from the Gauls, by the same means by which this new Camillus, this dictator of such singular abilities, selected for us in our distresses, intends to recover Italy from Hannibal, (that is, by traversing mountains and forests,) Rome would now be the property of the Gauls; and great reason do I see to dread, if we persevere in this dilatory mode of acting, that our ancestors have so often preserved it for Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But he, who had the spirit of a man, and of a true Roman, during the very day on which the account was brought to Veii, of his

being nominated dictator, by direction of the senate, and order of the people, though the Janiculum was of sufficient height, where he might sit and take a prospect of the enemy, came down to the plain: and, on that same day, in the middle of the city, where now are the Gallic piles, and on the day following, on the road to Gabii, cut to pieces the legions of the Gauls. What! when many years after this, at the Caudine forks, we were sent under the yoke by the Samnites; was it by traversing the mountains of Samnium, or was it by pressing briskly the siege of Luceria, and compelling the enemy to fight, that Lucius Papirius Cursor removed the yoke from the necks of the Romans, and imposed it on the haughty Samnites? In a late case, what but quick despatch gave victory to Caius Lutatius? For on the next day after he came in view of the enemy, he overpowered their fleet, heavily laden with provisions, and encumbered with their own implements and cargoes. To imagine that, by sitting still, and offering up prayers, the war can be brought to a conclusion, is folly in the extreme. Forces must be armed, must be led out to the open field, that you may encounter, man with man. By boldness and activity, the Roman power has been raised to its present height, and not by these sluggish measures, which cowards term cautious." While Minucius harangued in this manner, as if to a general assembly, he was surrounded by a multitude of tribunes and Roman horsemen; and his presumptuous expressions reached even the ears of the common men, who gave evident demonstrations, that if the matter were submitted to the votes of the soldiery, they would prefer Minucius, as a commander, to Fabius.

XV. Fabius watched the conduct of his own men with no less attention than that of the enemy; determined to show, with respect to them, in the first place, that his resolution was unalterable by any thing which they could say or do. He well knew that his dilatory measures were severely censured, not only in his own camp, but likewise at Rome, yet he persisted, with inflexible steadiness, in the same mode of conduct during the remainder of the summer; in consequence of which, Hannibal, finding himself disappointed in his hopes of an engagement, after having tried his utmost endeavours to bring it about, began to look round for a convenient place for his winter-quarters: for the country where he then was, though it

afforded plenty for the present, was incapable of furnishing a lasting supply, because it abounded in trees and vineyards, and other plantations of such kinds as minister rather to pleasure than to men's necessary demands. Of this his intention, Fabius received information from scouts; and knowing, with a degree of certainty, that he would return through the same pass by which he had entered the Falernian territory, he detached parties of moderate force to take possession of Mount Calicula, and Casilinum, which city, being intersected by the river Volturnus, is the boundary between the Falernian and Campanian territories. He himself led back his army along the same eminences over which he had come, sending out Lucius Hostilius Mancinus, with four hundred horsemen of the allies, to procure intelligence. This young man, who had often made one of the crowd of listeners to the presumptuous harangues of the master of the horse, proceeded at first, as the commander of a party of observation ought, watching, from safe ground, the motions of the enemy: afterwards, seeing the Numidians scattered about through the villages, and having, on an opportunity that offered, slain some of them, his whole mind was instantly occupied by the thoughts of fighting, and he lost all recollection of the orders of the dictator, who had charged him to advance only so far as he might with safety, and to retreat before he should come within the enemy's sight. Several different parties of the Numidians, by skirmishing and retreating, drew him on almost to their camp, by which time both his men and horses were greatly fatigued. Here Cartalo, commander-in-chief of the cavalry, advancing in full career, obliged his party to fly before he came within a dart's throw, and almost without relaxing in speed, pursued them in their flight through the length of five miles. Mancinus, when he saw that the enemy did not desist from their pursuit, and that there was no prospect of escaping, exhorted his men to act with courage, and faced about on the foe, though superior to him in every particular. The consequence was, that he, and the bravest of his party, were surrounded, and cut to pieces: the rest, betaking themselves to a precipitate flight, made their escape, first to Cales, and thence, by ways almost impassable, to the dictator. It happened that, on the same day, Minucius rejoined Fabius, having been sent to secure, by a body of

troops, a woody hill, which above Tarracina, forms a narrow defile, and hangs over the sea; because it was apprehended, that, if that barrier of the Appian way were left unguarded, the Carthaginian might penetrate into the territory of Rome. The dictator and master of the horse, having re-united their forces, marched down into the road, through which Hannibal was to pass. At this time the enemy were two miles distant.

XVI. Next day the Carthaginians, marching forward, filled the whole road which lay between the two camps; and though the Romans had taken post close to their own rampart, with an evident advantage of situation, yet the Carthaginian advanced with his light-horsemen, and, in order to provoke the enemy, made several skirmishing attacks, charging, and then retreating. The Romans kept their position, and the fight proceeded without vigour, more agreeably to the wish of the dictator than to that of Hannibal. Two hundred Romans, and eight hundred of the enemy, fell. There was now reason to think, that by the road to Casilinum being thus blockaded, Hannibal was effectually pent up; and that while Capua and Samnium, and such a number of wealthy allies at their back, should furnish the Romans with supplies, the Carthaginian, on the other hand, would be obliged to winter between the rocks of Formiæ, the sands of Linternum, and horrid stagnated marshes. Nor was Hannibal insensible that his own arts were now played off against himself. Wherefore, seeing it impracticable to make his way through Casilinum, and that he must direct his course to the mountains, and climb over the summit of the Calicula, lest the Romans should fall on his troops in their march, when entangled in the valleys, he devised a stratagem for baffling the enemy by a deception calculated to inspire terror, resolving to set out secretly in the beginning of the night, and proceed toward the mountains. The means which he contrived for the execution of his plan were these: collecting combustible matters from all the country round, he caused bundles of rods and dry twigs to be tied fast on the horns of oxen, great numbers of which, trained and untrained, he drove along with him, among the other spoil taken in the country, and he made up the number of almost two thousand. He then gave in charge to Hasdrubal, that as soon as the darkness of the night came on, he should drive this numerous herd,



after first setting fire to their horns, up the mountains, and particularly, if he found it practicable, over the passes where the enemy kept guard.

XVII. As soon as it grew dark the army decamped in silence, driving the oxen at some distance before the van. When they arrived at the foot of the mountains and the narrow roads, the signal was instantly given that fire should be set to the horns of the oxen, and that they should be driven violently up the mountains in front; when their own fright, occasioned by the flame blazing on their heads, together with the heat, which soon penetrated to the quick and to the roots of their horns, drove them on as if goaded by madness. By their spreading about in this manner all the bushes were quickly in a blaze, just as if fire had been set to the woods and mountains, and the fruitless tossing of their heads serving to increase the flames, they afforded an appearance as of men running up and down on every side. The troops stationed to guard the passage of the defiles, seeing several fires on the tops of the mountains, concluded they were surrounded, and quitted their post, taking the way, as the safest course, towards the summits, where they saw fewest fires blazing. Here they fell in with several of the oxen, which had scattered from the herds to which they belonged. At first, when they saw them at a distance, imagining that they breathed out flames, they halted in utter astonishment at the miraculous appearance; but afterwards, when they discovered that it was an imposition of human contrivance, and believing that they were in danger of being ensnared, they hastily, and with redoubled terror, betook themselves to flight. They met also the enemy's light infantry, but night inspiring equal fears, prevented either from beginning a fight until day-light. In the meantime Hannibal led his whole army through the defile, where he surprised some Romans in the very pass, and pitched his camp in the territory of Allifæ.

XVIII. Fabius perceived the tumult; but, suspecting some snare, and being utterly averse from fighting, in the night particularly, he kept his men within their trenches. As soon as day appeared, a fight commenced near the summit of the mountain, in which the Romans, who had considerably the advantage in numbers, would have easily overpowered the light infantry of the enemy, separated as they were

from their friends, had not a cohort of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for the purpose, come up to the spot. These, both by reason of the agility of their limbs, and the nature of their arms, being lighter and better qualified for skirmishing among rocks and cliffs (to which they were accustomed), by their manner of fighting, easily baffled the enemy, who were used to act on plain ground in steady fight, and who carried weighty arms. After a contest, therefore, by no means equal, they both withdrew to their respective camps; the Spaniards with almost all their men safe, the Romans with the loss of many. Fabius likewise decamped, and passing through the defile, seated himself in a high and strong post above Allifæ. Hannibal, now counterfeiting an intention to proceed to Rome through Samnium, marched back as far as the country of the Pelignians, spreading devastation every where as he went. Fabius led his army along the heights, between the route of the enemy and the city of Rome, constantly attending his motions, but never giving him a meeting. From the territory of Pelignum, Hannibal altered his route; and, directing his march back towards Apulia, came to Gerunium, a city whose inhabitants had abandoned it, being terrified by a part of the walls having fallen in ruins. The dictator formed a strong camp in the territory of Larinum; and, being recalled thence to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, he pressed the master of the horse not only with orders, but with earnest advice, and almost with prayers, to "confide more in prudence than in fortune; and to imitate his conduct in command rather than that of Sempronius and Flaminius. Not to think there had been no advantage gained, in having foiled the designs of the Carthaginian through almost the whole length of the summer; observing, that even physicians sometimes effect their purpose better by rest than by motion and action; that it was a matter of no small importance to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy so inured to victory; and, after a long course of disasters, to have gained time to breathe." After urging these cautions, which were thrown away on the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

XIX. In the beginning of the summer wherein these transactions passed, the operations of the war commenced in Spain also, both by land and sea. Hasdrubal, to the number of ships which he had received from his bro-

ther, manned and in readiness for service, added ten; and giving the command of this fleet of forty ships to Hamilco, set out from New Carthage, marching his army along the shore, while the fleet sailed on, at a small distance from the land; so that he was prepared to fight on either element, as the foe should come in his way. Cneius Scipio, on hearing that the enemy had moved from their winter-quarters, at first designed to pursue the same plan of operations; but, afterwards, on hearing that they had been joined by vast numbers of new auxiliaries, he judged it not so prudent to meet them on land; sending, therefore, on board his ships, an additional number of chosen soldiers, he put to sea, with a fleet of thirty-five sail. On the next day after his leaving Tarraco, he arrived at a harbour within ten miles of the mouth of the river Iberus, and despatching thence two Massilian scout-boats, learned from them, that the Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of that river, and that their camp was pitched on the bank. Intending, therefore, by a general attack with his whole force, at once to overpower the enemy, while unprovided and off their guard, he weighed anchor, and advanced towards them. They have, in Spain, a great many towers built in lofty situations, which are used both as watch-towers, and as places of defence against pirates. From these the Roman fleet was first descried, and notice given of it to Hasdrubal. This caused much confusion in the camp on land, and somewhat earlier than the alarm reached the ships, where they had not heard the dashing of oars, nor any other noise usually accompanying a fleet. The capes, likewise, shut out the enemy from their view, when on a sudden, while they were rambling about the shore, or sitting quietly in their tents, expecting nothing less than the approach of an enemy, or a fight on that day, several horsemen, despatched by Hasdrubal, came one after another, with orders for them to go on board instantly, and get ready their arms, for that the Roman fleet was just at the mouth of the harbour. These orders the horsemen, sent for the purpose, conveyed to every part; and presently Hasdrubal himself arrived with the main body of the army. Every place was now filled with noise and tumult: the rowers and soldiers hurrying to their ships, like men making their escape from land rather than going to battle. Scarcely had all got on board when some of the vessels, having untied the hawsers

at the sterns, were carried foul of their anchors. Every thing was done with too much hurry and precipitation, so that the business of the mariners was impeded by the preparations of the soldiers, and the soldiers were prevented from taking and preparing their arms by the bustle and confusion of the mariners. The Romans, by this time, were not only drawing nigh, but had already formed their ships in order of battle. The Carthaginians, therefore, falling into the utmost disorder, to which the enemy's attack contributed not more than the confusion prevailing among themselves, tacked about, and fled; and as the mouth of the river, to which they steered their course, did not afford an entrance to such an extensive line, and as such numbers crowded in together, their ships were driven off shore; many striking on banks, others on the dry strand. The soldiers made their escape, some with their arms, others without them, to their friends, who were drawn up on the shore. However, in the first encounter, two Carthaginian ships were taken, and four sunk.

XX. The Romans, without hesitation, pursued their dismayed fleet, notwithstanding that the land was possessed by the enemy, and that they saw a line of their troops under arms, stretched along the whole shore; and all the ships which had either shattered their prows by striking against the shore, or stuck their keels fast in the sand banks, they tied to their sterns and towed out into the deep. Out of the forty ships they took twenty-five. The most brilliant circumstance attending their victory was, that by this one battle, which cost them so little, they were rendered masters of the sea along the whole extent of that coast. Sailing forward, therefore, to Honosca, they there made a descent, took the city by storm, and sacked it. Thence they proceeded to Carthage, and, after wasting all the country round, at last set fire to the houses contiguous to the very walls and gates. The ships, now heavily laden with booty, went on to Longun-tica, where a great quantity of okum,<sup>1</sup> for cordage, had been collected by Hasdrubal for the use of the fleet. Of this they carried off as much as they had occasion for, and burned the rest. Nor did they carry their operations along the open coasts of the continent only, but passed over to the island of Ebusa, where

1 A kind of broom.



they in vain attempted, during two days, and with their utmost efforts, to gain possession of the capital city. Perceiving, however, that they were wasting time to no purpose, and in pursuit of a hopeless design, they applied themselves to the ravaging of the country; and after plundering and burning several towns, and collecting a greater quantity of booty than they had acquired on the continent, they retired on board their ships; at which time ambassadors came to Scipio, from the Balearic Isles, suing for peace. From this place the fleet sailed back, and returned to the hither parts of the province, whither ambassadors hastily flocked from all the nations adjacent to the Iberus, and from many even of the remotest parts of Spain. The whole number of states, which submitted to the dominion and government of Rome, and gave hostages, amounted to more than one hundred and twenty. Wherefore the Roman general, relying now with sufficient confidence on his land forces also, advanced as far as the pass of Castulo: on which Hasdrubal withdrew toward the ocean into Lusitania.

XXI. It was now supposed that the remainder of the summer would pass without farther action; and this would have been the case, had it depended on the Carthaginians; but, besides that the native Spaniards are in their temper restless and fond of change, Mandonius and Indibilis, (the latter of whom had formerly been chieftain of the Ilergetans,) as soon as the Romans retired from the pass towards the sea-coast, roused their countrymen to arms, and made predatory irruptions into the peaceful territories of the Roman allies. Against these Scipio sent some military tribunes, with a body of light-armed auxiliaries; and these, without much difficulty, routed all their tumultuary bands, slaying and taking many, and disarming the greater part of them. This commotion, however, drew back Hasdrubal, from his march towards the ocean, to the hither side of the Iberus, for the purpose of supporting his confederates. The Carthaginians lay encamped in the territory of Ilercao, the Romans at a place called Newfleet, when a sudden piece of intelligence diverted the war to another quarter: the Celtiberians, who of all the states in that tract were the first who sent ambassadors, and gave hostages to the Romans, had, in consequence of instructions sent by Scipio, taken up arms, and invaded the province of the Carthaginians with

a powerful army, had reduced three towns by assault, and had afterwards fought two battles against Hasdrubal himself with excellent success, killing fifteen thousand of his men, and taking four thousand, with many military ensigns.

XXII. While affairs in Spain were in this state, Publius Scipio, having been, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, and sent thither by the senate, arrived in the province with thirty ships of war, eight thousand soldiers, and a large supply of provisions. His fleet, which, when seen at a distance, made a grand appearance, by reason of the long train of transport vessels, put into the harbour of Tarraco, causing great joy among his countrymen and allies. Here Scipio disembarked his troops, and then marched to join his brother; and they thenceforth conducted the war jointly, with perfect harmony of temper, and unanimity in their counsels. The Carthaginians were now busily employed in making head against the Celtiberians; they therefore without delay passed the Iberus, and not seeing any enemy, proceeded to Saguntum, having received information that the hostages from every part of Spain had been placed there, under custody, by Hannibal, and were guarded in the citadel by a small garrison. This pledge was the only thing which hindered all the states from manifesting their inclinations to an alliance with Rome; as they dreaded lest, in case of their defection, the blood of their children should be made the expiation of their offence. From this restraint, one man, by a device more artful than honourable, set Spain at liberty. There was at Saguntum, a Spaniard of noble birth, called Abelo, who had hitherto behaved with fidelity to the Carthaginians, but had now, out of a disposition very general among barbarians on a change of fortune, altered his attachment. But considering that a deserter coming to an enemy, without bringing into their hands any advantage of consequence, is no more than an infamous and contemptible individual, he studied how he might procure the most important emolument to his new allies. Wherefore, after reviewing every expedient within the reach of his power to effect, he determined upon a plan of delivering up the hostages into their hands; judging that this alone would prove of all means the most effectual towards conciliating to the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chief-

tains. But as he well knew that, without an order from Bostar the commander, the guards of the hostages would do nothing, he artfully addressed Bostar himself; the latter lying at the time encamped at some distance from the city, on the very shore, with intention to hinder the approach of the Romans from the harbour. Here the other, taking him aside to a place of secrecy, represented, as if it were unknown to him, the present state of affairs; that "fear had hitherto restrained the inclinations of the Spaniards, because the Romans had been at a great distance; at present the Roman camp was on their side of the Iberus, serving as a fortress and place of refuge to all who wished a change; wherefore it was necessary that those who could no longer be bound by fear, should be bound by kindness and favour." Bostar showing surprise, and asking what was this unthought-of kindness of such great moment, he answered, "Send home the hostages to their respective provinces: this will engage the gratitude of their parents in particular, who are men of the first consequence in their several states, and likewise of the communities in general. Every man wishes to find trust reposed in him, and trust reposed generally proves a bond of fidelity. The office of restoring the hostages to their families I demand for myself; that, as I have been the proposer of the plan, I may likewise be its promoter, by the pains which I shall take in the execution of it; and may, as far as lies in my power, render a proceeding, which is acceptable in its own nature, still more acceptable." Having gained the approbation of Bostar, who possessed not the same degree of crafty sagacity as other Carthaginians, he went out secretly by night to the advanced guards of the enemy, where, meeting some of the Spanish auxiliaries, and being by them conducted to Scipio, he disclosed the business on which he came. Then mutual engagements being entered into, and time and place appointed for delivering up the hostages, he returned to Saguntum. The next day he spent with Bostar, in receiving instructions for the execution of his commission; and, before he left him, settled the plan so, that he was to go by night, in order to escape the observation of the enemy's watch. At an hour concerted, he called up the guards of the boys; and setting out, he led them, as if unknowingly, into the snare prepared by his own treachery. They were then conducted into the Roman camp.

In every other respect the restoration of the hostages was performed as had been settled with Bostar, and in the same mode of procedure, as if the affair were transacted in the name of the Carthaginians. But, though the act was the same, the Romans acquired a much higher degree of reputation from it than it would have produced to the Carthaginians; because the latter, having shown themselves oppressive and haughty in prosperity, it might be supposed, that the abatement of their rigour was owing to the change in their fortune, and to their fears; whereas the Roman, on his first arrival, while his character was yet unknown, commenced his administration with an act of clemency and liberality; and it was believed that AbeloX would hardly have voluntarily changed sides without some good reason for such a proceeding. All the states, therefore, with general consent, began to meditate a revolt; and they would have proceeded instantly to hostilities, had they not been prevented by the winter, which obliged even the Romans and Carthaginians, to take shelter in houses.

XXIII. These were the occurrences of the second campaign of the Punic war on the side of Spain; while, in Italy, the wise delays of Fabius had afforded the Romans some respite from calamities. However, though his conduct kept Hannibal in a constant state of no little anxiety, (since he perceived that the Romans had at length chosen such a master of the military science, who made war to depend on wisdom, not on fortune,) yet it excited in the minds of his countrymen, both in the camp and in the city, only sentiments of contempt; especially when, during his absence, the master of the horse had been rash enough to hazard a battle, the issue of which (though it afforded matter for some present rejoicing) was productive of no real advantage. Two incidents occurred which served to increase the general disapprobation of the dictator's conduct; one was, an artful contrivance employed by Hannibal to mislead the public opinion; for, on the dictator's farm being shown to him by deserters, he gave orders, that, while every other place in the neighbourhood was levelled to the ground, that alone should be left safe from fire and sword, and every kind of hostile violence; in order that this might be construed as a favour shown to him, in consideration of some secret compact. The other was an act of his own, respecting the ransoming of the prisoners; the merit



of which was, at first, perhaps doubtful, because he had not waited for the direction of the senate in that case; but in the end, it evidently redounded to his honour in the highest degree. For, as had been practised in the first Punic war, a regulation was established between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that whichever party should receive a greater number than he returned, should pay for the surplus, at the rate of two pounds and a half of silver<sup>1</sup> for each soldier. Now the Roman had received a greater number than the Carthaginian, by two hundred and forty-seven; and, though the business was frequently agitated in the senate, yet because he had not consulted that body on the regulation, the issuing of the money due on this account was too long delayed. Sending, therefore, his son Quintus to Rome for the purpose, he sold off the farm which had been spared by the enemy, and, at his own private expense, acquitted the public faith. Hannibal lay in an established post under the walls of Geronium, in which city, when he took and burned it, he had left a few houses to serve as granaries. From hence he generally detached two-thirds of his army to forage, and the other part he kept with himself on guard and in readiness for action, providing for the security of the camp, and, at the same time, watching on all sides, lest any attack might be made on the foragers.

XXIV. The Roman army was, at that time, in the territory of Larinum, and the command was held by Minucius the master of the horse, in consequence, as mentioned before, of the dictator's departure to the city. But the camp, which had been pitched on a high mountain in a secure post, was now brought down to the plains; and more spirited designs, conformable to the genius of the commander, were meditated: either an attack on the dispersed foragers, or on their camp when left with a slight guard. It did not escape Hannibal's observation that the plan of conduct was changed, together, with the commander, and that the enemy were likely to act with more boldness than prudence. He sent (which would have been scarcely expected, as the foe was so near,) a third part of his troops to forage, retaining the other two; and afterwards removed his camp to a hill about two miles from Geronium, and within view of that of the enemy, to show that he was in readiness to protect his foragers,

should any attempt be made on them. From hence he saw a hill nearer to and overhanging the Roman works, and knowing that, if he went openly in the day to seize on this, the enemy would certainly get before him by a shorter road, he despatched secretly in the night, a body of Numidians, who took possession of it: next day, however, the Romans, despising their small number, dislodged them, and removed their own camp thither. There was now, therefore, but a small space between the ramparts of the two camps, and this the Romans almost entirely filled with their troops in order of battle. At the same time, their cavalry and light infantry, sent out from the rear against the foragers, caused great slaughter and consternation among the scattered troops of the enemy. Yet Hannibal dared not to hazard a general engagement, for with his small number (one third of his army being absent) he was scarcely able to defend his camp, if it were attacked. And now he conducted his measures almost on the plans of Fabius, lying still and avoiding action, while he drew back his troops to his former situation under the walls of Geronium. According to some writers, they fought a regular pitched battle: in the first encounter the Carthaginian was repulsed, and driven to his camp; from which a sally being suddenly made, the Romans were worsted in turn, and the fight was afterwards restored by the coming up of Numerius Decimius, a Samnite. This man, the first, with respect both to family and fortune, not only at Bovianum, of which he was a native, but in all Samnium, was conducting to the army, by order of the dictator, a body of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, which, appearing on Hannibal's rear, was supposed, by both parties, to be a new reinforcement coming from Rome with Fabius. On which Hannibal, dreading likewise some stratagem, retired within his works. The Romans pursued, and, with the assistance of the Samnite, took two forts by storm before night. Six thousand of the enemy were slain, and about five thousand of the Romans. Yet though the losses were so equal, an account was sent to Rome as of a most important victory, and letters, from the master of the horse, still more ostentatious.

XXV. These matters were very often canvassed, both in the senate and in assemblies of the people. The dictator alone, amidst the general joy, gave no credit either to the news

or the letters; and declared, that though all were true, he should yet apprehend more evil from success than from disappointment; whereupon Marcus Metilius, a plebeian tribune, insisted, that "such behaviour was not to be endured; the dictator, not only when present with the army, obstructed its acting with success, but also, at this distance, when it had performed good service, impeded the good consequences likely to ensue; protracting the war, in order that he might continue the longer in office, and hold the sole command both at Rome and in the army. One of the consuls had fallen in the field, and the other, under pretext of pursuing a Carthaginian fleet, had been sent away far from Italy: the two prætors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia, neither of which provinces had, at that time, any occasion for the presence of a prætor. Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, was kept, as it were, in custody, lest he should come within sight of the enemy, or perform any military service. So that, in fact, not only Samnium, the possession of which had been yielded up to the Carthaginians, as well as that of the country beyond the Iberus, but also the Campanian, Calenian, and Falernian territories had been ravaged and destroyed; while the dictator remained inactive at Casilinum, and, with the Roman legions, protected his own estate. The army and the master of the horse, who were eager to fight, had been kept, in a manner, shut up within the trenches, and deprived of arms, like captured forces: but when, at last, the dictator left them, when they were freed from their confinement, they passed the trenches, defeated the enemy, and put him to flight. For all which reasons, if the Roman commons were possessed of their ancient spirit, he would have boldly proposed to depose Quintus Fabius from his office: as matters stood at the present, however, he would offer a moderate proposition, that the master of the horse should be invested with authority equal to that of the dictator; and still, when that should be done, that Quintus Fabius should not be sent to the army, until he should first substitute a consul in the room of Caius Flaminius." The dictator shunned the assemblies, knowing the people's prejudices against any thing he could say; nor even in the senate was he very favourably heard, particularly when he spoke in high terms of the enemy, and imputed to the rashness and unskilfulness of the commanders the disasters of the two preceding years, and

declared, that "the master of the horse should be called to account for having fought contrary to his orders. If the entire command and direction were in him, he would soon give people reason to be convinced, that to a good commander fortune is a matter of slight consideration; and that wisdom and prudence control and govern all things. For his part, he deemed it more glorious to have saved the army at a critical juncture, and without suffering disgrace, than to have slain many thousands of the enemy."

XXVL Having frequently discoursed in this manner without effect, and having created Marcus Atilius Regulus consul, the dictator, unwilling to be present at a contest concerning the authority of his office, set out, during the night preceding the day on which the affair of the proposition was to be decided, and went to the army. As soon as day arose, the commons met in assembly, their minds filled with tacit displeasure against the dictator, and favour towards the master of the horse; yet were not people very forward to stand forth in praise of the measure, however generally agreeable; so that while the proposition had an abundant majority, still it wanted support. The only person found to second it was Caius Terentius Varro, who had been prætor the year before; a man not only of humble, but of sordid birth. We are told that his father was a butcher, who attended in person the sale of his meat, and that he employed this very son in the servile offices of that trade. This young man having, by the money thus acquired and left to him by his father, conceived hopes of attaining a more respectable situation in life, turned his thoughts to the bar and the forum, where, by the vehemence of his harangues in favour of men and causes of the basest sort, in opposition to the worthy citizens of fortune and character, he at first attracted the notice of the people, and afterwards obtained honourable employments. Having passed through the quæstorship, two ædileships, the plebeian and curule, and lastly, the prætorship, he now raised his views to the consulship; and artfully contriving to make the general displeasure against the dictator the means of procuring popularity to himself, he alone gained the whole credit of the order passed by the commons. Excepting the dictator himself, all men, whether his friends or foes, in the city or in the camp, considered that order as passed with the inten-



tion of affronting him. But he, with the same steadiness of mind which he had displayed in bearing the charges made against him by his enemies before the multitude, bore likewise this ill-treatment thrown on him by the people in the violence of passion; and though he received on his journey, a letter containing a decree of the senate, giving equal authority to the master of the horse; yet, being fully confident that, together with the authority in command, the skill of the commanders had not been made equal, he proceeded to the army, with a spirit unsubdued either by his countrymen or the enemy.

XXVII. But Minucius, whose arrogance was scarcely tolerable before, on this flow of success and of favour with the populace, threw off all restraints of modesty and moderation, and openly boasted no less of his victory over Quintus Fabius than of that over Hannibal: "He was the only commander," he said, "who, in the desperate situation of their affairs, had been found a match for Hannibal; and he was now, by order of the people, set on a level with Fabius. A superior magistrate, with an inferior; a dictator, with the master of the horse; of which, no instance was to be found in the records of history; and this in a state where the masters of the horse used to dread and tremble at the rods and axes of dictators; with such a high degree of lustre had his good fortune and successful bravery shone forth. He was resolved, therefore, to pursue his own good fortune, should his colleague persist in dilatory and slothful plans, condemned by the judgment both of gods and men." Accordingly, on the first day of his meeting Fabius, he told him, that "they ought, in the first place, to determine in what manner they should exercise the command, with which they were now equally invested; that, in his judgment, the best method would be, that each should hold the supreme authority and command alternately, either for a day, or for some longer fixed portion of time, if that were more agreeable; to the end, that if he should meet any favourable opportunity of acting, he might be a match for the enemy, not only in conduct, but likewise in strength." This Quintus Fabius by no means approved; for "fortune," he said, "would have the disposal of every thing which should be done under the direction of his colleague's rashness. The command had been shared between them, not taken away

from him: he would never, therefore, voluntarily divest himself of the power of keeping such part of the business as he could, under the guidance of prudence. He would not divide times, nor days of command, with him; but he would divide the troops, and, by his own counsels, would preserve as much as he could, since he was not allowed to preserve the whole." He accordingly prevailed to have the legions divided between them, as was the practice with consuls. The first and fourth fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. They likewise divided, in equal numbers, the cavalry, and the allied and Latine auxiliaries. The master of the horse chose also that they should encamp separately.

XXVIII. Hannibal was not ignorant of any thing that passed among the enemy; for, besides the intelligence procured through his spies, he derived ample information from deserters. In these proceedings he found a twofold cause of rejoicing; for the temerity of Minucius, now free from control, he could entrap at his will; and the wisdom of Fabius was reduced to act with but half his former strength. Between the camp of Minucius, and that of the Carthaginians, stood a hill, of which, whoever took possession, would evidently render the other's situation more inconvenient. This Hannibal wished to seize; but he was not so desirous of gaining it without a dispute, (even though it were worth his while,) as of bringing on, thereby, an engagement with Minucius; who, he well knew, would be always ready to meet him in order to thwart his designs. The whole intervening ground seemed, at first view, incapable of admitting any stratagem, having on it no kind of wood nor being even covered with brambles; but, in reality, it was by nature formed most commodiously for an ambush, especially as, in a naked vale, no snare of that sort could be apprehended; and there were, besides, at the skirts of it, hollow rocks, several of which were capable of containing two hundred armed men. In these concealments were lodged five thousand horse and foot, distributed in such numbers as could find convenient room in each place. Nevertheless, lest the motion of any of them, coming out inconsiderately, or the glittering of their arms, might betray the stratagem in such an open valley, he diverted the enemy's attention to another quarter, by sending, at the first dawn, a small detachment to seize

on the hill above-mentioned. Immediately on the appearance of these, the Romans, despising the smallness of their numbers, demanded, each for himself, the task of dislodging them, and securing the hill; while the general himself, among the most foolish and presumptuous, called to arms, and with vain parade and empty menaces expressed his contempt of the enemy. First, he sent out his light infantry; then the cavalry in close order; at last, seeing reinforcements sent by the Carthaginian, he advanced with the legions in order of battle. On the other side, Hannibal, by sending up, as the contest grew hotter, several bodies of troops, one after another, to the support of his men when distressed, had now almost completed a regular line; and the contest was maintained with the whole force of both parties. The Roman light infantry in the van, marching up from the lower ground to the hill already occupied by the enemy, were repulsed; and, being forced to retreat, carried terror among the cavalry, who were advancing in their rear, and fled back to the front of the legions. The line of infantry alone remained undismayed, amidst the general panic of the rest; and there was reason to think, that in a fair and regular battle they would have proved themselves not inferior to their antagonists, so great spirits had they assumed from their late success. But the troops in ambush rising on a sudden, and making brisk attacks both on their flank and their rear, caused such dread and confusion, that no one retained either courage to fight, or hope of escape.

XXIX. Fabius, who had first heard their cries of dismay, and afterwards saw, at a distance, their line in disorder, then said, "Is it so; fortune has found out rashness, but not sooner than I feared. He, who was made in command equal to Fabius, sees Hannibal his superior both in bravery and success. But there will be time enough for reproof and resentment; march now out of your trenches. Let us extort the victory from the enemy, and from our countrymen an acknowledgment of their error. When a great number were now slain, and others looking about for a way to escape, on a sudden Fabius's army showed itself, as if sent down from heaven to their relief, and by its appearance, before the troops came within a weapon's throw, or struck a stroke, put a stop both to the precipitate flight of their friends, and the extravagant fury of the enemy. Those

who had broken their ranks, and dispersed themselves different ways, flocked together, from all sides, to the fresh army; such as had fled in great numbers together, faced about, and forming in lines, now retreated leisurely; then, several bodies uniting, stood on their defence. And now the two armies, the vanquished and the fresh, had almost formed one front, and were advancing against the foe, when the Carthaginians sounded a retreat; Hannibal openly acknowledging, that as he had defeated Minucius, so he had been himself defeated by Fabius. The greatest part of the day being spent in these various changes of fortune, when the troops returned into their camps, Minucius calling his men together, said, "Soldiers, I have often heard, that he is the first man, in point of abilities, who, of himself, forms good counsels; that the next, is he who submits to good advice; and that he who neither can himself form good counsels, nor knows how to comply with those of another, is of the very lowest capacity. Now, since our lot has denied us the first rank in genius and capacity, let us maintain the second, the middle one; and, until we learn to command, be satisfied to be ruled by the skillful. Let us join camps with Fabius; and, when we shall have carried our standards to his quarters; when I shall have saluted him by the title of father; for nothing less has his kindness towards us, as well as his high dignity deserved; then, soldiers, ye will salute, as your patrons, those men, whose arms and whose prowess have just now protected you; and then this day will have procured for us, if nothing else, at least the honour of possessing grateful minds."

XXX. The signal was displayed, and notice given to get ready to march. They then set out; and, as they proceeded in a body to the camp of the dictator, they threw him, and all around, into great surprise. When they had planted their standards before his tribunal, the master of the horse, advancing before the rest, saluted him by the title of father; and the whole body of his men, with one voice, saluted those who stood round as their patrons. Minucius then expressed himself thus: "Dictator, to my parents, to whom I have just now compared you, in the most respectful appellation by which I could address myself, I am indebted for life only; to you, both for my own preservation, and that of all these present. That order of the people, therefore,



by which I have been oppressed rather than honoured, I am the first to cancel and annul; and, so may it be happy to you, to me, and to these your armies, the preserved and the preserver, I replace myself and them, these standards, and these legions, under your command and auspices; and entreat you, that, re-admitting us to your favour, you will order me to hold the post of master of the horse, and these their several ranks." On this they cordially embraced; and, on the meeting being dismissed, the soldiers accompanying Minucius were hospitably and kindly invited to refreshment, both by their acquaintances and those to whom they were unknown. Thus was converted into a day of rejoicing, from a day of sorrow, one which but a little before had nearly proved fatal. When an account of these events arrived at Rome, and was afterwards confirmed by letters, not only from the generals themselves, but from great numbers of the soldiers, in both the armies, all men warmly praised Maximus, and extolled him to the sky. Nor were the sentiments felt by the Carthaginians, his enemies, and by Hannibal, less honourable to him. They then at length perceived, that they were waging war against Romans and in Italy. For during the two preceding years, they had entertained such contemptuous notions both of the Roman generals and soldiers, as scarcely to believe that they were fighting against the same nation, of which they had received from their fathers such a terrible character. We are told likewise, that Hannibal, as he returned from the field, observed, that "the cloud which hung over the mountains, had at last discharged its rain in a storm."

XXXI. During the course of these transactions in Italy, Cneius Servilius Geminus, consul, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, sailed round the coast of Sardinia and Corsica. Having received hostages in both places, he steered his course towards Africa, and, before he made any descent on the continent, ravaged the island of Meninx, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina ten talents of silver<sup>1</sup> as a contribution to prevent the like devastation and burning of their country: he then drew near the coast of Africa, and disembarked his forces. Here the soldiers and mariners were led out to ravage the country, in as careless a manner as if they were

plundering the islands where there were very few inhabitants; in consequence of which rashness, they fell unawares into a snare. Being assailed on all sides, and while they were in loose disorder, by compact bodies of men acquainted with the country of which themselves were utterly ignorant, they were driven back to their ships in a disgraceful flight, and with severe loss. There fell no less than a thousand men, among whom was Sempromnius Blæsus, the quæstor. The fleet, hastily setting sail from the shore which was covered with the enemy, passed over to Sicily, and at Lilybæum was delivered to the prætor Titus Otacilius, to be conducted home to Rome, by his lieutenant-general, Publius Sura. The consul himself, travelling by land through Sicily, crossed the strait into Italy, having been summoned, as was likewise his colleague, Marcus Atilius, by a letter from Quintus Fabius, in order that they might receive the command of the army from him, as the six months, the term of his office, were nearly expired. Almost all the historians affirm, that Fabius acted against Hannibal in the capacity of dictator. Cælius even remarks, that he was the first dictator created by the people. But it escaped the notice of Cælius and the rest, that the privilege of nominating that officer belonged solely to Cneius Servilius, the only consul in being, who was at that time, far distant from home, in the province of Gaul; and so much time must necessarily elapse before it could be done by him, that the state, terrified by the late disaster, could not endure the delay, and therefore had recourse to the expedient of creating, by a vote of the people, a prodictator; and that the services which he afterwards performed, his distinguished renown as a commander, and the exaggerations of his descendants, in the inscription of his statue, may easily account for his being called dictator instead of prodictator.

XXXII. The consuls having taken the command of the armies, Marcus Atilius of that of Fabius, and Geminus Servilius of that of Minucius, and having erected huts for the winter, as the season required (for it was now near the close of autumn), conducted their operations conformably to the plan of Fabius, and with the utmost harmony between themselves. Whenever Hannibal went out to forage, they came upon him in different places, as opportunity served, harassing him on his

march, and cutting off stragglers; but never hazarded a general engagement, which the enemy endeavoured to bring on by every means he could contrive: so that Hannibal was reduced, by scarcity, to such distress, that had he not feared that a retreat would have carried the appearance of flight, he would have returned back into Gaul; not having the least hope of supporting his army in those places, if the succeeding consuls should adopt the same plan of operations with these. While, in the neighbourhood of Geronium, hostilities were suspended by the coming on of winter, ambassadors came to Rome from Neapolis, who brought into the senate-house forty golden bowls of great weight, and spoke to this effect: "They knew that the treasury of the Roman people was exhausted by the present war, which was carried on no less in defence of the cities and lands of the allies, than the empire and city of Rome, the metropolis and bulwark of Italy; that the Neapolitans had therefore thought it reasonable, that whatever gold had been left to them by their ancestors for the decoration of their temples, or support in time of need, should now be applied to the aid of the Roman people. That if they had thought their personal service of any use, they would with the same zeal have offered it. That the Roman senate and people would act in a manner highly grateful to them, if they would reckon every thing in possession of the Neapolitans as their own, and vouchsafe to accept from them a present, of which the principal value and importance consisted in the disposition and wishes of those who cheerfully offered it rather than in its own intrinsic worth." Thanks were given to the ambassadors for their attention and generosity, and one bowl, which was the least in weight, was accepted.

XXXIII. About the same time a Carthaginian spy, who had lurked undiscovered for two years, was detected at Rome: his hands were cut off, and he was sent away. Twenty-five slaves, for having formed a conspiracy in the field of Mars, were crucified, and the informer was rewarded with his freedom, and twenty thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>2</sup> Ambassa-

<sup>2</sup> *Æris gravis*, 64. 11s. 8d. About this time, in consequence of the scarcity of money, the comparative value of brass to silver was changed, and a *denarius* made to pass for twelve and afterwards for sixteen *asses*. The words *as gravis* were thenceforward employed to signify not any particular piece, or weight, of money, but the old comparative standard of ten *asses*, as we say *pounds sterling*.

dors were sent to Philip king of Macedonia, to insist on his delivering up Demetrius of Pharia, who, being defeated in war, had fled to him; others also were sent at the same time, to the Ligurians, to expostulate on their having assisted the Carthaginian with men and supplies, and to observe what was doing in the neighbourhood among the Boians and Insu-brians. Delegates were also sent to Illyrium, to Pineus the king, to demand the tribute, of which the day of payment had elapsed; or to receive hostages, if he wished to be allowed longer time. Thus the Romans, though pressed at home by a war immensely grievous, yet relaxed not their attention to the business of the state in any part of the world, however distant. Their care was also excited by a matter of religious concernment. The temple of Concord, vowed two years before by the prætor Lucius Manlius, on occasion of the mutiny of the soldiers in Gaul, not having been yet set about, Marcus Æmilius, prætor of the city, constituted *duumvirs* for that purpose, Cneius Pupius and Cæso Quintius Flamininus, who contracted for the building of it in the citadel. By the same prætor, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a letter was sent to the consuls, that if they thought proper, one of them should come to Rome to elect successors, and that a proclamation should be issued for holding the election, on whatever day they might name. In answer to this the consuls wrote back, that, "without detriment to the business of the public, they could not go to any distance from the enemy. That it would be better, therefore, that the election should be held by an *interrex*, than that either of them should be called away from the war." The senate judged it more advisable that a dictator should be nominated by a consul, for the purpose of holding the election, and Lucius Veturius Philo being accordingly nominated, appointed Manius Pomponius Matho master of the horse. But some defect being discovered in their appointment, they were ordered, on the fourteenth day to abdicate their offices, and an *interregnum* took place.

XXXIV. The consuls were continued in command for another year. [Y. R. 536. B. C. 216.] The patricians declared *interrex* Caius Claudius Centho, son of Appius, and afterwards Publius Cornelius Asina, under whose direction the election was held; which was attended with a warm contention between the patricians and plebeians. The populace strug-



gled hard to raise to the consulship, Caius Terentius Varro, a person of their own rank, who, as before observed, by railing against the patricians, and by other popular arts, had acquired their affection; and who by undermining the interest of Fabius and the dictatorial authority, had made the public displeasure against him the means of adding a lustre to his own character. The patricians opposed him with their utmost efforts, lest a power should be given to those men of raising themselves to the level of nobles, by means of malignant aspersions on their characters. Quintus Bæbius Herennius, a plebeian tribune, a relation of Caius Terentius, censured not only the senate, but likewise the augurs, for having hindered the dictator from holding the election, and thought by rendering them odious, to increase the popularity of his favourite candidate. He asserted, that, "by certain of the nobility, who, for many years, had been wishing for a war, Hannibal was induced to enter Italy; that by the same men the war was treacherously prolonged, though it might have been brought to a conclusion; further, that an army, consisting of four entire legions, was sufficiently able to cope with the enemy, was evident from this, that Marcus Minucius, in the absence of Fabius, had fought with success. That two legions had been exposed in the field, with intent that they should be defeated, and then were rescued from the brink of destruction in order that the man should be saluted as father and patron, who had hindered the Romans from conquering, though he had afterwards prevented their defeat. That the consuls had, on the plan of Fabius, protracted the war, when they had it in their power to bring it to an end. That a confederacy to this purpose had been entered into by all the nobles, nor would the people know peace, until they elected to the consulship a real plebeian, a new man: for as to the plebeians, who had attained nobility, they were now initiated into the mysteries of their order; and, from the moment when they ceased to be despised by the patricians, looked with contempt on the commons. Who did not see, that the end and intention of appointing an interregnum was to put the election into the power of the patricians? It was with a view to this that both the consuls had remained with the army; with the same view afterwards, when, contrary to their wishes, a dictator had been nominated to hold the election, they arbitrarily carried the point,

that the appointment should be pronounced defective by the augurs. They had in their hands, therefore, the office of interrex; but certainly one consul's place was the right of the Roman commons, which the people would dispose of with impartiality, and would bestow on such a person as rather wished to conquer effectually, than to continue long in command."

XXXV. These inflammatory speeches had such an effect on the commons, that though there stood candidates three patricians, Publius Cornelius Merenda, Lucius Manlius Volso, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and two of plebeian extraction, whose families were now ennobled, Caius Atilius Serranus, and Quintus Ælius Pætus, one of whom was pontiff, the other augur; yet Caius Terentius Varro, alone, was elected consul, in order that he might have the direction of the assembly for choosing his colleague. On which the nobles, having found that his competitors possessed not sufficient strength, prevailed, by violent importunity, on a new candidate to stand forth, after he had long and earnestly refused; this was Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a determined enemy of the commons, who had been consul before with Marcus Livius, and had very narrowly escaped being sentenced to punishment, as was his colleague. On the next day of assembly all those who had opposed Varro, having declined the contest, he was appointed rather as an antagonist than as a colleague. The election of pretors<sup>1</sup> was then held, and Manius Pomponius Matho, and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. The lot of administering justice to the citizens of Rome fell to Pomponius, that of deciding causes between Roman citizens and

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1 At first the name of prætor, derived from *præire* to preside, was applied to any magistrate who was the chief in any line, whether civil, military, or religious; as dictator, consul, commander of an army, &c. But it was afterwards appropriated to a magistrate, appointed to relieve the consuls from the burthen of superintending the administration of justice. His proper office, therefore, was the direction of judicial proceedings; but, in the absence of the consuls, he acted in their stead, with power nearly equal to theirs. The great influx of foreigners soon made it necessary to create a second prætor, who was called *prætor peregrinus*, the foreign prætor, because his business was to decide controversies between citizens and foreigners, while the city prætor, *prætor urbanus*, who was superior in dignity, took cognizance of suits between citizens. When the Romans gained possession of foreign provinces, they appointed a prætor to the government of each, and his power within his province was almost unlimited, for he was accountable to none but the people of Rome.

foreigners, to Publius Furius Philus. Two additional prætors were appointed, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul. All these were appointed in their absence; nor, excepting the consul Terentius, was any of them invested with an office which he had not administered before; several men of bravery and activity being passed by, because, at such a juncture, it was not judged expedient to intrust any person with a new employment.

XXXVI. Augmentations were also made to the armies; but as to the number of additional forces of foot and horse which were raised, writers vary so much, as well as in the kind of troops, that I can scarcely venture to affirm any thing certain on that head. Some authors assert, that ten thousand new soldiers were levied, others four new legions; so that there were eight legions employed: and that the legions were also augmented, both horse and foot; one thousand foot and one hundred horse being added to each, so as to make it contain five thousand foot and four hundred horse; and that the allies furnished an equal number of foot, and double the number of horse. Some writers affirm, that, at the time of the battle of Cannæ, there were in the Roman camp, eighty-seven thousand two hundred soldiers. All agree in this, that greater force, and more vigorous efforts, were now employed, than in the former years, in consequence of the dictator having afforded them room to hope that the enemy might be vanquished. However, before the new legions began their march from the city, the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the books, because people in general were terrified by prodigies of extraordinary kinds; for accounts were received, that, at Rome, on the Aventine, and, at the same time, at Aricia, a shower of stones had fallen; that in the country of the Sabines, statues had sweated abundance of blood, and that the warm waters at Cære had flowed bloody from the spring; and this circumstance, having happened frequently, excited therefore the greater terror. In a street, near the field of Mars, several persons had been struck with lightning, and killed. These portents were expiated according to the directions of the books. Ambassadors from Pæstum brought some golden vessels to Rome, and to these, as to the Neapolitans, thanks were returned, but the gold was not accepted.

XXXVII. About the same time arrived at

Ostia a fleet, sent by Hiero, with a large supply of provisions. The Syracusan ambassadors, being introduced to the senate, acquainted them, that "King Hiero had been as sincerely afflicted, on hearing of the loss of the consul Caius Flaminius, and his army, as he could have been by any disaster happening to himself or his own kingdom. Wherefore, though he was fully sensible that the grandeur of the Roman people had shone forth, in times of adversity, with a still more admirable degree of lustre than even in prosperity, yet he had sent such supplies of every sort, for the support of the war, as are usually furnished by good and faithful allies; and he earnestly besought the conscript fathers not to refuse them. That, in the first place, for the sake of the omen, they had brought a golden statue of Victory, of three hundred and twenty pounds weight, which they prayed them to accept, hold, and possess, as appropriated to them for ever. That they had likewise, in order to guard against any want of provisions, brought three hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley: and that whatever further supplies might be necessary, should be conveyed to such places as the senate should order. That he knew that the Roman people employed not in the main body of their army, or in the cavalry, any other than Roman citizens, or Latine confederates; yet as he had seen, in a Roman camp, foreign bands of light-armed auxiliaries, he had therefore sent a thousand archers and slingers, a body well qualified to oppose the Balearians, Moors, and other nations remarkable for fighting with missile weapons." To these presents he added likewise advice: that "the prætor, to whose lot the province of Sicily might fall, should cross over with a fleet to Africa, in order to give the enemy employment for their arms in their own country, and to allow them the less leisure to supply Hannibal with reinforcements." The senate returned an answer to the king in these terms; that "Hiero had ever acted as a man of honour, and an excellent ally; that from the time, when he first united in friendship with the Roman people, he had, through the whole course of his conduct, manifested an invariable fidelity in his attachment to them; and in all times, and in all places, had, with great liberality, supported the interest of Rome. Of this the Roman people entertained, as they ought, a grateful sense. That gold had likewise been offered by some



other states, which, though thankful for the intention, the Roman people had not accepted: the statue of Victory, however, and the omen, they accepted, and had offered, and dedicated to that divinity, a mansion in the capitol, in the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; hoping that, consecrated in that fortress of the city of Rome, she would be pleased to remain firm and immovable, kind and propitious to the Roman people." The slingers, archers, and the corn were delivered to the consuls. To the fleet of ships already in Sicily with the prætor Titus Otacilius, were added twenty-five quinqueremes, and he received permission, if he judged it conducive to the public good, to pass over to Africa.

XXXVIII. After the levies were completed, the consuls waited a few days for the arrival of the confederates from Latium. At this time the soldiers were obliged to take an oath dictated by the tribunes, which had never before been practised. For, until now, there had been no public oath taken, only that they would assemble on the orders of the consuls, and, without their orders, would not depart; and then, when they joined their decury or century, the horsemen, on being placed in their decuries, and the footmen on being placed in their centuries, used to swear voluntarily, among themselves, that they would not depart through fear or in flight; nor quit their ranks, except for the purpose of taking up or bringing a weapon, of striking an enemy, or saving a countryman. This, from having been a voluntary compact between themselves, was now put under the jurisdiction of the tribunes, who were invested with legal authority to administer this oath. Before the troops began their march from the city, the harangues of the consul Varro were frequent, and full of presumption; in these he openly asserted, that the war had been purposely drawn into Italy by the nobles, and would continue fixed in the very centre of the commonwealth, if men like Fabius were to have the command; but that he, on the very first day, wherein he should get sight of the enemy would bring it to a conclusion. The only speech made by his colleague Paullus, on the day before that on which they set out from the city, contained more truth than flattery, addressed to the people; nevertheless he used no harsh expressions against Varro, excepting thus much; that "it was a matter of surprise to him, how any man, before he was acquainted with

either his own or the enemy's forces, the situation of posts, or the nature of the country, while he remained in the city, in short, and in the garb of peace, could yet know what he should have to do when he came to take the field; and could even foretell the day on which he was to come to a general engagement. For his part, as men's plans must be regulated by circumstances, and not circumstances by their plans, he would not be in haste to adopt prematurely any one, before the season showed its expediency. He wished that even those measures, which had been taken under the guidance of caution and prudence, might be attended with prosperous issue; since rashness, besides the folly which it involved, had been hitherto constantly unsuccessful." Without any farther declaration, it was hence apparent, that he preferred safe to hasty counsels; and, to induce him to adhere the more firmly to this resolution, Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have addressed him, just before his departure, in this manner:—

XXXIX. "If, Lucius Æmilius, you had a colleague like yourself, (which I earnestly wish,) or, if yourself were like your colleague, any address from me would be superfluous; because, in the first place, two good consuls would, without advice from me, out of their own honourable zeal, act, in every particular, to the advantage of the public; and, in the other, two bad ones would neither admit my words into their ears, nor my counsels into their breasts. At present, when I consider, on the one hand, your colleague, and, on the other, yourself and your character, I address myself solely to you, whose endeavours, as a worthy man and citizen, I perceive will be without effect, if the administration be defective on the other side. Evil counsels will have equal privilege and authority with good. For Lucius Paullus, you are much mistaken if you suppose that you will have a less difficult struggle to maintain with Caius Terentius than with Hannibal. I know not whether the former may not prove more dangerous than the latter. With the one, you will contend in the field only; with the other, in all places and times; against Hannibal and his legions, you will be supported in fight, by your troops of infantry and cavalry; Varro will oppose you at the head of your own soldiers. May the mention of Caius Flaminius not prove ominous to you! But he became mad, after he became consul, when in his province, and at

the head of the army: in a word, this man, before he professed himself a candidate for the consulship, afterwards, while he canvassed for it, and now, since his appointment, before he has seen the camp or the enemy, has proceeded, all along, in one continued paroxysm of insanity. And when, by raving of fights and fields of battle, he now excites such storms among the peaceful citizens in their gowns, what do you suppose he will do among the young men, who have arms in their hands, and with whom acts instantly follow words? If he shall immediately fight the enemy, as he boasts that he will, either I am ignorant of military affairs, of the nature of the present war, and of the enemy with whom we have to deal, or some other place will be rendered still more remarkable by our disasters, than was the Thrasimeneus. It is no time for me to boast, talking as I am to a single man; and if I have gone too far on either side, it was in contemning, not in seeking applause: but the truth is this; the only rational method of conducting the war against Hannibal, is that in which I conducted it; nor does the event alone confirm this, (for fools only judge by events,) but the reasons which did and must subsist, as long as circumstances shall remain the same and unchangeable. We are carrying on war in Italy, in our own country, and on our own soil, where all the places round are full of our countrymen and allies, who do, and will assist us with men, arms, horses, and provisions. That we may so far rely on their faithful attachment, they have given sufficient proofs in the times of our distress. Time will daily improve us, will render us more prudent, more steady. Hannibal, on the contrary, is in a foreign, a hostile territory, surrounded on all sides by enemies and dangers, far from home, far from his native country; both land and sea are possessed by his foes: no cities receive him within their walls; he nowhere sees aught which he can call his own; he lives on the plunder of the day; he has scarcely a third part of that army which he brought over the river Iberus; nor has he a supply of food for the few who remain. Do you doubt then, that by avoiding action we shall overcome him, whose strength is of itself declining every day, who has no resource of provisions, no reinforcements, no money? How long under the walls of Geronium, a wretched fort of Apulia, as if under those of Carthage, did I—but I will not vaunt even before you. See how the last con-

suls, Cneius Servilius and Marcus Atilius, baffled him. Believe me, Lucius Paullus, this is the only way of safety; yet this will be thwarted by your countrymen, rather than by the enemy. For the same thing will be desired by both parties; the wish of Varro, the Roman consul, will be the same with that of Hannibal, the Carthaginian. You alone will have two generals to withstand. However you will withstand them, provided you maintain a proper degree of firmness; so as not to be shaken by common fame, or by the rumours which will be spread among the people; by neither the empty applause bestowed on your colleague, nor the false imputations thrown on yourself. It is commonly said that truth is often eclipsed, but never extinguished. He who slights fame, shall enjoy it in its purity. Let them call you timid, instead of cautious; dilatory instead of considerate; an unenterprising instead of a consummate commander. I rather wish that a wise enemy may fear, than that the foolish part of your own countrymen should applaud you. Attempting every thing, you will be despised by Hannibal; doing nothing rashly, you will be feared by him. Yet I by no means recommend that nothing should be done, but that in all your proceedings you be guided by reason, not by fortune; that you keep every matter always within your own power, and under your own direction; that you be always armed and on your guard; and that you neither fail to improve a favourable opportunity, nor afford such an opportunity to the foe. Acting with deliberation, you will see every thing clearly and distinctly; haste is improvident and blind."

XL. The consul answered rather in a desponding style: he acknowledged the truth of what had been said, but showed little hope of being able to put the advice into execution. "If Fabius," he said, "when dictator, had been unable to withstand the arrogance of his master of the horse, what power or influence could a consul have, to oppose a seditious and hot-headed colleague? As to himself, he had, in his former consulate, escaped the flames of popular rage, not without being scorched. He wished that all might end happily: but should any misfortune occur, he would expose his life to the weapons of the enemy, rather than to the votes of his incensed countrymen." Immediately after this conversation, as we are told, Paullus set out, escorted by the principal patricians, while the plebeians attended their own



consul in a crowd more numerous than respectable. When they came into the field, and the old and new troops were intermixed, they formed two separate camps; the new one, which was likewise the smaller, was nearer to Hannibal; the old one contained the greater number, and the main strength of the army. Then Marcus Atilius, one of the consuls of the former year, wishing to be dismissed, on account of the state of his health, was sent to Rome; and the other, Geminus Servilius, was charged with the command of a Roman legion, and two thousand of the confederate infantry and cavalry, stationed in the smaller camp. Hannibal, though he saw the force of the enemy doubled, yet rejoiced exceedingly at the arrival of the consuls. For, besides that he had no part remaining of the provisions acquired by plunder from day to day, there was nothing now left within his reach, of which he could make prey: all the corn in every quarter, when it was found unsafe to keep it in the country, having been collected together into the fortified towns; so that, as was afterwards discovered, he had scarcely a quantity sufficient for ten days; and, in consequence of the scarcity, a design had been formed, among the Spaniards, of going over to the enemy, had time been allowed them to bring it to maturity.

XLII. But fortune herself concurred in administering fuel to the impatient temper and rashness of the consul; for, an attack having been made on their plundering parties, and a tumultuary kind of engagement ensuing, occasioned rather by the voluntary exertions of the soldiers running up to the spot, than by any preconceived design, or order, of the commanders, the Carthaginians were considerably worsted, losing a thousand seven hundred men, while there fell, of the Romans and their confederates, not more than a hundred. However, while the victors pursued with eagerness, the consul Paullus, who held the command on that day, (for they commanded alternately,) dreading an ambushade, obliged them to halt, though Varro expressed great indignation at it, exclaiming, that the enemy had been allowed to slip out of their hands; and that the war might have been finished, had not a stop been put to the action. Hannibal grieved not much for this loss; on the contrary, he rather believed that it would serve as a bait to ensnare the more presumptuous consul, and the soldiers, particularly the raw ones. All the circum-

stances of the enemy were as well known to him as his own; that the commanders were of dissimilar characters, and disunited in opinion; and that almost two-thirds of their army were raw recruits. Thinking, therefore, that he had now found both time and place convenient for a stratagem, on the following night, he led away his men, with no other encumbrance than their arms, the camp being full of their effects of all kinds, public and private; then, making them halt out of sight, behind the nearest mountains, he formed the foot in order of battle on the left, and the cavalry on the right, and conducted the baggage, as a centre line, through the interjacent valley; intending, while the enemy should be busy and encumbered in the pillaging of the camp, as if deserted by the owners, to fall upon them by surprise. Numerous fires were left in the camp, to create a belief that his intention was, by such appearances, to detain the consuls in their posts, while he should gain the advantage of time, to retreat to the greater distance, in like manner as he had deceived Fabius the year before.

XLIII. When day arrived, the Romans, on observing, first, that the advanced guards had been withdrawn, and afterwards, on a nearer approach, the extraordinary silence, were filled with surprise. Then, when they discovered plainly that the camp was deserted, they ran together in crowds to the pavilions of the consuls, informing them that the enemy had fled in such haste, as to leave the tents standing; and in order to conceal their flight, had left also a number of fires. They then, with loud clamours, demanded that orders should be given for the troops to march in pursuit; and, that they should plunder the camp in their way. Varro acted the same part as the common soldiers. Paullus repeatedly represented, that they ought to proceed with care and circumspection; and, at last, when he could no otherwise restrain their mutinous proceedings, or the leader of them, he despatched Marius Statilius, a præfect of the allies, with a troop of Lucanian horse, to procure intelligence. He rode up to the gates, and, ordering the rest to halt at the outside of the trenches, he went himself with two horsemen into the camp; and, having carefully examined every circumstance, returned and reported, that there was without doubt an ambush intended; for the fires were left in that quarter which faced the enemy, the tents were open, and every thing of

value left in view; and that he had seen silver thrown at random in the passages, as if to invite a pillage. The very circumstances, mentioned with the intent of repressing their ardour for booty, served to inflame it; and the soldiers, shouting aloud, that if the signal were not given, they would proceed without their leaders; they did not long want one, for Varro instantly gave the signal for marching. Paullus was desirous of checking this precipitancy, and being informed that the chickens had not given a favourable auspice, ordered that the ill omen should be reported to his colleague when he was just leading the troops out of the gate; whereupon Varro, though heartily vexed at this, yet from the recollection of the recent disaster of Flaminius, and of the memorable overthrow of the consul Claudius at sea, in the first Punic war, was sensibly struck with religious scruples.

The gods themselves on that day postponed, in a manner, rather than averted, the calamity which hung over the Romans: for it luckily happened, that, while the troops refused to obey the consul's orders to return into the camp, two slaves, one belonging to a horseman of Formiæ, the other to one of Sidicinum, who had been taken prisoners by the Numidians, among a party of foragers, in the consulate of Servilius and Atilius, made their escape on that very day to their owners; and, being brought before the consuls, informed them, that Hannibal's whole army lay in ambush behind the nearest mountains. The seasonable arrival of these men procured obedience to the authority of the consuls, when one of them, by his immoderate pursuit of popular applause, had, through improper indulgence, forfeited people's respect for their dignity, particularly with regard to himself.

XLIII. When Hannibal perceived that the Romans, though they took some inconsiderate steps, had not carried their rashness to the full extent, the stratagem being now discovered, he returned with disappointment to his camp. In this place he could not remain, many days, by reason of the scarcity of corn, and new measures were daily in contemplation, not only among the soldiery, a multitude compounded of the refuse of all nations, but even in the mind of the general himself; for the men began to murmur, and afterwards proceeded with open clamours to demand the arrears of their pay, and to complain at first of the dearth of provisions, at last of famine. A report too prevail-

ed, that the mercenary soldiers, particularly those from Spain, had formed a scheme of going over to the enemy, so that Hannibal himself is said to have sometimes entertained thoughts of flying into Gaul; intending to have left all the infantry behind, and, with the cavalry to have made a hasty retreat. While these matters were in agitation, and this the disposition in the camp, he formed a resolution of removing into Apulia, where the weather was warmer, and consequently more favourable to the ripening of the harvest; and where, in proportion as he was placed at a greater distance from the enemy, the discontented would find desertion the more difficult. Accordingly he set out by night, after kindling fires as before, and leaving a few tents to keep up the appearance of a camp, in the expectation that fears of an ambush, as on the former occasion, would keep the Romans within their works. But Statilius, the Lucanian, having examined all the ground beyond the camp, and on the other side of the mountains, and bringing back an account that he had seen the enemy marching at a great distance, a consultation was held about pursuing him. Here each consul maintained the same opinion which he had ever held; but almost all the officers siding with Varro, and no one except Servilius, the consul of the former year, with Paullus, they, pursuant to the determination of the majority, set forward, under the impulse of unhappy fate, to render Cannæ for ever memorable, as a scene of disaster to the Romans. Near that town Hannibal had pitched his camp, turning the rear towards the wind called Vulturnus, which, in those plains, parched with heat, carries along with it clouds of dust. As this choice of situation was highly commodious to the men, while in camp, so was it particularly advantageous, when they were drawn up for battle; because, while the wind only blew on their backs, it would nearly blind the enemy with whom they were to fight, by carrying great quantities of dust into their faces.

XLIV. The consuls pursued the Carthaginians, taking proper care to examine the roads; when they arrived near Cannæ, and had the foe in sight, they divided their forces, as before, and fortified two camps at nearly the same distance from each other as they had been at Geronium. As the river Aufidus ran by the camps of both, the watering parties of both had access to it, as opportunity served, but not



without encountering opposition. The Romans, however, in the smaller camp, which was pitched on the other side of the Aufidus, had greater liberty of supplying themselves with water, because there were none of the enemy posted on the farther bank. Hannibal, now, conceiving hopes that the consuls might be brought to an engagement in this tract, where the nature of the ground was advantageous to cavalry, in which kind of forces he had a manifest superiority, drew out his army in order of battle, and endeavoured to provoke them by skirmishes of the Numidians. On this the Roman camp was again thrown into disturbance, by mutinous behaviour in the soldiers, and dissention between the consuls; Paullus representing to Varro the fatal rashness of Sempronius and Flaminius; and Varro to him the example of Fabius as a specious precedent for timid and inactive commanders. The one calling gods and men to witness, that none of the blame was to be imputed to him, of Hannibal's now holding Italy as if by prescriptive right of possession; for that he was chained down by his colleague, while the soldiers, full of rage and ardour for the fight, were kept unarmed. To which the other replied, that, if any misfortune should happen to the legions, from their being hurried into an inconsiderate and rash engagement, he himself, although entirely free from all reproach, must yet bear a share of the consequences, be they what they might. Let him take care, that those, whose tongues were now so ready and impetuous, showed the same alertness during the fight.

XLV. While, instead of deliberating on proper measures, they thus wasted time in altercation, Hannibal, who had kept his forces drawn up in order of battle during a great part of the day, led back the rest towards the camp, and despatched the Numidian horse to the other side of the river, to attack a watering party, which had come from the smaller camp of the Romans. They had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when, merely by their shout, and the rapidity of their motions, they dispersed this disorderly crowd; and then pushed forward against an advanced guard, stationed before the rampart, and almost up to the very gates. The Romans, in having their camp threatened by a band of irregular auxiliaries, felt an intolerable affront, so that nothing could have restrained them from drawing out their forces and passing

the river, but from the chief command being then in the hands of Paullus. On the next day, therefore, Varro, whose turn it was to command, without conferring with his colleague, displayed the signal for battle,<sup>1</sup> and marshalling his forces, led them over the river, while Paullus followed; because, though he did not approve of his design, yet he could not avoid giving him his support. Having crossed the river, they were joined by the troops from the smaller camp, and formed their line in this manner: in the right wing, next the river, they placed the Roman cavalry, and adjoining them the Roman infantry; the extremity of the left wing was composed of the confederate cavalry; and, enclosed by these, the confederate infantry stretched to the centre, so as to unite with the Roman legions. The archers, and other light-armed auxiliaries, formed the van. The consuls commanded the wings, Terentius the left, Æmilius the right; the charge of the centre was committed to Geminus Servilius.

XLVI. Hannibal, at the first light, sending before him the Balearians, and the other light-armed troops, crossed the river, and posted each company in his line of battle, in the same order in which he had led them over. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry occupied the left wing, near the bank, opposite the Roman cavalry, and the Numidian horse the right; the infantry forming the centre in such a manner, that both ends of their line were composed of Africans, and between these were placed the Gauls and Spaniards. The Africans, for the most part, resembled a body of Roman troops, being furnished, in great abundance, with the arms taken partly at the Trebia, but the greater part at the Thrasimenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards were nearly of the same make; their swords were different, both in length and form; those of the Gauls being very long, and without points; those of the Spaniards, whose practice was rather to thrust at their enemy, than to strike, light and handy, and sharp at the point. The troops of these nations made a more terrible appearance than any of the rest, on account of the size of their bodies, and also of their figure. The Gauls were naked from their middle upward; the Spaniards clad in linen vests, of a surprising and dazzling whiteness, and bordered with purple. The whole number of infantry, drawn up in the field on this

1 A purple cloak raised on a spear over Prætorium.

occasion, was forty thousand, of cavalry ten thousand. The generals who commanded the wings were, Hasdrubal on the left, and Maharbal on the right. Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago, took the command of the centre. The sun, very conveniently for both parties, shone on their flanks, whether this position was chosen designedly, or that it fell out by accident; for the Romans faced the south, the Carthaginians the north. The wind, which the natives of the country call Vulturnus, blew briskly against the Romans, and by driving great quantities of sand into their faces, prevented them from seeing clearly.

XLVII. The shout being raised, the auxiliaries advanced, and the fight commenced, first, between the light-armed troops; then the left wing, consisting of Gallic and Spanish cavalry, engaged with the right wing of the Romans; but not in the usual method of fighting between horsemen, for they were obliged to engage front to front, no room having been left for any evolutions, the river on one side, and the line of infantry on the other, confining them, so that they could only push directly forward; at last the horses being pressed together in a crowd, and stopped from advancing, the riders, grappling man to man, dragged each other to the ground. The contest was now maintained chiefly on foot, but was more furious than lasting; for the Roman horsemen, unable to keep their stand, turned their backs. When the fight between the cavalry was almost decided, the infantry began to engage. At first, the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ranks, without betraying any inferiority either in strength or courage. At length the Romans, by frequent and persevering efforts, with their front regular and in compact order, drove back a body which projected before the rest of their line in form of a wedge, and which being too thin, consequently wanted strength; as these gave ground, and retreated hastily and in disorder, they pursued, and, without slackening their charge, broke through their dismayed and flying battalions; at first, to their centre line; and, at length, meeting with no resistance, they arrived at the reserved troops of the Africans, which latter had been posted on both flanks of the others, inclining backwards towards the rear, while the centre, composed of the Gauls and Spaniards, juttet considerably forward. By the retreat of this prominent part, the front was first rendered even; then, by their pro-

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ceeding still in the same direction, a bending inward was at length formed in the middle, on each side of which the Africans now formed wings; and the Romans, incautiously rushing into the centre, these flanked them on each side, and, by extending themselves from the extremities, surrounded them on the rear also. In consequence of this, the Romans who had already finished one battle, quitting the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had pursued with much slaughter, entered now on a new one against the Africans, in which they had not only the disadvantage of being hemmed in, and, in that position, obliged to fight, but, also, that of being fatigued, while their antagonists were fresh and vigorous.

XLVIII. By this time, the battle had begun on the left wing also of the Romans, where the confederate cavalry had been posted against the Numidians: it was languid at first, and commenced with a piece of Carthaginian treachery. About five hundred Numidians, carrying, besides their usual armour and weapons, swords concealed under their coats of mail, rode up under the appearance of deserters, with their bucklers behind their backs, and having hastily alighted from their horses, and thrown their bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies, were received into the centre line, and conducted thence to the hindmost ranks, where they were ordered to sit down in the rear. There they remained quiet, until the fight was begun in every quarter: when, however, the thoughts and eyes of all were deeply intent on the dispute, snatching up the shields which lay in great numbers among the heaps of the slain, they fell on the rear of the Romans, and stabbing the men in the backs, and cutting their hams, made great slaughter, and caused still greater terror and confusion. While, in one part, prevailed dismay and flight, in another, obstinate fighting in spite of despair. *Hasdrubal who commanded on the left wing, after entirely routing the Roman cavalry, went off to the right, and, joining the Numidians, put to flight the cavalry of the allies. Then, leaving the Numidians to pursue them, with his Gallic and Spanish horse, he made a charge on the rear of the Roman infantry, while they were busily engaged with the Africans.*<sup>1</sup>

XLIX. On the other side of the field,

<sup>1</sup> Here the text of the original is so corrupted, as to be absolutely unintelligible. The fact, as represented in the supplemental lines, is so related by Polybius.



Paulus had, in the very beginning of the action, received a grievous wound from a sling; nevertheless, at the head of a compact band, he frequently opposed himself in Hannibal's way; and, in several places, he restored the fight, being protected by the Roman horsemen, who, in the end, dismounted, because the consul's strength declined so far, that he was not able even to manage his horse. Some person on this, telling Hannibal that the consul had ordered the cavalry to dismount, he answered, as we are told, "I should have been much better pleased if he delivered them to me in chains." The fight maintained by the dismounted cavalry was such as might be expected, when the enemy had gained undoubted possession of the victory: and as the vanquished chose to die on the spot, rather than fly, the victors, enraged at them for retarding their success, put to death those whom they could not drive from their ground. They did, however, at length oblige them to quit the field, their numbers being reduced to a few, and those quite spent with toil and wounds. They were all entirely dispersed, and such as were able repaired to their horses, in order to make their escape. Cneius Lentulus, a military tribune, seeing, as he rode by, the consul sitting on a stone, and covered with blood, said to him, "Lucius Æmilius, whom the gods ought to favour, as the only person free from the blame of this day's disaster, take this horse, while you have any remains of strength; I will accompany you, and am able to raise you up and protect you. Add not to the fatality of the fight the death of a consul: without that, there will be abundant cause of tears and mourning." The consul replied, "Your spirit, Cneius Cornelius, I commend; but do not waste, in unavailing commiseration, the short time allowed you for escaping out of the hands of the enemy. Go, carry a public message from me to the senate, that they fortify the city of Rome; and before the victorious Carthaginian arrives, secure it with a powerful garrison. Carry also a private message to Quintus Fabius; tell him that Lucius Æmilius has lived, and now dies, in a careful observance of his directions. As to myself, let me expire here, in the midst of my slaughtered soldiers, that I may not either be brought, a second time, to a trial on the expiration of my consulship, or stand forth an accuser of my colleague; or as if my own innocence were to be proved by the impeachment of another." While

they were thus discoursing, first, a crowd of their flying countrymen, and afterwards the enemy came upon them; and these, not knowing the consul, overwhelmed him with their weapons. Lentulus, during the confusion, escaped through the swiftness of his horse. A general rout now took place; seven thousand men fled into the smaller camp, ten thousand into the greater, and about two thousand into the village of Cannæ; but the town not being defended by any fortifications, these were instantly surrounded by Carthalo and the cavalry. The other consul, without joining any party of his routed troops, gained Venusia, with about seventy horsemen. The number of the slain is computed at forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse; the loss of natives and of the confederates being nearly equal. Among these were the quæstors belonging to both consuls, Lucius Atilius, and Lucius Furius Bibaculus; twenty-one military tribunes; several who had passed through the offices of consul, prætor, or ædile, among whom are reckoned Cneius Servilius Geminus, and Marcus Minucius, who had been master of the horse in the preceding year, and consul some years before; likewise eighty who were members of the senate, or had borne those offices which qualified them to be chosen into that body, and who had voluntarily enlisted as soldiers in the legions. The prisoners taken in this battle are reckoned at three thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

L. Such was the battle of Cannæ; equally memorable with the defeat at the Allia: but as it was less fatal in its consequences, because the enemy were remiss in pursuing the blow, so with respect to the destruction of the troops, it was more grievous and lamentable. For the flight at the Allia, while it proved the ruin of the city, preserved the men; but at Cannæ, scarcely seventy accompanied the consul who fled; almost the whole army perished with the other. Those who had collected together in the two camps, were a half-armed multitude, without leaders: from the larger was sent a message to the others, that while the enemy were sunk, during the night, in profound sleep, in consequence of their fatigue in the battle, and of their feasting for joy, they should come over to them, and they would go off in one body to Canusium. This advice some totally rejected; for they said, "Why did not these men come to them, when a junction might

as well have been effected by that means. Why, but because the ground between them was full of the enemy's troops, and that they chose to expose to such danger the persons of others rather than their own?" The remainder, though they did not disapprove of the advice, were yet afraid to follow it. On this, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, a military tribune, addressed them thus: "Do ye choose, then, to be taken prisoners by a most rapacious and cruel enemy, to have a price set upon your heads, by men who will examine, whether you are a citizen of Rome, or a Latine confederate, in order to pay a compliment to others, by heaping indignity and misery upon yourselves? Surely not, if ye be really fellow-citizens of the consul Æmilius, who preferred an honourable death to a life of dishonour, and of such a number of brave men, who lie in heaps around him. But, before the light overtakes us, and more numerous bodies of the enemy stop up the way, let us sally forth through those, who, without any order or regularity make this noise before our gates; courage and the sword find a passage through the closest battalions; this open and loose band we will penetrate in the form of a wedge. Come on, then, ye who wish the preservation of yourselves and the commonwealth, follow me." So saying, he drew his sword, and, with the troops who chose to follow him, formed as he had proposed, made his way through the midst of the enemy. Here the Numidian javelins being thrown against their right sides, which were uncovered, they removed their shields to their right hands, and thus, to the number of six hundred, effected a passage into the larger camp; proceeding thence, in conjunction with the other greater body, they arrived safe at Canusium. Such were the proceedings of the vanquished, dictated rather by accident, or each man's particular feeling, than by deliberation among themselves, or the orders of any.

L I. When the Carthaginians, flocking round Hannibal, congratulated him on the victory, and recommended, that, after going through the fatiguing business of so great a battle, he should take himself, and allow the wearied soldiers, repose during the remainder of that day and the ensuing night; Maharbal, general of cavalry, who was of opinion that no time should be lost, said to him, "that you may be con-

vinced how much has been accomplished by this engagement, on the fifth day following you shall feast, victorious, in the capitol. Follow me: I will advance with the horse, that the enemy may see me arrived, before they are apprised of my being on the way." To Hannibal these hopes appeared too sanguine, and the prospect too vast for his mind to comprehend at first view. He therefore replied, that "he applauded Maharbal's zeal; but the affair required time for consideration." On which Maharbal observed, "I perceive that the gods do not bestow on the same person all kinds of talents. You, Hannibal, know how to acquire victory, but you know not how to use it." There is good reason to believe that the delay of that day proved the preservation of the city, and of the empire. On the day following, as soon as light appeared, his troops applied themselves to the collecting of the spoils, and in viewing the carnage made, which was such as shocked even enemies; so many thousand Romans, horsemen and footmen, lay promiscuously on the field, as chance had thrown them together, either in the battle, or flight. Some, whom their wounds, being pinched by the morning cold, had roused from their posture, were put to death, by the enemy, as they were rising up, covered with blood, from the midst of the heaps of carcasses. Some they found lying alive, with their thighs and hams cut, who, stripping their necks and throats, desired them to spill what remained of their blood. Some were found, with their heads buried in the earth, in holes which it appeared they had made for themselves, and covering their faces with earth thrown over them, had thus been suffocated. The attention of all was particularly attracted by a living Numidian with his nose and ears strangely mangled, stretched under a dead Roman; and who, when his hands had been rendered unable to hold a weapon, being exasperated to madness, had expired in the act of tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

L II. After a great part of the day had been spent in gathering the spoils, Hannibal led his troops to attack the smaller camp; and first, by drawing a trench across, excluded the garrison from the river: but the men, being spent with labour, watching, and wounds, capitulated sooner than he had expected. It was agreed, that, besides surrendering their arms and horses, there should be paid for each Ro-



man citizen three hundred denarii<sup>1</sup>, for an ally two hundred<sup>2</sup>, for a slave a hundred<sup>3</sup>; and that, on laying down this ransom, they should depart with single garments. On this, they received the enemy into the camp, and were all put into custody, but separately; that is, the citizens and allies each by themselves. During the time spent here, such part of the troops, in the greater camp, as had sufficient strength and courage, amounting to four thousand footmen and two hundred horse, had made their escape to Canusium; some in bodies, others, straggling different ways, through the country, a method equally safe. The camp was surrendered to the enemy by the wounded, and those who had stayed through want of courage, and on the same terms as for the others. Abundance of spoil was found; and the whole, (except the men and horses, and whatever silver there was, most of which was on the trappings of the latter, for there was then very little used at the table, particularly in the field,) was given up to be plundered. Hannibal then ordered the bodies of his men to be collected and buried: they are said to have amounted to eight thousand of the bravest of his troops. Some writers say, that he also searched for, and interred the Roman consul. Those who escaped to Canusium, and who received, from the inhabitants, no farther relief than admittance within their walls and houses, were supplied with corn, clothes, and subsistence, by a woman of Apulia, named Busa, eminent for her birth and riches; in requital of which munificence, high honours were afterwards paid to her, by the senate, at the conclusion of the war.

LIII. Now, although there were four military tribunes present at Canusium; of the first legion, Fabius Maximus, whose father had been dictator the year before; of the second, Lucius Publicius Bibulus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio; and, of the third, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had been ædile the last year; yet the command in chief was, with universal consent, conferred on Publius Scipio; then very young, in conjunction with Appius Claudius. While these, with a few others, were consulting on the measures requisite in this emergency, they were told by Publius Furius Philus, son to a man of consular dignity, that "it was vain for them to cherish hopes in a case past retrieving; for the commonwealth was despair-

ed of, and lamented as lost. That several young men of the nobility, at whose head was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, were meditating a scheme of putting to sea, with intent to abandon Italy, and go over to the king of some other country." This distressing incident, besides having in itself the most fatal tendency, coming unexpectedly, and immediately after so many disasters, surprised and astonished them to such a degree, that they lost for a time all thought and motion; those who were present then, advising that a council should be called on the subject; Scipio, a youth destined by fate to conduct the war to a conclusion, said, that "this was not a subject for council; the business required not deliberation, but fortitude and action. He bade those come with him, that moment, in arms, who wished the preservation of the commonwealth; for no place," said he, "can you more truly call an enemy's camp, than that wherein such designs are agitated." Immediately he proceeded, attended by a few, to the lodging of Metellus; and finding there the youths, who had been mentioned, assembled in consultation, he held his drawn sword over their heads as they sat, and said, "with sincerity of heart I swear, that I will not desert the commonwealth of the Roman people; neither will I suffer any other Roman citizen to desert it. If, knowingly, I break this oath, then do thou, Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm, in the severest ruin, myself, my house, my family, and my fortune. Lucius Cæcilius, and the rest of you here present, I insist upon your taking the same oath: he that will not swear, be it known, that against him this sword is drawn." Terrified no less than if they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all took the oath, and surrendered themselves to Scipio, to be kept in custody.

LIV. While these things passed at Canusium, about four thousand horse and foot, who, in the flight, had been dispersed through the country, came to the consul at Venusia. These were all distributed by the Venusians through their several families, where they were received and treated with kindness. They also gave to each horseman a gown and tunic, and twenty-five denarii;<sup>4</sup> and to each footman ten denarii,<sup>5</sup> and such arms as were wanted; and every other hospitable attention was shown

1 9l. 7s. 7d.

2 6l. 5s. 2d.

3 3l. 2s. 7d.

4 16s. 13d.

5 6s. 54d.

them, both by the public and by private persons; all exerting themselves, that the Venustian state might not be undone, in kindness, by a woman of Canusium. However, the great number of her guests, which amounted now to ten thousand, made the burthen heavier on Busa. Appius and Scipio, as soon as they learned that one of the consuls was alive, instantly despatched to him an account of the number of horse and foot which were with them; at the same time desiring his orders, whether the troops should be brought to him in Venusia, or remain at Canusium. Varro led over his forces to Canusium. And now there was some appearance of a consular army, and they seemed capable of defending themselves, though not with their arms alone, yet certainly with the help of walls. At Rome accounts were received, that not even these relics of the citizens and allies had survived, but that both armies, with the consuls, were utterly cut off. Never, while the city itself was in safety, did such a degree of dismay and confusion prevail within the walls of Rome. I therefore shrink from the task; and will not undertake to describe a scene, of which any representation that I could give would fall short of the reality. The report was, not of such another wound being received, as when a consul and an army were lost, the year before, at the Thrasimenus, but of a multiplicity of disasters; of both armies, together with both consuls, being lost; that the Romans had now neither camp, nor general, nor soldier existing; that Hannibal was in possession of Apulia, Samnium, and of almost all Italy. Certainly we know no other nation whose spirit would not have been wholly crushed under such an immense load of misfortunes. Can I compare with it the disaster, suffered by the Carthaginians, in the sea-fight at the Ægæan islands, by which they were so dispirited that they gave up Sicily and Sardinia, and were content thenceforth to pay tribute and taxes? Or, the loss of the battle in Africa, under which this same Hannibal afterwards sunk? In no particular are they to be compared, except in this, that the latter, under their calamities, displayed nothing like an equal degree of magnanimity,

LV. The prætors, Publius Furius Philus, and Marcus Pomponius, convened the senate in the Curia Hostilia, to consult on the means of providing for the security of the city. They took it for granted that, the armies being de-

stroyed, the enemy would come directly to attack Rome, the only object which remained to be accomplished in order to finish the war. As, in a case of such extreme danger, the extent of which was not thoroughly known, they found it difficult to resolve on any plan, and were at the same time stunned with the cries and lamentations of the women; for no positive information being yet received, the living and dead were, all together, lamented as lost, in almost every house. Quintus Fabius Maximus gave his opinion, that "swift horsemen should be sent along the Appian and Latine roads, who, inquiring from any whom they should meet, straggling in their flight from the field, might perhaps bring back information as to the real situation of the consuls and the armies; and, if the immortal gods, in compassion to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name; where these forces were; to what quarter Hannibal directed his route after the battle; what were his intentions; what he was doing and preparing to do. These particulars ought to be inquired into, and ascertained, by active young men; and the senators themselves, as there was not a sufficient number of magistrates, ought to undertake the part of quieting the tumult and disorder of the city; to remove the women from the public places, and oblige them to confine themselves within their own doors; to restrain the lamentations of the several families; to cause silence in the city; to take care that expresses arriving with any intelligence be conducted to the prætors; and to make every person wait, in his own house, for information respecting his own concerns. That they should moreover place guards at the gates, to hinder any from going out, and force men to place their only hope of preservation in the strength of their walls and works. That when the tumult should be appeased, then the senators might properly be called back into the house to deliberate on measures for the defence of the city."

LVI. This opinion being unanimously approved, and the crowd being removed out of the forum by the magistrates, the senators dispersed themselves on all sides to quiet the commotions; and then, at length, a letter was brought from the consul Terentius, informing them, that "the consul Lucius Æmilius, and the army, were cut off; that he himself was at Canusium, collecting, as from a shipwreck, the relics of such a dreadful misfortune; that there



were with him about ten thousand men, belonging to many different corps, and not yet formed into regular bodies. That the Carthaginian, showing neither the spirit of a conqueror, nor the conduct of a great general, lay still at Cannæ, bargaining about the prisoners and other booty." Then the losses of private families also were made known through their several houses; and so entirely was the whole city filled with grief, that the anniversary festival of Ceres was omitted, because it is not allowable for persons in mourning to celebrate it, and there was not, at the time, one matron who was not so habited. Lest, therefore, for the same reason, other festivals, public or private, might be left uncelebrated, the wearing of that dress was, by a decree of senate, limited to thirty days. Now, when the tumult in the city was composed, and the senators re-assembled in their house, another letter was brought from Sicily, from the pro-prætor Titus Otacilius, stating, that "a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the dominions of Hiero; and that, when he was preparing to carry assistance to him, in compliance with his earnest request, he had received intelligence that another fleet lay at the Ægæan islands, prepared for battle, and intending, as soon as they learned that he had gone away to guard the coast of Syracuse, to fall immediately on Lilybæum, and other parts of the Roman province. If, therefore, they wished to protect Sicily, and the king their ally, a reinforcement of ships must be sent."

LVII. When the letters of the consul and pro-prætor were read, it was resolved that Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet lying at Ostia, should be sent to take the command of the forces at Canusium; and that a letter should be written to the consul, directing, that as soon as he had delivered the army to the prætor, he should, with all the expedition consisting with the public good, come to Rome. In addition to all their misfortunes, people were also terrified by several prodigies; and, particularly, by two vestals, Opimia and Floronia, being, in that year, convicted of incontinence; one of them was, according to custom, buried alive, near the Colline gate; the other voluntarily put an end to her own life. Lucius Cantilius, secretary to one of those, whom we now call the lesser pontiffs, who had debauched Floronia, was, by order of the chief pontiff, scourged in the forum, with such severity, that he expired under the punishment. This enormity, happening in the

midst of so many calamities, was, as is usual in such cases, converted into a prodigy, and the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent also to Delphi, to consult the oracle, and discover by what supplications, and worship, they might be able to appease the gods; and by what means a stop might be put to such a heavy train of misfortunes. Meanwhile, according to the directions of the books of the fates, several extraordinary sacrifices were performed; among which a male and female Gaul, and a male and female Greek, were buried alive in the cattle market, in a vault built round with stone; a place which had already, by a practice abhorrent from the temper of the religion of Rome, been polluted with human victims. When it was thought that sufficient atonement had been made to the wrath of the gods, Marcus Claudius Marcellus despatched from Ostia to Rome, for the security of the city, one thousand five hundred men, whom he had there, and who had been raised for the service of the fleet. He also sent on before him the marine legion, which was the third under command of the military tribunes, to Teanum in the territory of Sidicinum; and then, having delivered the command of the fleet to his colleague, Publius Furius Philus, he repaired himself, in a few days, by forced marches, to Canusium. Pursuant to directions of the senate, Marcus Junius was nominated dictator, and Tiberius Sempronius master of the horse. They proclaimed a levy, and enlisted all the youth of seventeen years and upwards, and even some under that age, of whom they completed four legions, and a thousand horse. Envoys were also sent to the allies, and Latine confederates, with a requisition of their contingents of troops, as specified by treaty. Orders were issued for preparing armour, weapons, and other necessities; and they even took down from the temples and porticoes the old spoils taken from enemies. The urgent necessity, and the scarcity of men of free condition, occasioned their adopting a new mode of raising soldiers, and in an extraordinary manner. They purchased, with the public money, eight thousand stout young slaves; asking each, whether he was willing to serve in the wars; and then gave them arms. They preferred employing this kind of soldiers, though they had it in their power to have ransomed the prisoners at a less expense.

LVIII. Hannibal, intoxicated with his great

success at Cannæ, conducted himself as if, instead of having a war to prosecute, he had already brought it to a conclusion. Ordering the prisoners to be brought forth, he separated the allies from the rest; and, with expressions of kindness, dismissed them without ransom, as he had done formerly at the Trebia, and the lake Thrasimenus. Even the Romans he called before him; and, contrary to his former practice, addressed them in very mild terms, telling them, that "he meant not to carry the war to the extinction of the Romans, but fought for glory and empire. That, as his predecessors had yielded to the Roman bravery, so he, on his part, was now endeavouring to make others yield, in turn, to his valour and good fortune. Wherefore he would give them permission to ransom themselves; and the terms should be, five hundred denarii<sup>1</sup> for each horseman, three hundred<sup>2</sup> for a footman, and a hundred for a slave."<sup>3</sup> Though the ransom of the horseman was hereby raised beyond the rate stipulated on their surrendering, yet they joyfully embraced any terms. It was determined, that they should choose, by their own suffrages, ten of their number, who should go to Rome to the senate; and of their faith, no other security was required than their oath, that they would return. With these was sent Carthalo, a noble Carthaginian, who, if he perceived an inclination towards peace, was to propose the terms. After they had set out from the camp, one of them, a man devoid of Roman principles, pretending to have forgotten something, with a view of evading his oath, returned into the camp, and afterwards, before night, overtook his companions. When it was reported at Rome, that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo, with orders, in the name of the dictator, that he should quit the Roman territories before night.

LIX. The deputies of the prisoners, being by the dictator admitted to an audience of the senate, the principal of them, Marcus Junius, spoke to this effect: "Conscript fathers, none of us is ignorant, that no other state ever considers prisoners in a lower light than ours does. However, unless we are too partial to our own cause, none, who ever fell into the power of an enemy, less deserved to be neglected than we do. For we did not, through cowardice, surrender our arms in the field; but,

after having protracted the battle until near night, standing on the heaped bodies of the slain, we retreated within our works. During the remainder of that day, and the ensuing night, spent as we were with toil and wounds, we yet defended our camp. Next day, being entirely surrounded by the army of the conquerors, and debarred from access to water, having no hope of forcing a way through their numerous bands, and not conceiving it criminal, that, after the slaughter of fifty thousand of our army, any Roman soldier should survive the battle of Cannæ, we, at length, agreed to terms of ransom, on which our liberty should be purchased; and we delivered to the enemy our weapons, when they could no longer serve to defend us. We had heard that our ancestors ransomed themselves with gold from the Gauls; and that our fathers, notwithstanding their utter dislike to the acceptance of the terms of peace, yet sent ambassadors to Tarentum, for the purpose of ransoming prisoners. Yet, both the fight at the Allia with the Gauls, and that at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, may be called disgraceful, on account of the panic and flight. Whereas the plains of Cannæ are overspread with heaps of slaughtered Romans; and, that we survive, is owing to no other cause, than from the enemy having, in killing, exhausted their strength. There are, besides, some of our number who are not even chargeable with flying the field: having been left to guard the camp, when that was surrendered, they fell into the hands of the enemy. I envy not the good fortune, or the situation, of any fellow-citizen or fellow-soldier, nor do I wish, by depressing another, to exalt myself; but surely, unless there is some prize due to swiftness of foot, those men who fled, leaving most of their arms behind, and never halted until they came to Venusia, or Canusium, cannot justly claim a preference before us, or boast of themselves as more capable of affording defence to the commonwealth. However, ye will find them on trial good and valiant soldiers, and will find us also the more heartily zealous in our country's cause, from the consideration of having been, in kindness, redeemed and reinstated by you. Ye are enlisting men of every age and condition. I hear that eight thousand slaves are to be armed. Our number is not inferior to that, and we may be ransomed at less expense than they are purchased. A comparison between ourselves and them would be an insult on the

1 L. 10. 2s. 11d.

2 L. 9. 13s. 9d.

3 L. 3. 4s. 7d.



name of Roman. I think, conscript fathers, that, in such a case, this circumstance also deserves consideration, (if ye choose to act towards us with a degree of rigour, which we have, by no means, merited,) the nature of the enemy, in whose hands ye would leave us, whether he is such as Pyrrhus, who treated us, when his prisoners, as if we were his guests; or a barbarian, and a Carthaginian; of whom it can scarcely be determined, whether his avarice or cruelty be greater. If ye were to behold the chains, the squalid dress, and the miserable looks of your countrymen, the sight, I am convinced, would affect you not less deeply, than if ye saw your legions prostrate on the plains of Cannæ. Ye can here observe the solitude, and the tears of our relations, who stand in the porch of your senate house, waiting for your determination: when they suffer such suspense and anxiety for us, and for those who are absent, what do ye suppose must be the state of those men's minds whose liberty and life are at stake? Believe me, that, even should Hannibal, contrary to his nature, behave with lenity towards us, yet life would be no gratification, after having been adjudged by you unworthy of being ransomed. Formerly, prisoners, dismissed by Pyrrhus without ransom, returned home to Rome. But they returned with ambassadors, the principal men in the state, who had been sent for the purpose of ransoming them. Should I return to my country, whom my fellow citizens have not valued, as worth three hundred denarii; conscript fathers, every man has his own way of thinking; I know that my person and life are in hazard: but I am more deeply affected by the danger to our reputation, lest we should appear to be rejected and condemned by you. For the world will never believe that ye were actuated by the motive of saving money."

LX. When he ceased speaking, the multitude who stood in the comitium, instantly raised a lamentable cry, and stretching their hands toward the senate house, besought the members to restore to them their children, their brethren, and relations. Their fears, and the urgency of the case, had brought a number of women also among the crowd of men in the forum. The senate, as soon as the house was cleared, took the matter into consideration. Opinions were different; some recommended that the prisoners should be ransomed at the expense of the public; others, that the public

money should not be expended, but that they should not be hindered from ransoming themselves, with their own private property; and that, to such as wanted money at present, it should be lent out of the treasury, on their indemnifying the nation by sureties and mortgages. Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man who carried primitive strictness, as many thought, to too great a degree of rigour, on being asked his opinion, spoke to this effect: "Had the demands of the deputies, in favour of those who are in the hands of the enemy, gone no farther than to their being ransomed, I should without offering censure on any of them, have delivered my judgment in few words; for what else would be requisite than to admonish you, to maintain the practice transmitted from your forefathers, and to adhere to a precedent essential to military discipline? But now, since they have, in a manner, made a merit of having surrendered themselves to the foe, and claimed a preference, not only over those who were made prisoners in the field, but even over those who made their way to Venusia and Canusium, and over the consul Caius Terentius himself, I will not let you remain ignorant, conscript fathers, of any of the circumstances which occurred on the occasion. And I wish that the representations, which I am going to lay before you, were made in the presence of the troops themselves at Canusium, the most competent witnesses of every man's cowardice and bravery; or, at least, that one particular person were present here, Publius Sempronius, the counsel and example of which officer, had those soldiers thought proper to follow, they would to-day be Romans in their own camp, not prisoners in that of the enemy. But as the Carthaginians were fatigued with fighting, or totally occupied in rejoicing for their success, in which state indeed most of them had even retired into their camp,—they had it in their power during the whole night to extricate themselves by sallying forth; and though seven thousand soldiers had been able to force their way, even through close battalions, yet they, neither of themselves offered to attempt the same, nor were willing to follow the lead of another. Publius Sempronius Tuditanus never ceased advising and exhorting them, that while the numbers of the enemy round the camp were few, while quiet and silence prevailed, while the night covered their design, they would follow where he should lead; assur-

ing them that, before day light, they might arrive in places of safety in the cities of their allies. If he had said in like manner, as in the time of our grandfathers, Publius Decius, military tribune in Samnium, spoke, or, as in our own time, and in the former Punic war, Calphurnius Flamma said to the three hundred volunteers, when he was leading them to seize on an eminence situated in the midst of the enemy, SOLDIERS, LET US DIE, AND BY OUR DEATHS EXTRICATE THE SURROUNDED LEGIONS FROM THE AMBUSCADE.—If Publius Sempronius had spoken thus, I say, he could not surely deem you either Romans or men, if no one appeared ready to accompany him in so brave an enterprise. But still he points out the way which leads not to glory only but to safety. He shows how ye may return to your country, your parents, wives, and children. Do ye want spirit for your own preservation? What would ye do if the cause of your country required your death? Fifty thousand of your countrymen and allies lie around you slain on that same day. If so many examples of bravery do not rouse you, nothing will ever rouse you; if such a carnage has not inspired contempt of life, no other will. While in freedom and safety, wish for your country: do this as long as it is your country. It is now too late for you to wish for it, when ye are divested of its privileges, disfranchised of the rights of citizens, and become slaves of the Carthaginians. Will ye return, on terms of purchase, to that condition, which ye relinquished through pusillanimity and cowardice? To Publius Sempronius, your countryman, ordering you to take arms and follow him, ye would not listen; ye listened soon after to Hannibal, ordering you to betray your camp to him, and surrender your arms. Why do I charge them with cowardice, when I may charge them with actions highly criminal? for they not only refused to follow the person who gave them the best advice, but attempted to hinder and to stop him, had not his gallant companions with their drawn swords cleared the way of those dastards. I affirm, that Publius Sempronius was obliged to force his passage through a body of his countrymen, before he broke through that of the enemy. Has our country any reason to wish for such citizens as these; to whom, if the rest had been like, we should not have had this day one citizen of those who fought at Cannæ? Out of seven thousand

men, six hundred were found, who had spirit to force their way, who returned home with freedom and their arms, forty thousand of the enemy not being able to stop them. How safely then do ye suppose might a band of near two legions have passed? In that case, conscript fathers, ye would have had this day, at Canusium, twenty thousand soldiers, brave and faithful. But how can these men be good and faithful citizens, (for to bravery they do not themselves lay claim,) after having attempted to stop the sally of those that wished to trust all to their swords? Or who can suppose, that they do not look with envy on the safety and glory, which the others have acquired by their valour, while they see themselves reduced by their fear and cowardice, to ignominious slavery. The entire band chose to remain in their tents, and wait the approach of day, and of the enemy, at the same time; though during the silence of the night they had a fair opportunity of effecting their escape. But though they wanted confidence to sally out of the camp, they had courage valiantly to defend it. Being besieged for several days and nights, they protected their rampart by arms: at length, after the utmost efforts and sufferings, when every support of life failed, when their strength was wasted through hunger, and they could no longer bear up under their arms, they were overcome by necessities too powerful for human nature to sustain, and a part with Sempronius gained the greater camp. Now, at sun rise, the enemy approached the rampart, and before the second hour these men who had refused to accompany him without trying the issue of any dispute, surrendered their arms and themselves. Here, then, is the amount of their martial performances during two days; when they ought to have stood in their posts in the battle, and fought, they then fled to their camp; which, instead of defending, they surrendered; showing themselves equally useless there, and in the field. Shall I then ransom such as you? When ye ought to sally forth from your camp, ye hesitate and stay there; and when staying, there is a necessity for defending it, ye make surrender of your arms, and yourselves. Conscript fathers, I would no more vote for ransoming those men, than I would for delivering up to Hannibal the others, who forced their way out of the camp, through the midst of the enemy, and by the highest exertions of valour restored themselves to their country."



LXI. After this discourse of Manlius, notwithstanding that most of the senators had relations among the prisoners, yet, besides the maxim generally observed by the state, which, from the earliest times had ever showed very little tenderness towards such, the consideration of the money requisite for the ransom operated with them as a powerful argument; indeed they were unwilling either that the treasury should be exhausted, from which a great sum had already been issued for purchasing and arming the slaves for service, or that Hannibal should receive so considerable a supply, and of which he was said to stand in the greatest need. A harsh answer then being given, that the prisoners should not be ransomed, and this new cause of grief, in the loss of so many citizens, being added to the former, the people escorted the deputies to the gate with abundance of tears and lamentations. One of the deputies left the rest, and went home, as if he had fulfilled his oath, by fallaciously returning into the camp. But, as soon as this became known, and was reported to the senate, they unanimously voted, that he should be seized and conveyed to Hannibal, under a guard appointed by the government. This affair of the prisoners is related in another manner: that ten deputies came at first; and that the senate were for some time in doubt whether they should be admitted into the city or not; but that at length permission was granted them to enter it; but still they were refused an audience of the senate; and that afterwards, on their staying longer than the rest expected, three others were sent, Lucius Scribonius, Caius Calpurnius, and Lucius Manlius. Then, at last, the business of ransoming the prisoners was proposed to the senate by a plebeian tribune, a relation of Scribonius, and their determination was, that they should not be ransomed. On this the three deputies, who came last, returned to Hannibal, but the ten former remained at Rome; as if, by having returned to Hannibal, after setting out on their journey, under

pretext of getting a complete list of the prisoners, they had fulfilled their oath. The question, whether they should be delivered up to the enemy, was warmly debated in the senate, and the party who voted in the affirmative were overcome by a small majority. However, they were by the next censors so severely branded with every mark of ignominy, that some of them laid violent hands on themselves, and the rest, during all the remainder of their lives, shunned not only the forum, but almost the public street, and the light. While such difference, in the representations given by historians, may be wondered at, still there are no means of distinguishing the truth. The greatness of the present misfortune, beyond any hitherto sustained, is demonstrated by this circumstance: that the allies, who, until this time, had stood firm in their attachment, now began to waver; for no other reason, certainly, than that they despaired of the commonwealth. The following states actually revolted to the Carthaginians, during the war: the Atellans, the Calatians, the Hirpinians, a part of the Apulians, the Samnites, excepting the Pentrians, all the Bruttians, the Lucanians, and, besides these, the Surrentinians; almost the whole coast possessed by the Greeks, the Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians, and all the Cisalpine Gauls. Yet did not all these losses and revolts of their allies shake the firmness of the Romans so far as to induce them ever once to make mention of peace, either before the consul's return to Rome, or when his arrival renewed the memory of their misfortune. But at that very time, such magnanimity was shown by the state, that on the consul's approaching the city, after such a heavy disaster, of which he, in particular, had been the principal cause, all ranks of people not only went out in crowds to meet him, but even returned him thanks for not having despaired of the commonwealth; whereas, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, there is no degree of punishment beyond what he must have suffered.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXIII.

The Campanians revolt to Hannibal. Hanno moves in the senate of Carthage to propose terms of peace to the Romans; his proposition strenuously opposed, and over-ruled by the Barcine faction. Marcellus defeats Hannibal, in a battle at Nola. Hannibal's army enervated by luxurious living at Capua. Cassilinum besieged by the Carthaginians, is reduced to such extremity by famine, that the people eat the leathern covers of their shields, and even mice. One hundred and ninety-seven new members, from the equestrian order, added to the senate. Lucius Postumius, prætor, with his army, defeated by the Gauls, and slain. Cneius Scipio, and Publius, overcome Hasdrubal in Spain, and conquer that country. The remaining troops of the army vanquished at Cannæ, sent to Sicily, there to remain during the continuance of the war. An alliance formed between Philip, king of Macedonia, and Hannibal. Sempronius Gracchus, consul, defeats the Campanians. Successes of Titus Manlius in Sardinia; he takes prisoners, Hasdrubal, the general, Mago, and Hanno. Claudius Marcellus gives Hannibal's army a second defeat at Nola; and, at length, gives the Romans hopes of a favourable termination of the war.

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I. AFTER the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, as soon as he had taken and sacked the Roman camps, removed hastily from Apulia into Samnium, being invited into the territory of Arpi by Statius Trebius, who promised to deliver the city of Compsa into his hand. Trebius was a native of Compsa, of considerable note among his countrymen, but thwarted in his ambitious views by a faction of the Mopsian family, which, through the favour of the Romans, had acquired the principal direction of affairs. When an account was received of the battle of Cannæ, and Trebius openly announced the approach of Hannibal, the Mopsian party withdrew from the city; on which it was, without a contest, surrendered to the Carthaginian, and a garrison of his troops received into it. Hannibal, leaving here all the booty, together with his baggage, and dividing his army into two parts, ordered Mago, with one division, to receive such cities of that country as were willing to revolt from the Romans, and if any should refuse, to compel them by force; while he himself, at the head of the other, marched through the country of Campania, towards the

lower sea, intending to lay siege to Neapolis, in order to gain possession of a sea-port town. On entering the frontiers of the Neapolitans, he placed one half of his Numidians in ambush, in places suited to the purpose; and, in general, the roads run through deep valleys, and form windings commodious for concealment: the rest he ordered to drive before them, in open view of the enemy, the prey collected in the country; and to ride up, in a menacing manner, to the gates. Against this party, which appeared to be neither regular nor numerous, a sally was made by a squadron of horse, which by the others retreating on purpose, was drawn into the ambuscade, surrounded and cut to pieces. Nor would one of them have escaped, had not the sea been so near, and some vessels, mostly fishing smacks, which were in view at a small distance from shore, afforded shelter to such as were able to swim. Several young men of distinction, however, were slain and taken in this action, among whom fell Hegeas, the general of the cavalry, too eagerly pursuing the enemy in their retreat. The Carthaginian was deterred from undertaking the siege of the



city, by the sight of the fortifications, which showed that the enterprise would be attended with considerable difficulty

II. From hence he marched to Capua ; where, in consequence of a long course of prosperity, and the kind indulgence of fortune, the manners of the people were become extremely dissolute and licentious ; and amidst the universal corruption, the commons particularly distinguished themselves, by the extravagancy of their conduct, carrying their notions of liberty to the most unbounded excess. A person, named Pacuvius Calavius, of noble birth, and, at the same time, a great favourite of the plebeians, but indebted for his popularity to intrigues of no very honourable kind, had rendered the senate dependent on his will, and that of the commons. He happened to be invested with the chief magistracy during that year, wherein the Romans were defeated at the *Thrasimenus* ; and suspected that, on an opportunity so favourable for effecting a revolution, the commons, who had so long harboured a bitter animosity against the senate, would attempt some important enterprise ; and that, if Hannibal should come into those parts with his victorious army, they would even go so far as to murder the senate, and deliver Capua into the hands of the Carthaginians. Though a man of profligate manners, yet, not being utterly abandoned, he preferred ruling the commonwealth in its present settled state to any power which he could hope for, in case of its subversion ; and knowing the impossibility of any state remaining settled if destitute of counsel to direct its affairs, he set about the execution of a plan whereby he might preserve the senate, and, at the same time, keep it in awe of himself and his party. Having convened that body, he began, by telling them, “ that the design of revolting from the Romans, unless such a measure should be found absolutely necessary, could not by any means be agreeable to him, who had children by the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had disposed of a daughter of his own in marriage, at Rome, to *Livius* ; but that, however, an affair of much greater moment, and more alarming tendency, required their attention : for, the purpose of the commons was not, by changing sides, to abolish the authority of the senate ; but, by massacring the members to leave the commonwealth without a head, and in that state to deliver it up to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. From this imminent danger, it

was in his power, (he said,) to deliver them, if they would entrust themselves to his management, and forgetting party animosities, place entire confidence in him.” Overcome by the violence of their fears, they all consented to be directed by him ; on which he said, “ I will shut you up in the senate-house, appearing as an accomplice in their wicked plot, and while I seem to approve of designs which I should in vain oppose, I will find out a way for your safety. For the performance of this I am willing to give you any security which you may demand.” Having solemnly pledged his faith, he went out, and ordered the senate-house to be shut, leaving a guard in the porch, with orders, that no one should go in or out without his directions.

III. He then convened the people, to whom he said, “ *Campanians*, the opportunity for which you have so often prayed, of taking vengeance on a wicked and detestable senate, now presents itself in such a manner, that you may accomplish your wishes, without any hazard of danger to yourselves, in storming, by force of arms, their several houses which they keep secured by garrisons of their dependents and slaves. I am ready to deliver into your hands, the whole body of them shut up together in the senate-house, unattended, unarmed. Nor need you do any thing in a hurry, or without consideration. I will take care that you shall have full power of passing sentence of life or death on every one of them : so that each may suffer the punishment which he has deserved. Above all things, however, it behoves you, while you indulge the gratification of your resentment, to make even that give place to the care of your own interest and welfare. For, the object of your hatred is, as I apprehend, the present body of senators : you do not wish that the commonwealth should be entirely without a senate : for you must have either a king, an office universally detested ; or a senate, the only kind of government compatible with freedom in a state. You must therefore do two things at the same time, remove the old senate and elect a new one. I will order each of the senators to be summoned before you ; concerning whose life or death I will require your judgment : whatever your sentence is, it shall be executed. But first, before punishment is inflicted on the guilty, you will elect into his place, as a new senator, some person of ability and spirit.” He then took his seat ; and the

names of the senators being thrown together into an urn, he ordered the first that happened to come out, on shaking the lots, to be proclaimed, and the person himself to be brought out from the senate-house. On hearing the name, every one eagerly cried out that he was a worthless character, and a wicked man; and that he deserved punishment. Pacuvius then said, "I perceive what judgment has been passed on this man. He is expelled. In the room of this worthless and wicked senator, elect one endowed with probity and justice." A general silence at first took place, from the difficulty of finding a better substitute in his room; and afterwards, some one breaking through reserve, and proposing a certain person, a clamour was instantly raised louder than against the other; some declaring, that they did not know him; others exclaiming, at one time, against his scandalous behaviour, at another, against his meanness, his sordid poverty, and the disreputable trade or occupation which he followed. The same consequences ensued, and the difficulty still increased, on the second and third senator being summoned; all which clearly proved that the people disliked the men in question, but were totally at a loss for one whom they could set in his place; for it would answer no purpose to propose the same persons a second time, whose nomination had produced nothing but a recital of their disgraces, and the rest were still more mean and obscure than those who first occurred to people's thoughts. The consequence was, that the people withdrew from the assembly, affirming, that the evil with which men were best acquainted was the most tolerable, and ordering the senate to be discharged from custody.

IV. Pacuvius, by this obligation conferred on the senate, in thus preserving their lives, so effectually gained their affections that they were much more earnestly disposed to support his interest, than that of the commons; and now, all ranks yielding a ready compliance with his designs, without having recourse to force of arms, he ruled with unlimited authority. Henceforward the senators, casting off all regard to their independence and their dignity, paid court to the commons, and saluted them in courteous terms; invited them, with every expression of kindness, to their houses, and then entertained them sumptuously; always undertook that side of a controversy, sup-

ported that cause, and appointed judges agreeable to that party, which was most popular, and seemed best calculated to conciliate the favour of the populace. No business was transacted in the senate in any other manner, than just as if it had consisted of a set of plebeians. The people had ever been prone to luxurious extravagance; not only from an evil propensity in their nature, but likewise through the profusion of voluptuous enjoyments that lay within their reach, and the temptations to which they were exposed in the midst of every means of gratification which land or sea could afford. But now, in consequence of the condescension and indulgence shown by persons of the first consequence, they ran into such exorbitant excess as set no limits either to their desires or expenses. They had long cast off all respect for their own magistrates, senate, and laws; and now, since the unfortunate battle of Cannæ, they began to look with contempt on the government of Rome also, which alone they had, until then, regarded with some degree of awe. The only considerations that withheld them from an immediate revolt, were, that by means of intermarriages contracted in a long course of time, many of their most illustrious and powerful families were connected with the Romans; and, besides that many of their countrymen served in the Roman armies, their strongest motive for restraining their inclination, was, concern for three hundred horsemen of the noblest families in Campania, who had been selected by the Romans, and sent into several garrisons in the cities of Sicily.

V. The parents and relations of these, with great difficulty, prevailed on the people to send ambassadors to the Roman consul. They found him at Venusia, attended by a very small number of half-armed troops, and in such a condition as could not fail to excite compassion in good and faithful allies, and contempt in the faithless and proud, such as were the Campanians. And this contempt of himself, and of his situation, the consul also increased by too unguardedly exposing and displaying the disastrous state of his affairs. For, on the ambassador's telling him that the senate and people of Campania were much grieved that any misfortune should have happened to the Romans, and promising supplies of every kind, towards carrying on the war, he answered, "Campanians, in desiring us to call on you for supplies towards maintaining the



war, you have observed the usual manner of speaking practised between allies, rather than accommodated your discourse to the present state of our fortune. For what has been left us at Cannæ, that, as if we had something of our own, we should wish to have its deficiencies made up by our allies? Should we call on you for infantry, as if we had cavalry? Should we tell you that we want money, as if that were the only thing wanted? Fortune has left us nothing; not so much as a remnant to which additions might be made. Our legions, our cavalry, arms, standards, men and horses, money, provisions, have all perished, either in the field, or in the loss of the two camps, on the following day. Wherefore, Campanians, your part is, not to aid us in the war, but, in a manner, to undertake the war in our stead. Call to mind how, formerly, when your forefathers were driven, in dismay, within the walls, terrified at the approach of the armies of their enemies, both Samnites and Sidicinians, we took them under our protection, stood up in their defence at Saticula; and this war against the Samnites, undertaken on your account, we maintained, through various vicissitudes of fortune, during a space of near one hundred years. Add to this that, though we possessed the right of sovereignty over you, we granted you an alliance on terms of equality; allowed you your own laws, and, in fine, what was to be considered (at least before the defeat at Cannæ) as the highest honour in our power to confer, we admitted a great number among you to the freedom of our city, and shared its privileges with you. For these reasons, Campanians, you ought to consider our late defeat as a common misfortune, and to deem it your duty to defend our common country. The dispute is not with the Etrurian, or the Samnite; in which case the sovereignty, though taken from us, would still remain in Italy; a Carthaginian foe draws after him, from the remotest limits of the world, from the straits of the ocean and the pillars of Hercules, a host of men who are not even natives of Africa, and who are utter strangers to all laws, to all the rules and rights of society, and almost to the language of men. This horde, cruel and savage from nature and habit, their leader has taken pains to render still more savage; making them form bridges and ramparts of human bodies heaped together, and, what is shocking even to mention, teaching them to feed on human flesh. Who, that was but born in any

part of Italy, could think, without horror and detestation, of seeing, and acknowledging as sovereigns, such creatures as these, who live on such abominable food, whose very touch would convey pollution; of receiving laws from Africa and Carthage, and of suffering Italy to become a province to Moors and Numidians? It will be highly honourable to you, Campanians, that the Roman empire, tottering under so severe a blow, should be upheld and restored by your faithful zeal and strength. I suppose that there may be raised in Campania thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Of money and corn you already have abundance. If your zeal in our favour be but equal to your abilities, neither shall Hannibal perceive that he has been victorious, nor the Romans that they have been defeated.

VI. After the consul had spoken thus, the ambassadors were dismissed; and, as they were returning home, one of them, whose name was Vibius Virius, observed to the rest, that "the time had now arrived, when the Campanians might not only recover from the Romans the lands of which they had been unjustly deprived, but also gain possession of the sovereignty of Italy. For they might form an alliance with Hannibal, on whatever terms they themselves should choose; and when Hannibal, after completing his success, and putting an end to the war, should depart into Africa, and withdraw his army, the sovereign power over Italy, without any dispute, would be left in the possession of the Campanians." In these sentiments of Vibius all the rest concurred, and they accordingly made such a report of the issue of their embassy, as persuaded every one that the Roman power was utterly annihilated. The plebeians, and the greater part of the senate, began instantly to take measures for a revolt. However, by the earnest persuasions of the elder citizens, their proceedings were deferred for a few days; but, at last the opinion of the majority prevailed, that the same ambassadors, who had gone to the Roman consul, should be sent to Hannibal. In some histories I have read, that, before this embassy was despatched, or the design of revolting finally determined upon, ambassadors were sent by the Campanians to Rome, requiring that, if the Roman people expected succours from them, they should elect one of the consuls out of Campania; that this excited so great indignation, that they were ordered to be turned out of the senate-house; and that a

lictor was sent to conduct them out of the city, and to warn them to retire, before night, out of the Roman territory. But this, bearing too great a similarity to the demand formerly made by the Latines, and Cœlius and other writers having, not without reason, omitted the mention of it, I cannot take upon me to affirm the truth of the account.

VII. The ambassadors came to Hannibal, and concluded with him an alliance, on conditions, that "no general, or magistrate of the Carthaginians, should have any authority over a citizen of Campania; nor should any native of Campania be compelled to serve in the army, or to act in any other employment. That Capua should retain its own laws and magistrates. That the Carthaginian should deliver into the hands of the Campanians, three hundred of the Roman prisoners, whom they should pitch on, in order that they might make an exchange of these for the Campanian horsemen serving in Sicily." Such were the articles stipulated; but, to the performances to which they were bound by treaty, the Campanians added deeds of a heinous nature; for the præfects of the allies,<sup>1</sup> and other Roman citizens, part engaged in some military employment, others busied in their private concerns, the plebeians suddenly seized, and ordered them to be shut up in the baths, as if with intent to keep them there in custody; instead of which, suffocated with heat and vapour, they died in a shocking manner. These proceedings, and likewise the sending of an embassy to the Carthaginian, had been most strenuously opposed by Decius Magius; a man who wanted no qualifications that could entitle him to the chief direction of affairs, which, had not his countrymen wanted sound judgment, could certainly have been placed in his hands. When he heard that a body of troops was sent by Hannibal to garrison the city, he at first, openly and loudly protested against giving them admittance, urging as a caution, the haughty tyranny of Pyrrhus, and the wretched slavery of the Tarentines; and afterwards, when they had been admitted, laboured to persuade the people either to expel them; or, if they wished to atone, by a brave and memorable act, for the baseness of their

behaviour, in revolting from their oldest confederates and near relations, to put to death the Carthaginian garrison, and re-unite themselves to the Romans. These his proceedings being reported to Hannibal, (for all passed in public,) he first sent to summon Magius to attend him in his camp; then, on his positively refusing to come, and insisting that Hannibal had no authority over a citizen of Campania, the Carthaginian, provoked to a high degree of passion, ordered his person to be seized and dragged to him into the camp in chains; but afterwards, apprehending lest, in case of force being used, some tumult, and then, people's minds being irritated, some imprudent scuffle might ensue, he sent forward a message to Marius Blossius, prætor of Capua, that he would come himself to that city on the next day; and accordingly, he set out, with a small body of troops. Marius, calling the people together, published orders that they should all, in a body, with their wives and children, go out to meet Hannibal: these orders were universally obeyed, not only without reluctance, but with cheerful readiness; being agreeable to the inclinations of the populace, who were impatient to behold a general, who was now renowned for so many victories. Decius Magius neither went out to meet him, nor did he confine himself within doors, lest he should betray some apprehension from consciousness of misbehaviour: but, while the whole city was in hurry and confusion, through an eagerness to see and to compliment the Carthaginian, he walked carelessly in the forum with his son, and a few of his attendants. Hannibal, immediately on entering the city, demanded an audience of the senate; but the principal Campanians then besought him not, at that time, to attend to any serious business, but, with cheerfulness and freedom, to celebrate a day which his arrival had consecrated to festivity. Although furiously passionate, yet, unwilling to refuse them any thing on the commencement of their connection, he spent a great part of that day, in taking a view of the city. He was lodged at the house of the two Minii Celeres, Stenius and Pacuvius, men highly distinguished by the nobility of their birth, and the greatness of their wealth. Hither Pacuvius Calavius, whom we mentioned before, the leader of that faction, whose violence had effected the present union, brought his son, a young man,

<sup>1</sup> Roman officers appointed to command the troops furnished by the allies with the same rank and authority which the tribunes held in the Roman legions.



after having, with difficulty, drawn him away from the side of Decius Magius; for the youth had joined him, with the warmest zeal, in supporting the Roman alliance, and opposing the treaty with the Carthaginians; nor had the public determination, on the other side, or his respect for his father, been able to produce a change in his sentiments. Calavius, by entreaties rather than excuses, procured a pardon for him, from Hannibal, who overcome by the father's prayers and tears, even desired that he should be invited, together with his father, to supper, though he intended to admit no Campanian to the entertainment, except his hosts, and Jubellius Taurea, a man celebrated for his abilities in war. The entertainment began early in the day, and the feast, as might be expected in a city remarkable for luxury, and in a house particularly so, was not conformable to the Carthaginian customs, or to military discipline, but furnished with every incentive to convivial enjoyment. Calavius's son, Perolla, alone maintained a degree of reserve, which neither the attentions of the masters of the house, nor those sometimes added by Hannibal himself, could overcome. For this he apologized by imputing it to indisposition, and his father alleged also the disturbed state of his mind, which could not then be wondered at. About sunset, the elder Calavius, going out of the room, was followed by his son, who, when they came into a private place (a garden at the rear of the house), said to him; "Father, I have a plan to mention to you, by which we may not only procure from the Romans pardon of our misconduct, in going over to Hannibal, but also acquire to the people of Campania, a much larger share of their esteem and favour than we have ever yet enjoyed." The father, with surprise, inquiring what sort of a plan this was, he threw back his gown from his shoulder, and showed him a sword girt to his side, then said, "I will presently, with Hannibal's blood, ratify our alliance with Rome. Of this I thought it proper to apprise you, because you may, perhaps, wish to be absent, when the deed is performed."

IX. On this sight, and hearing these words, the old man, distracted with apprehension, as if he were then present at the perpetrating of the act which had been mentioned, exclaimed; "By all the ties, my son, which unite children to their parents, I intreat, I beseech you, do not, before the eyes of your father, commit a

deed of such transcendent horror, and draw on yourself extremity of ruin. But few hours have elapsed, since, swearing by all the gods existing, and joining our right hands to his, we bound ourselves to be faithful to him; was it that immediately, on quitting the conference, we should arm against him those very hands, which we had given as sacred pledges of our faith? You are just risen from an hospitable table, to which, of only three Campanians favoured with an invitation by Hannibal, you were one; was it that you should stain that very table with the blood of your host? My entreaties, as a father, have prevailed over Hannibal's resentment in favour of my son; shall they have less power with my son in favour of Hannibal? But suppose there were no sacred obligation in the case, no faith, no religion, no filial duty, let the most abominable deeds be perpetrated, if they do not, along with the guilt, bring ruin on ourselves. Do you mean to assault Hannibal with your single arm? What will that numerous crowd, both of freemen and slaves, be doing? What the eyes of all, intent on him alone? What so many right hands? Will they all be benumbed, during such a mad attempt? How will you be able to support the looks of Hannibal himself, which armed hosts are unable to withstand; which the Roman people behold with horror? Besides, will you be hardy enough to strike me, when, should other assistance be wanting, I shall oppose my person to the danger in defence of Hannibal's? Now, be assured, that, if you strike and pierce his body, it must be through my breast. Suffer yourself, then, to be dissuaded here, rather than overpowered there. Let my prayers have as much weight with you, as they had to-day with him in your behalf." Observing the youth now softened into tears, he threw his arms round him, and, embracing him, with kisses, persevered in his entreaties, until he prevailed on him to lay aside the sword, and give him his honour that he would make no such attempt. The son then said, "I, for my part, will pay to my father the debt of duty which I owe to my country. But I am grieved at the circumstances in which you stand, who have to answer for the crime of having thrice betrayed your country; once, when you advised the revolt from the Romans; a second time, when you promoted an alliance with Hannibal; and a third time, this day, when you obstruct and prevent the re-union of

Capua with Rome. Do thou, my country, receive this weapon, which I wished to use with effect, in defence of this thy capital ; and which I resign, not through any tenderness to the enemy, but because my father extorts it from me." So saying, he threw the sword over the garden wall into the street, and, to avoid suspicion, returned to the company.

X. Next day, Hannibal had audience in a full meeting of the senate, where the first part of his discourse contained nothing but expressions of affection and kindness ; thanking the Campanians for having preferred his friendship to their former alliance ; and among other magnificent promises, assuring them, that Capua should, in a short time, be the metropolis of Italy ; and that the Romans, as well as the other nations, should receive laws from it. He then took notice, that "there was one person who had no title to a share in the friendship of the Carthaginians, and in the terms of the treaty now concluded ; who ought not to be considered, or even named, as a Campanian : this was Decius Magius. Him he demanded to be delivered into his custody, and required that the senate should, in his presence, take Magius's conduct into consideration, and determine concerning him." This proposition was unanimously assented to, notwithstanding that a great part of the senate thought that he had not deserved such severe treatment ; and, likewise, that this first step was no small encroachment on their independence. He then, leaving the senate-house, placed himself on the judgment-seat of the chief magistrate, and gave orders that Decius Magius should be seized, brought to his feet, and there, unsupported, stand his trial. The other, retaining his undaunted spirit, insisted that, according to the terms of the treaty, he was not liable to such compulsion ; on which he was loaded with chains, and ordered to be led by a licitor into the camp. As long as he was conducted with his head uncovered, he continually harangued the multitude, which every where gathered round him, calling out to them—"You have now, Campanians, the independence that you aimed at. In the middle of your forum, in the light of day, before your eyes, I, who am inferior to no one of the Campanians, am chained and dragged to execution. What more violent outrage could have happened, were Capua taken by storm ? Go out, then, to meet Hannibal, decorate the city, consecrate the day of his arrival, that you

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may behold such a triumph as this over one of your own countrymen." While he was exclaiming in this manner, the populace appearing to be moved by his remonstrances, his head was covered, and an order given, that he should be dragged more speedily out of the gate. Being brought in this manner to the camp, he was instantly put on board a ship, and sent away for Carthage : for Hannibal was apprehensive lest, in consequence of the harsh treatment shown him, some commotion might arise in the city, that even the senate might repent of having given up one of their principal members, and that, should an embassy be sent to reclaim him, he must either, by refusing their first request, give offence to his new allies, or, if he complied, must expect to find him a constant fomentor of sedition and disturbance in Capua. A storm drove the ship to Cyrene, which was at that time under the dominion of the Egyptian kings. Here Magius, having fled to the statue of king Ptolemy as a sanctuary, was carried under a guard to Alexandria, to Ptolemy ; and having represented to him, that he had been put in chains by Hannibal, contrary to the terms of the treaty, he was set at liberty, and received permission to return either to Rome or Capua, whichever he pleased. Magius answered, that "at Capua he could not expect safety ; that his residence at Rome, at that time, when war subsisted between the Romans and Campanians, would give him the appearance of a deserter, rather than of a guest ; and that there was no place where he so much wished to live, as in the territory of the king, in whom he had found a protector and deliverer from bondage."

XI. During these transactions, Quintus Fabius Pictor, who had been sent ambassador to Delphi, returned to Rome, and read, from a written copy, the answer which he had received. This contained instructions to what deities, and in what manner, supplications should be made ; and then proceeded thus : "Romans, if you follow these directions, your affairs will improve and prosper ; the business of your state will advance more agreeably to your wishes, and the Roman people will be finally victorious in the war : when your commonwealth shall be settled in safety and prosperity, then, out of the acquisitions made by your arms, send an offering to the Pythian Apollo, and dedicate to his honour a part of the booty, of the captives, and of the spoils. Banish li-

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centiousness from among you." After repeating these words, translated from the Greek verses, he added, that "when he retired from the oracle, he immediately performed worship to all these divinities, with offerings of wine and incense; and was ordered by the chief priest of the temple, that as he had approached the oracle, and had performed worship with a crown of laurel on his head, so he should go on board his ship, wearing the same crown, and not lay it aside until he should arrive at Rome. That he had, with the utmost diligence and reverence, executed all the commands given him, and had deposited the crown on the altar of Apollo at Rome." The senate then decreed that those supplications and other acts of worship, should be performed as soon as possible.

XII. While these things were passing in Rome and Italy, Mago, son of Hamilcar, had arrived at Carthage with the news of the victory at Cannæ. He had not been despatched by his brother immediately after the battle, but delayed for several days, in receiving the submissions of the cities of Bruttium which revolted. Being introduced to an audience of the senate, he gave a full account of his brother's exploits in Italy; that "he had fought pitched battles with six consular armies, and six several commanders; of whom four were consuls, one dictator, and the other master of the horse; had slain above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and had taken above fifty thousand. Of the four consuls, he had slain two; one had escaped wounded: and the other, with scarce fifty of his men, after having lost the rest of his army. The master of the horse, an officer of equal power with a consul, had been defeated and driven off the field; and the dictator, because he always cautiously avoided an engagement, was esteemed as a commander of singular abilities. The Bruttians and Apulians, with part of the Samnites and Lucanians, had come over to the Carthaginians. Capua, which was the metropolis not only of Campania, but, since the ruin of the Roman power in the battle of Cannæ, of Italy, had been surrendered to him. For these so great and so numerous successes, it was proper that the public should be grateful, and should offer thanksgivings to the immortal gods." He then, in confirmation of this joyful intelligence, ordered the gold rings taken from the Romans to be poured down in the porch

of the senate-house; and of these there was so great a heap, that, according to some writers, on being measured, they filled three pecks and a half; but the more general account, and likewise the more probable is, that they amounted to no more than one peck. He also explained to them, in order to show the greater extent of the slaughter, that none but those of equestrian rank, and of these only the principal, wore this ornament. The main purport of his discourse was, that "the nearer their prospect was of finishing the war, the more vigorous support, of every kind, ought to be afforded to Hannibal; for that it was carried on at a great distance from home, in the heart of the enemy's country. The consumption of money and corn was great; and so many engagements, while they ruined the Roman armies, had diminished, in some degree, those of the conqueror. It was therefore necessary to send a reinforcement, and likewise to send money for the pay, and corn for the maintenance of the troops, who had merited so highly of the Carthaginian nation."

XIII. At the conclusion of Mago's discourse, while all were filled with joy, Himilco, one of the Barcine faction, thinking this a favourable opportunity for sarcastic reflections on Hanno, said to him, "Hanno, what is your opinion now? Are you still sorry for our entering into the war against the Romans? Advise now the delivering up Hannibal, oppose the offering thanks to the immortal gods, on occasion of these happy events. Let us hear a Roman senator in the senate-house of the Carthaginians." To this Hanno replied; "Conscript fathers, I should have remained silent this day, lest, in a time of general joy, I might utter some expression tending to damp it. But now, called upon, as I am, by a member of this body, to declare whether I am still sorry for our having entered into the war against the Romans, if I refuse to answer, I may incur the imputation either of superciliousness or servility; the former indicating a want of due regard to the independent rights of others, the latter to a man's own. Let me, therefore, answer Himilco, that I have not ceased to lament the war; nor will I cease to censure that invincible commander of yours, until I shall see the war concluded on some tolerable terms; nor will any thing, except a new treaty of peace, put an end to my regret for the loss of the old. Those matters, then,

which Mago just now so pompously blazoned out, afford present joy to Himilco, and the other partisans of Hannibal. To me, too, they may eventually prove matter of joy; because success in war, if we are willing to make the proper use of fortune's favours, will gain us a peace on the more honourable terms. For should we neglect to improve the present season, when we can possibly dictate, instead of receiving propositions for the same, even now our exultation may lead us into delusive expectations, and prove, in the end, destitute of solid advantage. For, let us see on what footing it stands at this moment. I have cut off the armies of the enemy: send me soldiers. What else would you ask, if you had been defeated? I have taken two camps, full, doubtless, of booty and provisions: give me money and corn. What other demand could you make, if your stores had been plundered, if you were beaten out of your camp? But that I may not be the only person to perceive the unaccountableness of those proceedings, I wish that either Himilco or Mago would inform me (for since I have answered Himilco, it is but reasonable and fair that I likewise, in turn, should ask a question,) as the fight at Cannæ has completed the ruin of the Roman empire, and all Italy is evidently coming over to our side; in the first place, has any state of the Latine nation revolted to us? And next, has any one man, out of the thirty-five tribes, deserted?" To both these questions, Mago answering in the negative; "We have still, then," said he, "more than enough of enemies remaining. But, be their number what it may, I should be glad to know what degree of spirit or of hope they possess?" The other declaring that he knew not that: "Nothing," said he, "is easier to be known. Have the Romans sent any ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Have you even received any intelligence of any mention of it being made at Rome?" Both being denied, he proceeded: "Since that is the case, we have not brought the war any nearer to a conclusion than it was on the day when Hannibal first entered Italy. Most of us are old enough to remember how often victory changed sides in the former Punic war. At no time did our affairs wear a more prosperous aspect, both by land and sea, than just before the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Postumius. In the consulship of Lutatius and Postumius, we suffered a total over-

throw at the Ægatian islands. Now, if, in the course of fortune, our affairs should undergo any such alteration, (may the gods avert the omen!) do you hope, that, after we shall be vanquished, we may obtain peace; whereas now, when we are victorious, there is no one disposed to offer it? For my part, were it proposed, either to offer terms of peace to the enemy, or to receive overtures from them, I know what vote I should give. But if the question before you be concerning the supplies demanded by Mago, I do not see any necessity of sending them to troops already victorious: much less can I vote for their being sent to men who delude us with false and groundless hopes." But few were affected by this discourse of Hanno; for his known enmity to the Barcine family detracted from the weight of his arguments: and besides, men's minds were so fully occupied by joy for the present success, that they were unwilling to listen to any thing which tended to invalidate the grounds of their triumph; and firmly believed, that, by a little farther exertion, the war would be speedily terminated. A decree of the senate was therefore passed, by a very great majority, that a reinforcement should be sent to Hannibal of four thousand Numidians, and forty elephants, with many talents of silver. At the same time the dictator was sent with Mago into Spain, to hire twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were to complete the numbers of the armies both in Spain and Italy. However, this business, as is often the case, in a time of prosperity, was not executed either with spirit or despatch.

XIV. The Romans, prompted by their natural activity of spirit, and also by the present situation of their affairs, omitted no kind of exertion. The consul applied, with diligence, to every business which lay within his department; and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after finishing all matters respecting religion, demanded, as usual, the leave of the people to mount his horse; and then, in addition to the two city legions, levied by the consuls in the beginning of the year, and a body of slaves whom he had enlisted, and the cohorts collected out of the Picenian and Gallic territories, he had recourse to an expedient used only in times of extreme danger, when propriety gives place to utility: he published a proclamation, that "such persons as had been guilty of capital crimes, or had been ordered into confinement on account



of debt, should be discharged from prosecution, and from their debts, provided they enlisted with him as soldiers :” these, amounting to six thousand men, he armed with the spoils of the Gauls, which had been carried in triumph by Caius Flaminius. By these means he was enabled to set out from the city at the head of twenty-five thousand effective men. Hannibal, after gaining possession of Capua, made a second trial of the temper of the Neapolitans, by applications both to their hopes and fears ; but, being disappointed therein, he removed his army into the territory of Nola : where, though he did not immediately commence hostilities, because he did not despair of the people’s voluntary submission, yet he showed a determination, in case of their delaying compliance with his expectations, to make them feel every kind of evil. The senate, and especially the leading members of it, faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome ; while the commons were, as usual, universally inclined to the party of Hannibal ; so great were their fears of the devastation of their lands, and on the heavy sufferings and indignities to be endured in a siege ; nor were leaders wanting to urge them to revolt. The senate, dreading lest, if they made open profession of their intentions, they should find it impossible to withstand the violent temper of the populace, concealed them under a counterfeit appearance, and thereby found means to defer the evil. They pretended that they approved the design of revolting to Hannibal ; but that they could not immediately determine on the conditions, on which it might be proper to contract this new alliance. Having thus gained time, they hastily despatched ambassadors to Claudius Marcellus, the Roman prætor, then at Casilinum with his army, informing him of the precarious situation of the state of Nola ; that the country was already possessed by Hannibal, as the city would shortly be, unless it received succour ; that the senate, by pretending, in compliance with the humour of the commons, that they were ready to change sides whenever the latter chose, had hitherto allayed their violent haste to revolt. Marcellus, after applauding the conduct of the Nolans, charged them to protract the business under the same prettexts, until he should arrive ; and to conceal in the meantime what had passed between him and them, and every expectation of an assistance from the Romans. He himself advanced from Casilinum

to Calatia ; and from thence, after crossing the river Volturnus, he proceeded through the territories of Saticula and Trebia, and passing above Suessula, came through the mountains to Nola.

XV. On the approach of the Roman prætor, the Carthaginian retired out of the territory of Nola, and marched down to the sea-coast adjacent to Neapolis, being earnestly desirous to get possession of a sea-port town to which ships might come over with safety from Africa. But having learned that Neapolis was held by a Roman general, Marcus Junius Silanus, who had been invited thither by the Neapolitans, he gave up all hopes of Neapolis, as well as of Nola, and directed his route to Nuceria. After carrying on the siege of this town for a considerable time, and making frequent attempts to reduce it by force, and also endeavouring in vain to gain over, sometimes the commons, at others the nobility, he at length starved it into a surrender ; when he allowed the garrison no other terms than to retire without arms, and with single garments. Afterwards, as he had, from the beginning, wished to appear inclined to act with clemency towards all the Italians, except the Romans, he offered rewards and honours to such of the garrison as should stay and enlist with him : but he did not by these prospects prevail on one man to join him. They all departed, by different roads, to the several cities of Campania, wherever each man’s connections, or casual impulse of inclination, directed him ; but most of them to Nola and Neapolis. About thirty of the principal senators, having directed their course to Capua, and being refused admittance there, on account of their having shut their gates against Hannibal, retired to Cumæ. The plunder of Nuceria was given to the soldiers, and the city, after being sacked, was burned. Marcellus held possession of Nola ; for the continuance of which he relied not more on his own troops, than on the favourable disposition of the principal inhabitants. But strong apprehensions were entertained of the commons, and above all of Lucius Bantius : being conscious of having fomented the design of a revolt, and dreading the resentment of the Roman prætor, he was stimulated, first, to betray his native city, and then, should that attempt miscarry, to go over to the enemy. He was a young man of an active spirit, and distinguished among the cavalry of the allies

almost beyond every other : he had been found at Cannæ, half dead, among a heap of lifeless bodies, and Hannibal had, with much kindness, taken care of him, until he recovered, and even sent him home, loaded with presents. Out of gratitude for these favours, he now wished to bring the state of Nola under the power and dominion of the Carthaginians. It did not escape the observation of the prætor, that he was perplexed in mind, and anxiously employed in devising the means of effecting a revolution. However, as it was necessary either to check him by punishment, or to conciliate his good will by kind treatment, he judged it more prudent to attach to himself a brave and vigorous associate, than merely to deprive the enemy of him : sending, therefore, for him, he observed, in a kind manner, that, he " must certainly be envied by many of his countrymen, as was easily known from this circumstance, that no citizen of Nola ever informed him of his many extraordinary exploits in war ; but when any man served in a Roman camp, his merit could not continue in obscurity. That many of those who had acted with him, however, had reported well of his conduct : how often, and to what great dangers, he had exposed himself, in defence of the welfare and dignity of the Roman people ; particularly that, in the battle of Cannæ, he had not ceased fighting, until, being almost entirely exhausted, he was buried under a heap of men, horses, and arms. Proceed, therefore," said he, " in your meritorious course ; from me you shall meet with every distinction, every reward ; in fine, and that you may give me your company the oftener, you shall find that such conduct, as it will redound to your honour, so shall it to your emolument too." While the young man was overjoyed at such promises, he presented him with a horse of uncommon beauty, ordered the quæstor to give him five hundred silver *denarii*,<sup>1</sup> and commanded his lictors to admit him to his presence, whenever he chose to come. By this court-cous behaviour of Marcellus, the violent temper of the youth was soothed to such a degree, that, from that time forward, no one among the allies exerted more bravery and zeal in support of the Roman cause.

XVI. As Hannibal was now at the gates, (for he had led his forces back from Nuceria to Nola,) and as the commons of the latter be-

gan anew to meditate a revolt, Marcellus retired within the walls ; not that he was under any apprehension for the safety of his camp, but that he might not allow an opportunity of betraying the city, for which too many impatiently wished. From this time, it was the practice to draw up the forces on both sides in order of battle ; the Romans, under the walls of Nola ; the Carthaginians, before their own camp ; in consequence of which, many skirmishes happened between the camp and the city, with various success ; the generals being unwilling either to restrain the small parties, who inconsiderately challenged the foe, or to give the signal for a general engagement. While the two armies continued to post themselves in this manner, the men of the first rank in Nola gave information daily to Marcellus, that " conferences were held by night between the commons and the Carthaginians ; wherein it had been determined, that, when the Roman army went out of the gates on its march, the populace should make plunder of their baggage and packages ; then shut the gates, and possess themselves of the walls ; with intent, that, having thus taken into their own hands the disposal of their own affairs, and of the city, they should give admittance to the Carthaginians instead of the Romans." On receiving this intelligence, Marcellus, highly commending the Nolan senators, resolved to try the fortune of a battle before any commotion should arise within. He then formed his forces in three divisions, at the three gates which faced the enemy, ordering the baggage to follow in the rear, and the invalids, servants, and sutlers' boys, to carry palisades. At the gate in the centre, he placed the chief strength of the legions and the Roman cavalry ; at the other two gates, on the right and left, the new-raised soldiers, light infantry, and the cavalry of the allies. The Nolans were forbidden to come near the walls or gates ; and the troops, intended as a reserve, were appointed to guard the baggage, lest any attack might be made on it, while the legions should be engaged. Marshalled in this manner, they stood within the gates. Hannibal, after standing as he had done for several days past, with his troops under arms and in order of battle, until the day was far advanced, began to wonder, that neither the Roman army came out of the gates, nor one of their soldiers was to be seen on the walls. Concluding that the conferences had



been discovered, and that fear had rendered the Romans unwilling to stir, he sent back part of his soldiers to the camp, with orders to bring up to the front with haste every thing requisite for assaulting the city; for he was persuaded, that if he pressed them vigorously, while they declined action, the populace would rise in his favour. While his men in the van ran up and down, each intent upon the business assigned him, and the line drew nigh to the walls, Marcellus, on a sudden, throwing open the gate, ordered the charge to be sounded, the shout to be raised, and the infantry first, then the cavalry, to rush forth with all possible fury. These had now spread abundance of terror and confusion through the centre of the enemy's line, when from the two gates, on the right and left, the lieutenant-general Publius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Aurelius, burst out against the wings. The servants, sutlers' boys, and the whole of those who were left to guard the baggage, joined to increase the shout; so that to the Carthaginians, who had been led to despise them, chiefly by an opinion of the smallness of their numbers, they suddenly exhibited an appearance of a very considerable army. I can scarcely indeed take upon me to assert, as some writers have done, that two thousand three hundred of the enemy were slain, and that the loss of the Romans was no more than five hundred: but, whether the advantage was so great or not, the success of that day was highly important; I know not, whether it was not the most so of any obtained during that war: for, to avoid being conquered by Hannibal was, to the troops who were victorious on that day, a matter of greater difficulty than to conquer him afterwards.

XVII. Hannibal, thus precluded from all hope of getting possession of Nola, marched away to Acerræ; and then Marcellus, immediately shutting the gates, and posting guards to prevent any person from going out of the city, held a judicial inquiry in the forum concerning those who had entered into a private correspondence with the enemy. Above seventy were convicted of treasonable practices. These he beheaded, and adjudged their effects to be confiscated to the use of the Roman people; and then, having lodged the government in the hands of the senate, he marched thence with all his forces, and taking post above Suessula, pitched his camp there. The Carthaginian first endeavoured to entice the people of Acerræ to

a voluntary surrender, and afterwards, on finding them obstinate, prepared to invest and assault the town. However, the Acerrans possessed more courage than strength. When, therefore, they perceived the enemy drawing lines of circumvallation round their walls, despairing of being able to defend the city, they seized the opportunity before the works were drawn completely round, and stealing away in the dead of night, through the space unoccupied by the lines, which was negligently guarded, effected their escape, some through the roads, others through pathless ways, as each was led by design or mistake, into those cities of Campania, which they knew had not deserted the alliance with Rome. Hannibal, having sacked and burned Acerræ, and hearing that the Roman dictator, with his legions, were seen from Casilinum at some distance, began to apprehend, lest, in consequence of the enemy being encamped in the neighbourhood, some disturbance might arise even at Capua, and therefore led his forces to Casilinum. That town was held at this time by five hundred Prænestines, with a small number of Romans and Latines, whom the news of the disaster at Cannæ had brought thither. The former, because the levies at Præneste were not completed at the appointed day, had set out from home too late; and, having arrived at Casilinum before the account of the defeat, and being there joined by several others, both Romans and allies, were marching forwards in a very considerable body, when the news of the fight at Cannæ induced them to turn back. Here being feared by, and fearing the Campanians, they spent several days in guarding against plots, and forming them in turn; when, receiving certain information of the revolt intended at Capua, and of Hannibal's being received into the town, they put to death the obnoxious inhabitants by night, and seized on that part of the city which stands on this side of the Volturnus, for it is divided by that river. And this was all the garrison the Romans had at Casilinum. To these was added a cohort of Perusians, consisting of four hundred and sixty men, driven hither by the same bad news which had brought the Prænestines a few days before. The number of soldiers was now nearly sufficient for the defence of a place of such small extent, and which had one side enclosed by the river. A scarcity of corn made them even think the number of men too great.

XVIII. When Hannibal came within a

small distance of the place, he sent forward a body of Gætulians, under an officer named Isalca, with orders, that if an opportunity could be found of conferring with the garrison, he should first endeavour to allure them, by expressions of kindness, to open the gates, and receive his troops; but, if they persisted in obstinate opposition, that he should then put his forces in action, and try if he could on any side break into the city. When they came near the walls, all being silent, it was believed that the town was evacuated, and the barbarian, supposing that the garrison had retired through fear, was preparing to break down the gates; but these flying suddenly open, two cohorts drawn up within for the purpose, rushed out with great impetuosity, and made a considerable slaughter. The first body of assailants being thus repulsed, Maharbal was sent up with a more powerful force; but neither could he withstand the sally of the cohorts. At last Hannibal, pitching his camp close under the walls, prepared to assault this small town and garrison with the whole of his troops; completely encompassing it, and while urging on the attack with briskness in every part at once, he lost a great number of his soldiers, particularly of those who were most forward in action, by weapons thrown from the walls and towers. At one time, the besieged having had the courage to sally out, Hannibal, by placing a line of elephants in their way, was near cutting off their retreat. He drove them, however, in confusion into the town, after they had lost a great many men in proportion to the smallness of their number; and more would have fallen, had not night put an end to the engagement. On the following day the besiegers were animated with extraordinary ardour to carry on the assault, especially as a mural crown of gold was proposed as a prize, and as the general himself upbraided the conquerors of Saguntum with their tardy advances in the siege of a trifling fortress, situate on level ground; reminding each in particular, as well as the whole army in general, of Trebia, Trasimenus, and Cannæ. They then began to work their machines, and to sink mines; nor were those allies of the Romans deficient either in vigour or skill, to counteract the attempts of the enemy. Against the machines they erected bulwarks, by countermines intercepted the mines, baffling all the efforts of the Carthaginians both open and concealed, until even

shame compelled him to abandon the enterprise: but, lest he should appear to have entirely given up the design, he fortified a camp, where he posted a small body of troops, and then withdrew into winter-quarters at Capua. Here, during the greater part of the winter, he kept his forces lodged in houses, men who had frequently and long endured with firmness every hardship to which human nature is liable; and had never been accustomed to, nor ever had experienced the comforts of prosperity. These men, therefore, whom no power of adversity had been able to subdue, were ruined by an excess of good fortune and by immoderate pleasures. These produced effects the more pernicious; because, being hitherto unaccustomed, as I have said, to such indulgences, they plunged into them with the greater avidity. Sleep, and wine, and feasting, and harlots, and baths, and idleness, with which, through habit, they became daily more and more delighted, enervated both their minds and bodies to such a degree, that they owed their preservation, rather to the name they had acquired by their past victories, than to their present strength. In the opinion of persons skilled in the art of war, the general was guilty of a greater fault in this instance, than in not leading forward his army directly to the city of Rome, after the battle of Cannæ: for that dilatory conduct might be supposed only to have deferred the conquest for a time, whereas this latter error left him destitute of the strength to effect it. Accordingly, he marched out of Capua as if with a different army, for it retained not, in any particular, the least remains of the former discipline. Most of the men returned to the field encumbered with harlots; and, as soon as they began to live in tents, and were obliged to undergo the fatigue of marches, and other military labours; like raw recruits, their strength both of body and mind failed them: and from that time, during the whole course of the summer campaign, great numbers used to steal away from their standards, without leave, and the only lurking place of all these deserters was Capua.

XIX. However, when the rigour of the season began to abate, he drew his troops out of their winter-quarters, and returned to Casilinum; where, notwithstanding there had been a cessation from attacks, yet the continued blockade had reduced the townsmen and garrison to the extremity of want. The Roman camp was



commanded by Titus Sempronius, the dictator having gone to Rome to take the auspices anew. Marcellus, who, on his part, earnestly wished to bring relief to the besieged, was prevented by the overflowing of the river Volturnus, and by the earnest entreaties of the people of Nola and Acerræ, who dreaded the Campanians, in case of the departure of the Roman troops. Gracchus, having received injunctions from the dictator not to engage in any enterprise during his absence, but to maintain his post near Casilinum, did not venture to stir, although he received such accounts from that town, as were sufficient to overcome every degree of patience. It appeared that several, unable longer to endure hunger, had thrown themselves down precipices, and that others stood unarmed on the walls, exposing their naked bodies to the blows of the missile weapons. Gracchus felt great concern for their distress; but he neither dared to engage in fight, contrary to the dictator's order, (and fight he plainly must, if he attempted only to throw in provisions,) nor had he any hope of getting them conveyed in clandestinely by his men. He therefore collected corn from all parts of the country round; and having filled therewith a great number of casks, sent a messenger to Casilinum to the magistrate, desiring that the people should catch the casks which the river would bring down. The following night was passed in attentively watching for the completion of the hopes raised by the Roman messenger, when the casks, being sent along the middle of the stream, floated down to the town, and the corn was divided equally among them all. The same stratagem was practised with success on the following night, and on the third. The casks were put into the river, and conveyed to the place of their destination in the course of the same night, by which means they escaped the notice of the enemy's guards: but the river being afterwards rendered more rapid by the continued rains, a whirling eddy drove them across to the side where the enemy's guards were posted, and there they were discovered sticking among osiers which grew on the banks. This being reported to Hannibal, care was taken for the future to guard the Volturnus with greater vigilance, so that no supply, sent down by it to the city, should pass without discovery. Notwithstanding which, quantities of nuts being poured into the river at the Roman camp, and floating down in the middle of the stream to Casilinum, were

stopped there with hurdles. The scarcity however, at last became so excessive, that tearing off the straps and the leathern covers of their shields, and softening them in boiling water, they endeavoured to chew them, nor did they abstain from mice or any other kind of animal. They even dug up every sort of herb and root that grew at the foot of the ramparts of the town, and when the enemy had ploughed up all the ground round the wall, that produced any herbs, they sowed it with turnip seed, which made Hannibal exclaim, "Am I to sit here before Casilinum until these grow?" Although he had hitherto refused to listen to any terms of capitulation, yet he now allowed overtures to be made to him, respecting the redeeming of the men of free condition. An agreement was made, that for each of these a ransom should be paid of seven ounces of gold; and then, having received the ratification of the same, the garrison surrendered. They were detained in custody until all the gold was paid, and afterwards honourably escorted to Cumæ. This is a more probable account than that which relates that they were slain by a body of cavalry, ordered to attack them on their departure. The greatest part of them were Prænestines; out of five hundred and seventy of these, (the number who were in the garrison,) almost one half perished by the sword or by famine, the rest returned in safety to Præneste with their commander Manicius, who had formerly been a notary there. The truth of this relation is attested by a statue of him erected in the forum at Præneste, clad in a coat of mail, and dressed in a gown, with the head covered; and by three images, with an inscription engraved on a plate of brass, importing that "Manicius vowed these in behalf of the soldiers, who were in the garrison at Casilinum." The same inscription was placed under the three images in the temple of Fortune.

XX. The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians, and strengthened by a reinforcement of seven hundred men from Hannibal's army, lest, on the departure of the Carthaginian, the Romans should attack it. To the Prænestine soldiers, the Roman senate decreed two years' pay, and immunity from military service for five years. Being offered the rights of Roman citizens, in consideration of their bravery, they chose to remain in their own community. With regard to the fate of the Perusians, our information is not so clear; for

we receive no light either from any monument of their own, or any decree of the Romans. About the same time, the Petellians, who alone of all the Bruttians had persevered in maintaining friendship with Rome, were attacked not only by the Carthaginians, who were in possession of the adjacent country, but also by the other Bruttians, who resented their following separate counsels. Unable to withstand such a multitude of foes, the Petellians sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit succour. The utmost compassion was excited in the breasts both of the senate and people by these men's prayers and tears; for on being told that they must depend on themselves for safety, they burst out into piteous lamentations in the porch of the senate-house. The affair being proposed a second time to the consideration of the senators, by Manius Pomponius the prætor, after examining into the resources of the commonwealth in every quarter, they were obliged to acknowledge that they were not now in a capacity of assisting their distant allies; they therefore desired the ambassadors to return home, and after doing their utmost to fulfil the duty of faithful confederates, to provide for their own safety in the best manner the present circumstances would permit. When the result of this embassy was reported to the Petellians, their senate was suddenly seized with such grief and terror, that many of them advised to abandon the city, and seek refuge wherever each could find it; others, that since they were forsaken by their old connections, they should unite with the rest of the Bruttians, and through their mediation surrender themselves to Hannibal. However, the majority were of opinion that no step should be taken rashly, or in a hurry; but that the matter should be considered anew. Accordingly, it was taken under deliberation on the following day, when their fears had in some measure subsided, the more considerable persons prevailing on them to bring in all their effects from the country, and to fortify the walls and the city.

XXI. About this time letters were brought to Rome from Sicily and Sardinia. Those written from Sicily by Titus Otacilius, prætor, were first read in the senate; the contents were, that "Publius Furius, the prætor, had come from Africa to Lilybæum with his fleet, and that he himself was grievously wounded, so that his life was in imminent danger; that neither pay nor corn was furnished

to the soldiers and marines at the regular times, nor were there any funds from which they could be obtained; that he earnestly recommended that supplies of these articles might be sent as soon as possible, and also, that, if it seemed proper, one of the new prætors might be appointed to succeed him in his employment." The letters of Aulus Cornelius Mammula, prætor from Sardinia, were nearly of the same purport respecting hay and corn. To both the same answer was given, that there were no means of forwarding supplies, and that they themselves must take measures for providing for their fleets and armies. Titus Otacilius, however, sending ambassadors to Hiero, the only resource of the Roman people in that quarter, received from him as much money as was necessary for the pay of the troops, and corn sufficient for six months. In Sardinia, the allied states gave a liberal contribution to Cornelius. [At Rome there was such a scarcity of money, that it was judged requisite, on a proposal made to that purpose, by Marcus Minucius, plebeian tribune, to constitute three public bankers; these were Lucius Æmilius Papus, who had been consul and censor, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was then plebeian tribune. Two Atilii, Marcus and Caius, being appointed commissioners for the purpose, dedicated the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius had vowed in his prætorship. Three pontiffs were also elected, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in the room of Publius Scantinius, deceased, and of Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the consul, and Quintus Ælius Pætus, who had fallen in the battle of Cannæ.]

XXII. When the senate had repaired, as far as could be effected by human wisdom, the losses sustained by other parts of the state, through the uninterrupted course of disasters in which fortune had involved them, they at length turned their thoughts on themselves, on the solitude that appeared in the senate-house, and the small number of those who assembled in the great council of the nation: for the council had not been filled up since the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius, although, during these five years, the unfortunate battles, besides the casualties to which every man is subject, had swept off such a number of its members. As the dicta-



tor was now gone, after the loss of Casilinum, to join the army, this business was, at the earnest request of all, proposed to the consideration of the senate by Manius Pomponius, a prætor. On which Spurius Carvilius, after having, in a long speech lamented not only the fewness, but even the total want of citizens, who might be chosen into their body, said, that "for the purpose of filling up the senate, and of forming a closer connection with the Latine nation, he recommended, with all the earnestness which a matter of that importance demanded, that, if the Roman fathers thought proper so to order, two senators out of each of the Latine states should be invested with the rights of citizens, and adopted in the room of the members deceased." This proposition the senators heard with no less disgust than had been excited by a demand of the same purport, formerly made by the Latines themselves. A murmur of indignation, indeed, spread through every part of the assembly. Titus Manlius in particular, saying, that "there still existed one of the same race with that consul, who formerly declared in the capitol, that he would with his own hand put to death any Latine whom he should see in the senate-house." Quintus Fabius Maximus said, that "never was mention of any business in that house more perfectly unseasonable than was (when the minds of the allies were in suspense, and their fidelity doubtful,) the touching on a subject which might create farther disquiet among them. That all present were bound to bury in universal forgetfulness those inconsiderate words of one individual; for that if ever any matter occurred in that house that demanded secrecy, and induced a solemn obligation to silence, it was this proposition, which, beyond every other, ought to be covered, concealed, and consigned to oblivion, and to pass as if it never had been uttered." This prevented any farther discussion. They then came to a resolution, that a dictator should be created, to elect members into the senate; and that he should be a person who had formerly been censor, and was the first in seniority living, of those who had held that office. They likewise ordered, that the consul Caius Terentius should be sent for, in order to nominate the dictator. Leaving his troops in Apulia, he came thence by long journeys to Rome, and, pursuant to the decree of the senate, on the following night, according to the custom, nominated Marcus

Fabius Buteo dictator for six months, without a master of the horse.

XXIII. Buteo mounted the rostrum, attended by his lictors, and declared, that "he did not approve of two dictators at one time, of which there had hitherto been no precedent; neither was he content with his own appointment to the dictatorship, without a master of the horse; nor of the censorial power being intrusted to a single person, and to that person a second time; nor yet of authority being granted to a dictator for six months, unless he were to command in war. But those particulars, in which accident, the exigencies of the times, and necessity, had caused such irregularities, he would reduce into regular order. For, in the first place, he would not displace any of those senators whom Caius Flaminius and Lucius Æmilius had elected, in their censorship; he would only order the list of them to be transcribed, and read over; for no single person ought to have authority to judge and determine on the character and morals of a senator; and that, in substituting others in the room of those deceased, he would regulate his choice in such a manner, that the preference should be seen to lie between one rank and another, not between one man and another." When the list of the old senate had been read, he then elected, first, in room of the deceased members, those who, since the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius, had obtained any curule magistracy, and had not yet been elected senators, and these in order, according to the priority of their appointments to office. Next, he made choice of those who had been ædiles, plebeian tribunes, or quæstors. Then, out of such as had never held a public office, he selected those who had spoils taken from an enemy hanging in their houses, or had received the prize of a civic crown. Having, in this manner, and with the entire approbation of all ranks of men, elected into the senate one hundred and seventy-seven members, he instantly abdicated his office, ordered the lictors to depart, and came down from the rostrum a private citizen. He then mixed with the crowd employed in their private concerns, or who were loitering in the forum, and this he did to prevent them from quitting the place to escort him. However, the warmth of their zeal was not cooled by that delay, and they conducted him home in vast numbers.

XXIV. On the following night, the consul

set out on his return to the army, without acquainting the senate, lest he should be detained in the city on account of the elections: who next day, on the business being proposed by the prætor Manius Pomponius, decreed that a letter should be written to the dictator, with directions that, if he judged it consistent with the public good, he should come home to hold the election of consuls, and should bring the master of the horse, and the prætor Marcus Marcellus, in order that government might learn from them in person, the state of the public affairs, and adopt such measures as circumstances required. All those came whose presence was desired, leaving lieutenant-generals to command the legions. The dictator speaking briefly and modestly of his own services, attributed a great share of the honour acquired to the master of the horse, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. He then published a proclamation for an assembly of election, in which were created consuls, Lucius Postumius, the third time, being absent, employed in the government of the province of Gaul; and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, then master of the horse, and curule ædile. Then followed the choosing of prætors: these were Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Sævola. As soon as the appointment of magistrates was finished, the dictator returned to Teanum, the winter-quarters of his army, leaving the master of the horse at Rome: in order that, as he was to enter into office in a few days, he might take the judgment of the senate concerning the levying and procuring troops for the service of the year. While the public attention was employed principally on this business, an account was brought of a new disaster, fortune crowding into this year events of that nature in constant succession; this was, that Lucius Postumius, consul elect, together with his army, had been cut off in Gaul. On the road through which he was to lead his army, there was a wood of vast extent, the Gauls called it Litana: the trees of this wood, adjoining the road on the right and left, the Gauls had cut in such a manner, that as long as they were untouched they stood, but on being pushed, even with the slightest force, they fell. Postumius had with him two Roman legions, and had enlisted such numbers from among the allies on the coast of the upper sea, that he led an army of twenty-five thousand men into the enemy's country.

The Gauls posted themselves round the outer skirts of the wood, and, when the army on its march entered the pass, they then pushed the outermost trees of those which they had cut; these fell against the next, and those likewise against others unsteady before, until, overwhelming the Romans on all sides, they crushed in one universal ruin, men, horses, and arms; so that scarcely ten of them made their escape; the greater part were bruised to death by the trunks of the trees, or entangled in the fragments of branches, while the remainder, dismayed by this sudden and strange disaster, were slain by the Gauls, who, in arms, enclosed every part of the wood. Out of so great a number, a very few were taken prisoners; these pushing for a bridge which lay over a river, were intercepted by the enemy, who had taken possession of it before. Here Postumius fell, fighting with the utmost bravery to avoid being taken. This general's head the Boians cut off, and, together with the spoils taken from his body, carried it in triumph into a temple, which they held in the highest reverence. Afterwards emptying the head, as their custom is, they encased the skull with gold, and this they used as a consecrated vessel, out of which they made libations on high festivals; and as a cup to be drank out of by the officiating priest, and the other priests of the place. The booty also, which fell into the hands of the Gauls, was as abundant, as their victory was complete: for although hardly any escaped destruction from the falling of the wood, yet every thing else was found spread regularly along the line of the lifeless troops; because there had been no fight, and consequently no removal of any thing.

XXV. On the news of this calamity, such dismay possessed the public during several days, that the shops were shut, and solitude, like that of midnight, prevailed through the whole city, until the government charged the ædiles to go round through all the streets, to order the shops to be opened, and this appearance of public mourning to be laid aside. Then Tiberius Sempronius, assembling the senate, endeavoured to console them by saying, that, "they who had not sunk under the ruinous disaster at Cannæ, should not let their courage be depressed by misfortunes of less moment." He observed, that "provided their operations against Hannibal, and their Carthaginian enemies, were attended with success, (as he hoped they would,) the prosecu-



tion of the war against the Gauls might without danger, be suspended; and that it would be always in the power of the gods and of the Roman people to take ample vengeance for their treachery. It was their business, therefore, to consult and deliberate on the measures to be taken against the Carthaginian, and on the strength with which that war was to be conducted." He gave them a detail of the numbers of infantry and cavalry, of Romans, and of allies, in the dictator's army: then Marcellus laid before them the amount of his own troops, while inquiry was made as to the force in Apulia, with the consul Caius Terentius. But no plan could be devised of forming consular armies sufficiently powerful to cope with such formidable enemies. Wherefore, though strongly stimulated by just resentment, they determined to suspend all proceedings against Gaul for that year. The dictator's army was decreed to the consul. It was resolved that those soldiers in Marcellus's army, who had fled from Cannæ, should be transported into Sicily, and serve there as long as the war should continue in Italy; and that to the same place should be sent the least able in the dictator's legions, but there was no order that these should be detained during any particular term, but only for the number of campaigns directed by law. The two city legions were assigned to the other consul, who should be substituted in the room of Lucius Postumius; who, it was determined, should be elected as soon as it could be done with permission of the auspices: that two legions should be brought home, with all expedition, from Sicily; out of which, the consul appointed to the charge of those of the city, should take as many soldiers as should be necessary; that the consul Caius Terentius should be continued in command for a year, and that no diminution should be made in the force employed under him for the defence of Apulia.

XXVI. During the period in which those events took place, and these preparations were making in Italy, the war was prosecuted with no less vigour in Spain, but success had hitherto inclined to the Romans. The two Scipios, Publius and Cneius, divided the forces between them, that Cneius might conduct the operations on land, and Publius those at sea; while Hasdrubal, who commanded the Carthaginians, having little confidence in any strength that he could muster against either, kept aloof, relying for safety on the distance and on the nature of the

ground, until, after long and frequent solicitations, a reinforcement was sent him from Africa, of four thousand foot and five hundred horse. At length resuming hopes, he removed his camp nearer to the enemy, and gave orders, in person, for preparing and fitting out a fleet, for the protection of the islands, and the sea-coast. In the midst of the hurry of his preparations for recommencing the war anew, he was greatly alarmed by the desertion of the commanders of his ships, who, having been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet at the Iberus, in a cowardly manner, had never since been very faithfully disposed, either to the general, or the interest of the Carthaginians. These deserters had excited an insurrection in the country of the Tartessians, where, at their instigation, several cities had revolted, and one they had even taken by storm. Instead, therefore, of directing his operations against the Romans, he turned them against his own nation; and, having entered their territory in a hostile manner, resolved to attack Galbus, a general of high reputation, commander of that people, who, with a powerful force, kept close within his camp, under the walls of the city, which had been taken a few days before. Accordingly, sending forward his light-armed troops to draw out the revolted to battle, he despatched part of his infantry to ravage the lands, on all sides, and pick up stragglers: thus, at the same time, the camp was alarmed, and the country filled with flight and slaughter. At length, when, by different roads, the fugitives had escaped within their works, they so entirely got rid of their panic, that they had courage sufficient, not only to defend them, but even to challenge Hasdrubal to battle. They sallied out therefore in a body from the camp, dancing according to their custom: and their unexpected boldness struck terror into those who, a little before, took pains to provoke them. Hasdrubal, therefore, drew back his forces to an eminence of considerable height, and farther secured by a river running at the foot of it, ordering the advanced party of light troops, and the scattered horsemen, to retreat to the same place; but still not thinking himself sufficiently secured by the hill or the river, he fortified his camp completely with a rampart. While they thus terrified each other alternately, several skirmishes took place, in which the Numidian cavalry proved not a match for the Spanish, nor the Mauritanian javelin bearer for the targeteer; the latter possessing, together

with equal activity, much greater strength and much more courage.

XXVII. The Tartessians, finding that they could not, by advancing to his camp, entice the Carthaginian to an engagement; and that, on the other hand, an assault on it would be attended with much difficulty, stormed the city of Asena, where Hasdrubal, on entering their territory, had stored up his corn and other provisions: and this gave them the command of all the adjacent country. And now they could no longer, either on a march or in a camp, be kept in order by any command. As soon, therefore, as Hasdrubal perceived that success had, as usual, begotten such disorder, he exhorted his men to attack them while they straggled without their standards; and descending from the hill, proceeded in order of battle towards their camp. His approach being announced by messengers, flying back in consternation from the watch posts and advanced guards, the general alarm was given; on which, as fast as each could take up his arms, without command, without signal, without regard to any regular disposition, or even to ranks, they rushed out to battle. The foremost had already engaged in fight, while some ran up, in small parties, and others had not yet come out of the camp. However, at the beginning, merely through their daring boldness, they struck terror into the Carthaginians; but afterwards, as their thin ranks closed with the compact band of these, the danger, from the smallness of their numbers, becoming apparent, each began to look about for support, and, being repulsed in all parts, they collected themselves in a circle. Here, crowded together, they were driven into such a narrow compass, that they had scarcely room to move their arms, and, in this situation, were entirely surrounded, so that the slaughter of them continued through the greater part of the day. A small number, having forced a passage, made off to the woods and mountains; with like consternation, the camp was abandoned, and the whole nation, the day following, submitted to the conqueror. But it did not continue long in a state of peace: for orders were brought at several times from Carthage that Hasdrubal should, with all speed, lead his army into Italy. The report of this intended procedure, spreading through Spain, wrought a change in the disposition of almost every state, in favour of the Romans. Hasdrubal, therefore, immediately despatched a letter to Car-

thage, representing what mischief the said report of his departure had occasioned. That "if he were really to remove thence, the Romans would be masters of Spain, before he should cross the Iberus. For, besides that he had neither forces nor commander, whom he could leave in his place, the Roman generals were such, that, with strength equal to theirs, it was scarcely possible to withstand them; wherefore, if they had any regard for the country in question, they ought to send a successor in his room, with a powerful army; who, though all events should prove prosperous, would find in the province but little time for repose."

XXVIII. Although this letter made a considerable impression on the senate, yet, deeming Italy of superior importance, and entitled to the first attention, they made no change in the orders respecting Hasdrubal and his forces. Himilco was sent with a complete army and an extraordinary number of ships, in order to maintain a superiority in Spain, both by land and sea, and to defend it from all attacks. After transporting his land and sea forces, he fortified a camp, drew up the ships on land, and surrounded them with a rampart; and then, attended by a body of chosen horsemen, with all possible expedition, and with the same precautions in passing through nations whose attachment was doubtful, as through those who were professed enemies, he came to Hasdrubal. As soon as he had communicated to him the decrees and orders of the senate, and learned from him, in turn, the method in which the war in Spain was to be conducted, he returned without delay to his own camp, being indebted for safety to the celerity of his motions; for, before a plot could be concerted any where against him, he had always left the place. Hasdrubal, previously to his march, imposed contributions on all the states under his authority; for he well knew that Hannibal had, on several occasions, purchased a passage; that no consideration, but that of pay, made his Gallic auxiliaries remain with him; and that, if he had undertaken such an expedition, unprovided with money, he could scarcely have penetrated so far as to the Alps. Having therefore, with violent haste, exacted the same, he marched down to the Iberus. When the Romans were informed of the decrees of the Carthaginians, and of Hasdrubal's movement, the two commanders, renouncing every other business, determined with their united forces to obstruct and



put a stop to his enterprise. For they considered, that, if Hannibal, whose single force Italy could hardly withstand, should be joined by the Spanish army with Hasdrubal at its head, there would be an end of the Roman empire. Anxiously intent on effecting this purpose, they made a junction of their forces on the bank of the Iberus, and, crossing the river, held a long consultation whether they should directly face the enemy, or be content with detaining him, by attacking his allies. The result was, that they determined to lay siege to the city called Ibera, from the river near which it stood, at that time the most opulent in all that part of the country. When Hasdrubal understood this, instead of bringing succour to his allies, he likewise proceeded to besiege a town, lately put under the protection of the Romans: in consequence of which, the siege already formed by the latter was raised, and their force directed against Hasdrubal himself.

XXIX. For a few days, they remained encamped at the distance, from each other, of five miles, not without skirmishes, but neither party offering battle. At length, on one and the same day, both, as if by concert, displayed the signal for fighting, and brought their whole force into the field. The Romans were formed in three lines; one half of the light troops were posted among the battalions in front, the other half were sent back to the rear; the cavalry covered the wings. Hasdrubal composed the centre of his line of Spaniards: on the right wing, he posted his Carthaginians; on the left, the Africans and hired auxiliaries; his cavalry he placed on the wings, annexing the Numidians to the Carthaginian infantry, the others to the Africans. However, all the Numidians were not placed on the right wing, but those only, whose practice it was, to bring two horses each into the field, and often in the very hottest of the fight to spring, notwithstanding the weight of their armour, from the wearied horse upon the fresh one, like those who exhibit feats of activity as a show; so great is the agility of the men, and so docile their breed of horses. While they stood, ranged in this manner, the hopes entertained by the commanders were pretty nearly equal on both sides; for neither one party nor the other had any great advantage, either in the number, or qualifications of their men. But the sentiments of the soldiery were widely different: for the Romans had

been easily brought by their commanders to believe, that though they fought at a great distance from their country, yet their efforts were to decide the fate of Italy, and of the city of Rome. Therefore, as their return to their native soil depended on the issue of that battle, they had come to a determined resolution, either to conquer or die. The men who composed the opposite army were not possessed of such inflexible firmness; for the greatest part of them were Spaniards, who wished rather to be defeated in Spain, than, after gaining the victory, to be dragged into Italy. No sooner therefore was the first onset made, than almost, before the javelins were thrown, the centre of their line began to give way; and, on being vigorously pressed by the Romans, turned their backs. On the wings, however, the fight was maintained with spirit; the Carthaginians on the one, and the Africans on the other, charging with briskness, and, as they had their enemy in a manner inclosed between them, attacking them on both sides. But as soon as the whole of the Roman troops had once come together into the centre, its strength was sufficient to compel the wings to retire in opposite directions. Thus there were two distinct battles; and, in both, the Romans, who, after the defeat of the enemy's centre, had the superiority both in the number and strength of their men, were completely victorious. In this engagement, vast numbers of the enemy were slain; and, had not the Spaniards fled so precipitately before the battle was well begun, very few of their whole army would have survived. The cavalry had no share in the engagement: for, as soon as the Moors and Numidians saw the centre giving way, they instantly betook themselves to a precipitate flight, leaving the wings uncovered, and driving the elephants before them. Hasdrubal, after staying until the fortune of the day was finally decided, made his escape from the midst of the carnage, accompanied by a few. His camp was taken and plundered by the Romans. If the inclinations of any people in Spain were hitherto doubtful, this battle fixed them in the interest of the Romans, and deprived Hasdrubal of every hope, not only of leading an army into Italy, but even of remaining in Spain with any degree of safety. These events being made known at Rome, by letters from the Scipios, caused universal rejoicing, not so much in consideration of the victory itself, as of Hasdru-

bal's being thereby prevented from bringing his army into Italy.

XXX. While affairs in Spain proceeded in this manner, the city of Petellia in Bruttium was, after a siege of several months, taken by Himilco, an officer of Hannibal's. This conquest cost the Carthaginians abundance of blood; but it was not force so much as famine, that overcame the besieged: for, after having consumed all kinds of eatable fruits, and the flesh of every kind of four-footed beast, they lived at last on the leather of their shields, on herbs and roots, and the tender bark of trees, with berries gathered from the brambles. Nor were they prevailed on to surrender, until their strength was so entirely exhausted, that they were unable to stand on the walls, or to carry their arms. After getting possession of Petellia, the Carthaginian led his forces against Consentia, which was not defended with equal obstinacy, but capitulated in a few days. About the same time, an army of Bruttians invested Croton, a Greek city, formerly powerful in men and arms, but now reduced so low, by many and heavy misfortunes, that the number of its citizens of every age amounted to not quite twenty thousand. The place, therefore, being destitute of men for its defence, was easily mastered. The citadel alone held out, into which, during the confusion consequent to the storming of the city, and while the other inhabitants were put to the sword, some had made their escape. The Locrians too revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians, through the treachery of the nobles, who betrayed the populace. The Rhegians alone, in all that tract, maintained to the last their alliance with Rome, and their own independence. The same disposition to change spread also into Sicily, and even the family of Hiero was not entirely uninfected with the spirit of revolt: for Gelo his eldest son having conceived a contempt of his father's declining age, and also, since the defeat at Cannæ, of the Roman connection, joined the Carthaginians, and would have caused much disturbance in Sicily, had not a death so reasonable, that it threw some stain of suspicion even on his father, carried him off, while he was busy in arming the populace, and courting alliances. Such were the transactions of this year, prosperous and otherwise, in Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Spain. Towards the close of the year, Quintus Fabius Maximus, demanded of the senate that he might be allowed to dedicate

the temple of Venus Erycina, which he had vowed in his dictatorship; and the senate decreed, that Tiberius Sempronius, consul elect, should, as soon as he entered into office, propose to the people the creation of Quintus Fabius, duumvir, for performing the dedication of that temple. In honour of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been twice consul, and an augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, celebrated funeral games, which lasted three days; in the course of which, they exhibited in the forum, twenty-two pairs of gladiators. The curule ædiles, Caius Lætorius and Tiberius Sempronius Græchus, consul elect, who, during his ædileship, had likewise been master of the horse, performed the Roman games, which were also repeated during three days. The plebeian games of the ædiles, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were thrice repeated. [Y. R. 537. B. C. 215.] At the conclusion of this third year of the Punic war, Tiberius Sempronius, consul, assumed the administration of his office on the ides of March. Of the prætors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had formerly been twice consul, and likewise censor, held the city jurisdiction, and Marcus Valerius Lævinus that respecting foreigners. The lots gave to Appius Claudius Pulcher the province of Sicily; to Quintus Mucius Scævola that of Sardinia. The people ordained, that Marcus Marcellus should have authority as proconsul, in consideration of his being the only one of the Roman commanders, who, since the disaster at Cannæ, had fought with success.

XXXI. The senate, on the first day of their meeting upon business in the capitol, passed a decree, that double taxes should be imposed for that year, of which one half should be levied without delay, for the purpose of giving immediate pay to all the troops, excepting those who had been at Cannæ. With respect to the several armies they ordered, that the consul Tiberius Sempronius should appoint a day for the two city legions to repair to Cale, from whence these legions should be conducted to the Claudian camp, above Suessula. As to the legions which were there, consisting mostly of the troops who had been at Cannæ, it was ordered, that Appius Claudius Pulcher the prætor, should transport them into Sicily, and that those then in Sicily should be brought home to Rome. To the army appointed



to assemble at Cale. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was sent with orders, to lead off those city legions to the Claudian camp. Appius Claudius sent Titus Metillius Croto, lieutenant-general, to take the command of the old army, and transport it into Sicily. People had at first expected in silence, that the consul would call an assembly for the election of a colleague in his office: afterwards, when they saw that Marcus Marcellus, whom above all others they wished to be appointed consul for that year, on account of his extraordinary successful conduct in his prætorship, was, as it were purposely, sent out of the way, a murmur arose in the senate-house; on observing which, the consul said, "Conscript fathers, the public service required, that Marcus Claudius should go into Campania to make the exchange of the armies; and that a day of election should not be proclaimed until his return, after finishing the business given him in charge, that you may have the consul whom the exigencies of the state require, and who is most agreeable to your wishes." After this, there was no mention of an election until Marcellus returned. In the meantime, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Titus Otacilius Crassus, were created duumvirs for the dedication of temples, the latter to dedicate one to Mens, the former, that to Venus Erycina. Both stand in the capitol, separated by a channel running between them. A proposition was then offered to the people respecting the three hundred Campanian horsemen, who, after faithfully serving out the legal term in Sicily, had returned to Rome, that they should be admitted Roman citizens; and moreover, that they should be deemed to have been citizens of Cumæ from the day preceding that on which the people of Campania revolted from the Roman. The passing of this law was expedited by the representation of the men themselves, that they knew not to what people they belonged, having renounced their original country, and being not yet adopted into that to which they had returned from abroad. As soon as Marcellus came home from the army, an assembly was summoned for the choice of a consul, in the room of Lucius Postumius. Marcellus was unanimously elected, and ordered to enter immediately into office; but just as he was about to assume the administration, thunder was heard, and the augurs being called, pronounced, that there must have been a defect in the election; whereupon the

patricians openly asserted that the appointment of two plebeians to the consulship, of which there had never before been an instance, was what gave displeasure to the gods. On this, Marcellus abdicated the office, in the place of whom was substituted Fabius Maximus, who had twice before been honoured with it. This year the sea appeared on fire; a cow at Sinuessæ brought forth a foal; the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium sweated blood; and a shower of stones fell round the same temple. On account of this shower, the nine days' worship, usual on like occasions, was performed, and the prodigies were carefully expiated.

XXXII. The consuls then made division of the forces assigned them. The army which had been with Marcus Junius, the dictator, fell to the share of Fabius; and that which had been composed of volunteer<sup>1</sup> slaves, together with twenty-five thousand of the allies, was given to Sempronius. The legions, to be brought home from Sicily, were decreed to Marcus Valerius, the prætor; and Marcus Claudius, proconsul, was sent to command the army, encamped above Suessula, for the protection of Nola. The prætors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls gave public orders, that whenever they should summon a meeting of the senate, the senators and persons entitled to the privilege of speaking in council,<sup>2</sup> should assemble at the Capuan gate. The prætors, presiding in the courts of justice, fixed their tribunals in the public fish-market; where they ordered all parties concerned to attend, and there justice was administered during that year. In the meantime, when Mago, Hannibal's brother, was just ready at Carthage to carry over into Italy twelve thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse, twenty elephants, and one thousand talents of silver,<sup>3</sup> under the convoy of sixty ships of war, news arrived, that the army in Spain had been defeated, and that almost every state of that province had gone over to the Romans. Several were now of opinion that they ought, for the present, to lay aside

1 Called *volones* from *volo*, I am willing, the answer given by each when he was asked whether he was willing to enlist.

2 All those who had held curule offices had a right to a seat in the senate, and to give their opinions, but they could not vote until they were regularly admitted by the censors, and registered.

3 L193,750.

all concern for Italy, and send Mago, with the fleet and army under his command, into Spain. And at this very juncture, a flattering prospect suddenly presented itself, of recovering the possession of Sardinia: for they were told, that "the Roman army there was small, and that Aulus Cornelius, the present prætor, who was well acquainted with the province, was preparing to leave it, and that a new one was expected. They were informed also that the minds of the Sardinians were become dissatisfied, under the burden of a foreign government of so long continuance; which had, during the last year, been marked with cruelty and avarice; that the people were oppressed with grievous taxes, and an unreasonable contribution of corn, and that nothing was wanting, but a head, to whom they might transfer their allegiance." This intelligence was conveyed by a secret embassy from the principal inhabitants, at the instigation chiefly of Hampsicora, who at that time possessed a share of interest and influence, far exceeding that of any other man in the island. These accounts arriving together almost at the same moment, stunned and revived them. They sent Mago with his fleet and army into Spain, and appointed Hasdrubal, surnamed the Bald, their general for Sardinia, assigning him a number of forces, nearly equal to what they had given Mago. At Rome, the consuls, after finishing every business that was to be performed in the city, were now actively employed in preparations for the campaign. Tiberius Sempronius published a proclamation, that his soldiers should assemble at Sinuessa on an appointed day; and Quintus Fabius, with the approbation of the senate, issued another, that all persons should carry in their corn, of all kinds, from the fields to the fortified towns before the calends of June next ensuing; and that if any disobeyed this order, his farm should be laid waste, his slaves sold by auction, and his farm-houses burnt. Even the prætors appointed to preside in the courts of justice were not allowed an exemption from military employments: it was determined that the prætor Valerius should go into Apulia, to receive the command of the army from Terentius, and that, when the legions from Sicily should arrive, he should employ them principally in the defence of the country, and send in their stead Terentius's army under some lieutenant-general. Twenty-five ships were also put

I.

under the command of Publius Valerius, the city prætor, that with them he might protect the sea-coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number were assigned to Quintus Fulvius, for securing the coast nearest to the city. Caius Terentius, proconsul, was ordered to press soldiers in the territory of Picenum, and to provide for the security of that part of the country; and Titus Otacilius Crassus, when he had dedicated the temple of Mens, was sent into Sicily, and invested with the command of the fleet.

XXXIII. On this contest, between the two most powerful nations in the world, all kings and nations kept their attention earnestly fixed; but more particularly, Philip, king of Macedonia, because he was nearer to Italy than any other, being separated from it only by the Ionian sea. When he first received information of Hannibal having passed the Alps, as he was overjoyed at the breaking out of war between the Romans and Carthaginians, so, as long as there was no important trial of their strength, his judgment remained equally balanced between the parties, uncertain to which he should wish success. But, when he saw that the Carthaginians had fought three battles, and in each of the three had proved victorious, the scale turned to the side favoured by fortune, and he despatched ambassadors to Hannibal. These, shunning the harbours of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were guarded by the Roman squadrons, landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia; taking their way thence through Apulia, towards Capua, they fell in with the Roman posts, and were by them conducted to the prætor, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, then encamped near Luceria. Here Xenophanes, who was at the head of the embassy, with perfect composure declared, that he had been sent by king Philip to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and was charged with despatches for the consuls, and for the senate and people of Rome. Valerius, highly delighted with the prospect of a new alliance with a king of such distinguished reputation, at a time when the defection of the old allies had become so general, received these enemies with every degree of courtesy as guests, and gave them an escort, who were ordered to point out carefully the roads and what places, and what passes were held by the Romans, or by the



enemy. Xenophanes, after passing through the Roman posts into Campania, came thence, by the shortest road, into the camp of Hannibal, and concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with him on these terms : That " King Philip, with the largest fleet that he could fit out, (and it was supposed that he would be able to make up the number of two hundred ships,) should come over into Italy, lay waste the sea-coast, and annoy the enemy by sea and land, as far as lay in his power. On the conclusion of the war, all Italy, with the city of Rome itself, should be the property of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and all the booty should be at the disposal of Hannibal. As soon as the conquest of Italy should be completed, the Carthaginians should sail into Greece, and wage war against such nations as the king should direct, and all conquests to be made on the continent, and all the islands on the coast of Macedonia, should be the property of Philip, and united to his dominions."

XXXIV. On these conditions, principally, was a treaty concluded between the Carthaginian general and the Macedonian ambassadors ; and with the latter were sent Giso, Bostar, and Mago, in quality of ambassadors to receive the ratification of it from the king in person. They arrived at the same spot near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where a ship lay waiting for them in a secret creek. Having set sail from thence, and got into the open sea, they were descried by the Roman fleet which guarded the coasts of Calabria : and Publius Valerius Flaccus despatched some Corcyran fly-boats to pursue and bring back the ship. On which the king's party endeavoured, at first, to escape : but, afterwards, finding that they were inferior in swiftness of sail, they surrendered themselves to the Romans, and were brought to the commander of the fleet. When he inquired who they were, whence, and whither they were bound, Xenophanes, at first, repeated the feigned story, which had once already succeeded very well, " that he had been sent by Philip to the Romans, and had proceeded as far as the quarters of Marcus Valerius, but could go no farther with safety, as it was not in his power to make his way through Campania, every pass there being guarded by the enemy." Afterwards, the Carthaginian dress and manners raised some suspicion of Hannibal's ambassadors ; and, some questions being put to them, their language betrayed them ; on which, their

attendants were removed into separate places, and terrified with menaces, by which means Hannibal's letter to Philip was discovered, and also the articles of the convention between the Macedonian king and the Carthaginian general. Their designs being thus fully detected, it was judged most advisable, that the prisoners, and their accompaniers, should with all speed be conveyed to the senate at Rome ; or to the consuls, wherever they were. For this service five of the quickest sailing vessels were chosen, and the command of them given to Lucius Valerius Antias, who received orders to distribute the ambassadors through all the ships, to be kept separate under guards, and to take care that there should be no conversation or communication between them. About this time, Aulus Cornelius Mammula, returning from the province of Sardinia to Rome, gave a representation of the state of affairs in that island ; that all the people were inclined to revolt ; that Quintus Mucius, his successor in the government, had on his coming been so affected by the grossness and moisture of the air, that he fell into a disorder, not so dangerous as tedious, and consequently would, for a long time, be incapable of military service ; and that the army there, though strong enough for the maintenance of order in the province, during a time of peace, was yet very unequal to the support of the war, which appeared ready to break out. On this the senate decreed, that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should enlist five thousand foot, and four hundred horse ; that he should take care to have this legion conveyed to Sardinia without any delay ; and that he should send some proper person, commissioned to conduct the business of the war, until Mucius's health should be re-established. In this employment was sent Titus Manlius Torquatus, who had been twice consul, and likewise censor, and who had, in one of his consulates, subdued Sardinia. About the same time the fleet from Carthage for Sardinia, under Hasdrubal, surnamed the Bald, after suffering severely in a violent storm, was driven out of its course to the Balearic isles, where a great deal of time was lost in docking and repairing the ships, for not only their rigging, but even their hulls had been damaged.

XXXV. On the side of Italy, the prosecution of the war, since the battle of Cannæ, had been less vigorous than usual, the strength of one party being broken, and the courage of the

other enervated. The Campanians, therefore, undertook to bring the state of Cumæ into subjection to themselves. At first, they tried to prevail on that people to renounce the alliance of Rome; but not succeeding in that method, contrived a stratagem to circumvent them. There was a stated festival at Hamæ, at which all the Campanians used to attend. They told the Cumans, that the Campanian senate would come thither, and requested that the senate of Cumæ might likewise come, in order that they might consult together, and, with common consent, adopt such measures as that both states might have the same friends and the same foes; they themselves, they said, would bring an armed force for their protection, so that there would be no danger either from the Romans or Carthaginians. The Cumans, though they suspected treachery, yet offered no objection, thinking this the best way to cover the deception, which they meditated. In the meantime Tiberius Sempronius, the Roman consul, after performing the purification of his army at Sinuessa, where he had appointed them to assemble, crossed the river Volturnus, and encamped at Liternum. As he had in this post no employment for his arms, he obliged the soldiers frequently to go through their exercise, that the recruits, of whom the greatest part were volunteer-slaves, might learn from practice to follow the standards, and to know their own centuries in the field. In the midst of these employments, the general's principal care was, and he accordingly gave charges to the lieutenants-general and tribunes, that no reproach, cast on any one on account of his former condition, should sow discord among the troops; that the veteran soldier should be satisfied at being put on a level with the recruit, the freeman with the volunteer-slave; that they should account every one sufficiently honourable and well-born, to whom the Roman people intrusted their arms and standards; observing that, whatever measures fortune made it necessary to adopt, it was equally necessary to support these when adopted." These directions were not more carefully inculcated by the officers than observed by the soldiers; inasmuch that, in a short time, they all became united in such a perfect harmony of sentiment, that it was almost forgotten what each man had been before he became a soldier. While Gracchus was thus employed, ambassadors from Cumæ brought him information of the embassy which had come to them, a few

day's before, from the Campanians, and the answer which they had returned, and told him, that the festival would begin on the third day following, and that not only the whole senate, but the camp and army of the Campanians, would be present. Having ordered the Cumans to convey all their effects out of the fields into the city, and to keep close within the walls, Gracchus himself removed to Cumæ, on the day previous to that which the Campanians had fixed for the commencement of their sacrifices. From hence Hamæ was three miles distant. The Campanians, as had been concerted, had assembled here in great numbers, and at a small distance, Marius Alfius, who was Medixtuticus, that is, the chief magistrate of the Campanians, with fourteen thousand soldiers, was secretly encamped, and was much more busily employed in preparations for the festival, and in the measures requisite for the execution of the treacherous project, than in fortifying his camp, or any other military work. The festival at Hamæ was to last three days, and the rites began after night-fall, so as to be finished at midnight. This hour Gracchus judged the most proper for a surprise, and, accordingly, posting guards at the gates to prevent any one carrying intelligence of his design, he obliged the soldiers to spend the time from the tenth hour in taking refreshment and getting some sleep, that they might assemble on a signal as soon as it grew dark; then, about the first watch, he ordered the standards to be raised, and marching out in silence arrived at Hamæ at midnight. Here, finding the Campanian camp in a neglected state, as might be expected from the soldiers having spent the night without sleep, he assaulted it through all the gates at once, and put the men to the sword, some as they lay stretched on the ground, others as they returned unarmed after finishing the sacrifices. In the tumultuous action of this night there were more than two thousand men slain, together with their general Marius Alfius, and thirty-four military standards taken.

XXXVI. Gracchus, after making himself master of the enemy's camp with the loss of less than one hundred men, returned quickly to Cumæ, being afraid of Hannibal, who had his camp on the Tifata over Capua. Nor was his judgment mistaken in dictating this provident step; for no sooner had the news of the overthrow reached Hannibal, then he marched by Capua with the utmost rapidity, expecting



to find at Hamæ an army, which consisted for the most part of raw recruits and slaves, indulging extravagant joy in consequence of success, and employed in gathering the spoils of the vanquished, and driving off their booty. He ordered such of the Campanians as he met in their flight, to be conducted to Capua, under an escort, and the wounded to be conveyed in carriages. At Hamæ he found nothing but the traces of the recent carnage, and the ground covered with the bodies of his allies. Several now advised him to proceed directly to Cumæ, and attack that city: but, though it accorded with his anxious wishes to have Cumæ at least as a seaport, since he could not get possession of Neapolis, nevertheless, as his soldiers, on their hasty march, had brought nothing but their arms, he retired back to his camp on the Tifata. Being afterwards earnestly urged to the attack by the Campanians, he returned next day to Cumæ with every thing requisite for a siege, and after utterly wasting the country, pitched his camp at the distance of a mile from the city, in which Gracchus had determined to stay, rather through the shame of abandoning, at such a perilous juncture, allies imploring protection from him and the Roman people, than from any great confidence in his troops. Neither could the other consul, Fabius, who had his camp at Cales, venture to cross the river Vulturnus, being engaged at first in taking new auspices, afterwards in attending to prodigies, which were reported one after another; besides, while expiating these, he was told by the auspices, that it would not be easy to obtain favour of the gods.

XXXVII. While Fabius was prevented from stirring by these causes, Sempronius was held besieged, and now was even exposed to the attacks of machines. Against a huge wooden tower, which was brought up near to the town, the Roman consul raised another tower, much more elevated, by fixing strong piles contiguous to the wall, which in itself was very high. This the besieged formed into a platform, whence, throwing stones, javelins, and other missile weapons, they maintained the defence of their works and city. At last, when the machine had approached close to the wall, and with blazing firebrands, they threw on it all at once an immense quantity of combustibles; while the soldiers within, terrified by the flames, cast themselves down headlong from the same. The garrison, rallying out

from two gates at the very time, overthrew the enemy's advanced guards, and drove them back to their camp; so that the Carthaginian was, on that day, more like a person besieged than besieging. One thousand three hundred of the Carthaginians were slain, and fifty-nine taken prisoners, who, standing careless and negligently near the walls, and on the advanced posts, and fearing nothing less than a sally, were surprised unawares. Gracchus sounded a retreat before the enemy should recover from their sudden fright, and drew back his men within the walls. Next day Hannibal, supposing that the consul, elated with success, would be willing to try the issue of a regular engagement, drew up his forces in order of battle between his camp and the city: but when he saw that not a man stirred, except in the customary guard of the town, and that nothing would be hazarded on inconsiderate hopes, he returned with disappointment to the Tifata. At the very time of raising the siege of Cumæ, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed Longus, fought with success against Hanno at Grumentum in Lucania, killed above two thousand of the enemy, and took forty-one military standards, losing two hundred and eighty of his own men. Hanno, expelled from the Lucanian territories, retreated backward into Bruttium. In another quarter, three towns of the Hirpinians, which had revolted from the Roman people, were attacked and retaken by the prætor, Marcus Valerius. Vercellius and Sicilius, the instigators of the revolt, were beheaded, and above one thousand of the prisoners exposed to sale: the rest of the booty was bestowed on the soldiers, and then the troops were led back to Luceria.

XXXVIII. While affairs proceeded thus in Lucania and Hirpinia, the five ships carrying the captive ambassadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians to Rome, after making a circuit from the upper sea to the lower, round the greater part of the coast of Italy, were sailing by Cumæ, when they were observed by Gracchus, who, not knowing whether they belonged to friends or enemies, sent a part of his fleet to meet them. Here mutual inquiries discovering that the consul was at Cumæ, the ships put into that harbour, the prisoners were conducted to the consul, and the packet they had in charge delivered to him. Having read the letters of Philip and Hannibal, he inclosed, and sent them to the senate by land, ordering

the ambassadors to be conveyed thither by sea. These, with the inclosures, arrived at Rome on the same day, or nearly; and the answers of the former on their examination being conformable to the contents of the letters, the senate were at first grievously perplexed at the prospect of such a formidable war impending from Macedonia, when they were scarcely able to support that with the Carthaginians. Yet, so far were they from suffering their courage to be depressed, that they instantly began to deliberate how they might, by offensive operations, divert the enemy from Italy. After ordering the prisoners to be kept in close confinement, and their attendants to be exposed to public sale, they decreed, that, besides the twenty ships, under the command of Publius Valerius Flaccus, twenty-five others should be got ready for sea. These being equipped and launched, and joined by the five which had brought the captive ambassadors, set sail from Ostia for Tarentum, and orders were sent to Publius Valerius to take on board them the soldiers, formerly commanded by Varro, and who were then at Tarentum under Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general: and, with his fleet, which would then consist of fifty ships, not only to protect the coast of Italy, but to procure intelligence concerning the hostile designs of the Macedonians. If Philip's intentions were found to correspond with the letters, and the informations of the ambassadors, he was then to forward intelligence of this to the prætor, Marcus Valerius, who, leaving the command of the army to his lieutenant-general, Lucius Apustius, and hastening to Tarentum to the fleet, was to cross over into Macedonia with all expedition, and use his best endeavours to detain Philip in his own dominions. For the maintenance of the fleet, and the support of the war with Macedonia, that money was ordered to be applied, which had been sent into Sicily to Appius Claudius to be returned to king Hiero, and this was conveyed to Tarentum by the lieutenant-general, Lucius Apustius. Together with it, were sent by Hiero two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and one hundred thousand of barley.

XXXIX. While the Romans were employed in this manner, and making such preparations, the captured ship, which had been sent with the others to Rome, made its escape on the voyage, and returned to Philip; by which means he learned, that his ambassadors,

with the letters, had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Wherefore, as he knew not what terms of agreement had been settled between them and Hannibal, nor what accounts they would have brought him, he despatched another embassy with the same instructions. The persons employed in this commission to Hannibal were Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus, Crito Berræus, and Sositheus Magnes: these effected the business with which they were charged, without meeting any obstruction, either in going or returning. But the summer had passed away before Philip could put himself in motion, or enter on any enterprise: so important were the consequences attending the capture of that single vessel with the ambassadors, as to defer the war with which the Romans were threatened. With regard to the campaign in the neighbourhood of Capua, Fabius, after expiating the prodigies, passed the Vulturnus, and then both the consuls entered on action. Fabius took by assault Comulteria, Trebula, and Saticula, (cities which had revolted to the Carthaginian,) and in them were made prisoners Hannibal's garrisons, and vast numbers of Campanians. At Nola, as was the case the year before, the senate being inclined to the side of the Romans, and the populace to that of the Carthaginians, the latter held secret cabals, in which schemes were formed for massacring the nobility and delivering up the city: but to prevent their designs taking effect, Fabius, marching his army across between Capua and Hannibal's camp on the Tifata, took post over Suessula in the Claudian camp, and thence detached Marcus Marcellus, proconsul, with the troops under his command, to secure the possession of Nola.

XL. In Sardinia the business of the campaign, which had been suspended ever since the prætor Quintus Mucius had been seized with a severe disorder, began to be prosecuted by Titus Manlius, who, drawing the ships of war into dock at Carale, and arming the marines to act on land, made up, with the army which he received from Mucius, the number of twenty-two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. With this force he marched into the enemy's country, and pitched his camp at a small distance from that of Hampsicora. It happened that at this time the latter had gone into the country of those Sardinians called Peliti, with design to procure a reinforcement to



his army by enlisting their young men : his son, named Hiostus, commanded in the camp, and he, with the presumption of youth, inconsiderately hazarding an engagement, was defeated, and put to flight ; three thousand of the Sardinians being slain in the battle, and about eight hundred taken. The rest of the troops, at first, ran straggling through the fields and woods ; but, afterwards, all directed their flight to Cornus, the principal city in that country, into which they heard that their commander had fled. This battle would have put an end to the war in Sardinia, had not the Carthaginian fleet under Hasdrubal, which had been driven out of its course to the Balearic isles, arrived just in time to revive the hopes of the revolt. Manlius, on hearing of the arrival of the Carthaginian fleet, marched back to Carale ; and this afforded an opportunity to Hampsicora of effecting a junction with the Carthaginian. Hasdrubal, when he had disembarked his troops, sent back the fleet to Carthage ; and then, using Hampsicora as a guide, he marched, with fire and sword, into the lands belonging to the allies of the Roman people, and would have proceeded even to Carale, had not Manlius, by throwing his army in the way, checked the violence of his depredations. For some time, they lay encamped opposite to each other, at a small distance ; then followed skirmishes and encounters between small parties, in which success was various. At last they marched out to battle, and, meeting in regular array, maintained a general engagement for the space of four hours. That the victory remained so long in suspense was owing to the Carthaginians, for the Sardinians had now been accustomed to yield an easy conquest. At last, when nothing was to be seen on any side of them but the flight and slaughter of the Sardinians, they also gave way. But just as they were turning their backs, the Roman general, wheeling round with that wing of his army which had beaten the Sardinians, enclosed their rear, and then followed a carnage rather than a fight. Of the Sardinians and Carthaginians together, there fell twelve thousand ; about three thousand six hundred, with twenty-seven military standards, were taken.

XL I. But what contributed, above all, to render this success brilliant and memorable, was, the taking of the general Hasdrubal, and two other Carthaginians of high distinction, Hanno and Mago ; Mago being of the Barcine

family, and nearly related to Hannibal, and Hanno the person who instigated the Sardinians to a revolt, and unquestionably the author of the present war. Nor was the fortune of the Sardinian commanders, on this occasion, less remarkable ; for Hiostus, son of Hampsicora, fell in the fight ; and the father, after having fled with a few horsemen, when, in addition to his other misfortunes, he heard also of his son's death, put an end to his own life in the night-time, lest some interruption might prevent his design : to the rest, the city of Cornus, as on the former occasion, afforded a refuge ; but Manlius, attacking it with his victorious troops, made himself master of it in a few days. On this, the rest of those states, which had joined Hampsicora and the Carthaginians, made their submission, and gave hostages. Having imposed on these, in proportion to the power or delinquency of each, contributions of corn, and pay for the troops, he led back his army to Carale ; and there, launching the ships of war, and embarking the troops which he had brought to the island, he sailed to Rome, and informed the senate of the total reduction of Sardinia, delivered the money raised by the contributions to the quæstors, the corn to the ædiles, and the prisoners to the prætor Quintus Fulvius. About the same time Titus Otacilius, proprætor, sailing over from Lilybæum to Africa with a fleet of fifty ships, ravaged the Carthaginian territories. As he was returning to Sardinia, on hearing that Hasdrubal had lately crossed over thither from the Balears, he met his fleet on its way from Africa ; and, after a slight engagement in the open sea, took seven of the ships, with their crews. Their fears dispersed the rest not less effectually than a storm would have done. It happened that, at the same time, Bomilcar, with supplies of men and provisions, and forty elephants sent from Carthage, put into the harbour of Locri. On which Appius Claudius, intending to surprise him, drew all his forces hastily to Messana, under a pretext of making a circuit round the island, and with the favour of the tide crossed over to Locri ; but Bomilcar had already left the place, and gone to join Hanno in Bruttium, and the Locrians shut their gates against the Romans. Without effecting any thing by such a powerful effort, Appius returned to Messana.

XLII. During this summer Marcellus made frequent excursions from Nola, where he was

stationed in garrison, into the lands of the Hirpinians and Caudine Samnites, and with fire and sword caused such utter devastation through every part of the country, as renewed in Samnium the memory of those calamities which they had suffered of old. Both nations therefore immediately joined in sending ambassadors to Hannibal, who addressed him in this manner: "Hannibal, we, by ourselves, waged war against the Roman people, as long as our own arms and our own strength were sufficient for our defence: when we found that we could no longer trust to these, we united ourselves to king Pyrrhus; by whom being deserted, we submitted to a peace, which our circumstances made necessary, and which we continued to observe, through a space of almost sixty years, to the time when you came into Italy. Your kind demeanour and singular generosity to our countrymen, whom, when prisoners in your hands, you restored to us, as well as your bravery and success, inspired us with such esteem and admiration, that having you in health and safety to befriend us, we feared not the resentment of the Roman people, nor (if it is allowable so to speak) even that of the gods. But now, indeed, while you are not only in safety, and possessed of victory, but while you are present, and can, in a manner, hear the lamentations of our wives and children, and see our houses in flames; still, we say, we have experienced, in the course of this summer, such depredations, that it seems as if Marcus Marcellus, not Hannibal, were the conqueror at Cannæ; the Romans boasting, that you had just vigour enough for that one stroke, and having as it were lost your sting, are now become a drone. For near one hundred years, we maintained a war against the Roman people, without the assistance of any foreign leader or army, since in the two years that Pyrrhus was joined with us, he rather augmented his own forces with our strength, than defended us with his. I shall not make a display of our successes, except in sending under the yoke two consuls and two consular armies; though it is certain that other events have contributed to our glory. As to the difficulties and misfortunes which we then underwent, we can recount them with less indignation, than those which fall upon us this day. Renowned dictators, with their masters of horse; two consuls, with two consular armies at a time, were used to enter our territories; and, with every

precaution of first exploring the country, and posting rear guards, proceeded in order of battle to commit depredations; at present we are in a manner the prey of one little garrison, which is scarcely sufficient to man the walls of Nola. They scour every quarter of our country; not in companies, but like common robbers, with less precaution than they would use in rambling through the province of Rome. Now the cause of this is, that you do not afford us protection, and that at the same time our youth, who, if at home, would defend us, are all employed under your standards. As we are not unacquainted with you or your forces; as we know that you have defeated and cut off so many armies of Romans; surely we must judge it an easy matter for you to overpower those marauders amongst us, who straggle about without order, and ramble wherever allured by the slightest hope of gain. They may be instantly subdued by a handful of Numidians; and while you send supporters to us, you will, by the same means, strip the Nolans of theirs. In fine, it is hoped that after having taken us under your protection, and deemed us worthy of alliance, you do not now judge us undeserving your interference in our defence."

XLIII. To this Hannibal answered, that "the Hirpinians and Samnites did too many things at once; they represented their sufferings, petitioned for protection, and at the same time complained of being undefended and neglected. Whereas, they ought first to make the representation; then to request protection; and, in the last place, if their request was not complied with, then, and not before, to complain of having implored aid in vain. That he would lead his army not into the territories of the Hirpinians or Samnites, lest he should prove an additional burthen, but into the nearest places belonging to the allies of the Roman people; by the plunder of which, he would enrich his soldiers, and, at the same time, by the terror of his arms, drive far away the enemy from them. As to what concerned the war between him and Rome, if the fight at the Thrasimenus was more honourable than that at the Trebia, and the one at Cannæ than that at the Thrasimenus, he was resolved, by a still more complete and more splendid victory, to eclipse the lustre of the battle of Cannæ." With this answer, and with ample presents, he dismissed the ambassadors; and leaving a small body of troops on the Tifata, began his



march with the rest of his army, and proceeded to Nola. Thither also came Hanno from Bruttium, with the supplies and the elephants brought from Carthage. Having encamped at no great distance from the town, he found, on inquiry, every circumstance widely different from the representations made by the ambassadors of his allies. For no part of Marcellus's conduct was such, as could be said to leave an unguarded opening either to fortune or to an enemy. When going to a plundering expedition, his practice had been to procure a knowledge of the country; to provide strong supports and a safe retreat; and to use every care and caution just as if Hannibal were present. At this time, when he perceived the Carthaginian approaching, he kept his troops within the walls, and ordered the senators of Nola to walk round on the ramparts, and take a view on every side of what passed among the enemy. From the other side, Hanno, coming up to the wall, invited Herennius Bassus and Herius Pettius to a conference; and when, with the permission of Marcellus, they came out, he addressed them by an interpreter, extolled Hannibal's courage and success, and in the most contemptuous terms vilified the majesty of the Roman people, as mouldering into decay, together with their strength. "But," said he, "supposing all matters were on the same footing as before, yet it is found by experience how burthensome the government of Rome is to its confederates, and how great the generosity of Hannibal has been, even to every one of his prisoners, who bore the name of an Italian, an alliance of friendship with the Carthaginians was surely to be wished in preference to one with the Romans. If both the consuls, with their armies, were at Nola, they would no more be able to cope with Hannibal, than they had been at Cannæ; much less would a single prætor, with a handful of men, and these raw recruits, be equal to the defence of Nola. Whether Hannibal was to gain possession of that town by storm, or by capitulation, was a matter which concerned themselves more than him, for gain it he would, as he had gained Capua and Nuceria; and how different the fate of Capua was from that of Nuceria, the Nolans themselves, situated about midway between the two places, could not but know. He refrained from mentioning the consequences which necessarily followed the taking of a city by assault; and with more pleasure took

upon him to engage, that, if they would deliver up Nola, together with Marcellus and the garrison, they should themselves dictate the terms on which they were to be received into friendship and alliance with Hannibal."

XLIV. To this Herennius Bassus replied, that, "for many years past, a friendship had subsisted between the states of Rome and Nola, with which neither party had, to that day, seen reason to be dissatisfied; and that though people's attachments were to follow the changes of fortune, it was now too late for them to change theirs. Men who were afterwards to surrender to Hannibal ought not to have sent for a Roman garrison. Their destiny was now, and would continue to be, to the last, connected, in every particular, with that of the person who came to their support." This conference took away from Hannibal all hope of gaining Nola by treachery; he therefore invested the city quite round, intending to attack the walls in all parts at once. When Marcellus saw him approach the works, having formed his troops within the gate, he sallied forth with great impetuosity. At the first push, several were beaten down and slain; then others running up to those who were engaged, and their power being brought to an equality, the battle became furious, and would have been memorable among the few which are most celebrated, had not violent rain, attended by a desperate storm, separated the combatants. After this small trial of strength, which served only to irritate their passions, they retired for that day, the Romans into the city, the Carthaginians into their camp. However on the first irruption, some of the Carthaginians, not above thirty, fell under the shock, and not one of the Romans. The rain continued without intermission through the whole night, and lasted until the third hour of the following day. Wherefore, notwithstanding that both parties eagerly longed for battle, yet they remained during that day within their works. On the third day, Hannibal sent a part of his forces to ravage the lands of the Nolans; which, when Marcellus observed, he instantly drew out his forces and offered battle, nor did Hannibal decline the challenge. The distance between the city and the camp was about a mile: in this space, which was level, as is all the ground about Nola, the armies met. The shout raised, on both sides, called back the nearest of those cohorts which had gone into the country

for plunder, to the battle, which had begun when they arrived. The Nolans joined themselves to the Roman forces; and Marcellus, after commending their zeal ordered them to take post in reserve, and to carry off the wounded from the line; but, by no means to engage in the fight, unless they received a signal from him.

XLV. The battle was long doubtful, every one exerting himself to the utmost, the officers in encouraging the men, and the men in fighting. Marcellus urged his soldiers to press briskly on those whom they had defeated but three days before; who had been put to flight from Cumæ not many days since, and who, in the last year, had been repulsed from Nola by himself, then likewise in command, though with other troops. "All the enemy's forces," he told them, "were not in the field; some of them were rambling through the country in search of prey; and those who were in the fight were debilitated by Campanian luxury, having exhausted their vigour in the practice of every kind of intemperance and debauchery, through the whole course of the winter. Their former strength was gone; they were no longer possessed of that firmness, either of body or mind, which had enabled them to surmount the Pyrenean and the Alpine heights. Those they had now to engage with, might be called the shadows of those armies: men scarcely able to support their limbs and armour. Capua to Hannibal had not proved a Cannæ. There, warlike courage; there, military discipline; there, the glory of the past, and the hope of future times, were all extinguished." While Marcellus raised the courage of his men by such contemptuous representations of the enemy, Hannibal upbraided his in terms of reproach far more bitter: "He knew these," he said, "to be the same arms and standards which he had seen and used at the Trebia, at the Thrasimenus, and at Cannæ; but as to the men, he had certainly led one army into winter-quarters to Capua, and brought out thence another of a different kind. Do you, whom two consular armies united have never withstood, find it difficult, with all your efforts, to stand against a Roman lieutenant-general, against the exertions of one legion, and a band of auxiliaries? Does Marcellus, with his raw recruits and Nolan auxiliaries, attack us a second time with impunity! Where is that soldier of mine who dragged the consul Caius Flaminius from his

horse and took off his head? Where is he who slew Lucius Paullus at Cannæ? Has the sword lost its edge? Are your right hands benumbed; or what other prodigy is this? You, who used to conquer, when the advantage in number was against you, now, when that advantage is in your favour, scarcely maintain your ground. With great bravery in your tongues, you were used to declare, that you would take Rome if any one would lead you to it; the present is a much less difficult business. I wish to have a trial of your strength and courage here. Take Nola, a town standing in a plain, and not fenced by either sea or river; and then, when you are laden with the plunder and spoils of that opulent city, I will either lead or follow you whithersoever you choose."

XLVI. Neither soothing nor reproaches wrought any effect towards confirming their courage. They lost ground in every quarter, while the Romans assumed fresh spirits, not only from the exhortations of their commander, but from the animating shouts raised by the Nolans, in testimony of their good wishes. The Carthaginians, at length, gave up the contest, and were driven into their camp; and even this the Roman soldiers were eager to attack; but Marcellus drew them back into Nola, where they were received with great joy, and congratulations, even by the populace, who till then had been more inclined to the Carthaginians. On that day were slain more than five thousand of the enemy; taken, six hundred, with nineteen military standards, and two elephants; four of the latter were killed in the battle. Of the Romans there fell not quite one thousand. Both, as if by tacit convention, spent the next day in burying their dead, and Marcellus, in pursuance of a vow to Vulcan, burned the spoils. On the third day after, one thousand two hundred and seventy-two horsemen, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards, through some resentment, I suppose, or hopes of better treatment, deserted to Marcellus; and these, during the remainder of the war served the Romans, on many occasions, with much bravery and fidelity. After the conclusion of it, ample portions of land were assigned to them in acknowledgment of their valour; to the Spaniards, in Spain, and to the Numidians, in Africa. Hannibal sending back Hanno from Nola to Bruttium, with the forces which he had brought thence, went himself into winter-quarters in Apulia, and cantoned



his troops in the neighbourhood of Arpi. When Quintus Fabius heard that the foe was gone into Apulia, he collected stores of corn from Nola, and Neapolis, in the camp above Suessula, the fortifications of which he strengthened; and, leaving there a garrison, sufficient for the security of the post, during the winter, removed nearer to Capua, laying waste the country of Campania, with fire and sword, to such a degree, that the people were compelled, though with no great confidence in their own strength, to go out of their gates, and fortify a camp near the city in the open plain. Their force amounted to six thousand men. The infantry being very indifferent soldiers, their principal reliance was on the cavalry: these, therefore, they employed in annoying the enemy.

XLVII. Among a great number of Campanian horsemen, of high reputation, was Cerrinus Jubellius, surnamed Taurea. He was a native there, and celebrated for his abilities as a horseman far beyond all the others of that country, insomuch that while he acted in the service of Rome, there was but one Roman, Claudius Asellus, who had an equal reputation in that line. For this man, Taurea long searched as he rode before the squadrons of the enemy. At last, demanding attention, he inquired where was Claudius Asellus, and why, since he had been accustomed to assert himself to be his equal, did he not decide the point with the sword; and either by suffering a defeat give glorious spoils, or by victory acquire them? When this was reported, in the camp, to Asellus, he only waited to ask the consul's leave to engage, though out of rule, with the challenger. Having obtained permission, he instantly armed himself, and riding out beyond the advanced guards, called on Taurea by name, and dared him to the field. The Romans had now come in crowds to behold the fight; and the Campanians, to gain a view of it, had filled not only the rampart of the camp, but likewise the walls of the city. After a prelude of furious expressions, to give the business an air of the greater consequence, they spurred on their horses, with their spears prepared for action. Having free space wherein they parried each other's assaults, the fight lasted for some time without a wound on either side. At length the Campanian said to the Roman, "This will be but a trial of skill between our horses, not between their riders, unless we descend into yon hollow way. There, as there will be no room for wheeling to one

side or another, we may meet hand to hand." Scarcely were the words uttered, when Claudius leaped his horse down into the road, on which Taurea, more daring in words than in action, said, "Never be an ass in a dyke," which expression became afterwards proverbial among rustics. Claudius, riding up again into the plain, traversed the ground to a considerable distance from the road, without meeting any antagonist; and then exclaiming against the cowardice of his foe, returned victorious to the camp, amidst general rejoicing and congratulations. To this encounter, some histories add a wonderful circumstance, (how far worthy of belief, the reader may judge for himself,) that Claudius, pursuing Taurea, as he fled back to the city, rode in at one of the enemy's gates which stood open, and escaped unhurt through another, while the soldiers stood motionless through astonishment.

XLVIII. From this time the troops remained without employment, and the consul even drew back his camp to a distance, that the Campanians might till their grounds; nor did he offer any injury to the lands, until the blades in the corn fields were sufficiently grown to serve as forage. He then conveyed the corn in this state into the Claudian camp over Suessula, where he erected huts against the winter. He gave order to Marcus Claudius proconsul, that, retaining at Nola, a garrison sufficient for the defence of the place, he should send the rest of his force to Rome, lest they should be a burden to the allies, and an expense to the state. In another quarter, Tiberius Gracchus having led his legions from Cumæ to Luceria in Apulia, detached thence the prætor, Marcus Valerius, to Brundisium, with the troops which he had commanded at Luceria, ordering him to guard the coast of the Salentine territory, and carefully pursue all such measures as should be found requisite with respect to Philip, and the Macedonian war. Towards the close of that summer, in which happened those events which we have related, letters arrived from the Scipios, Publius and Cneius, setting forth the great importance and successful issue of their operations in Spain; but that they were in want of every thing, pay, clothing, and corn for the army, and the crews of the ships. With regard to the pay, they observed, that, if the treasury were low, they would themselves devise some method of procuring it from the Spaniards; but that the other articles must, at all events, be

sent from Rome, otherwise, neither the army, nor the province could be preserved. When the letters were read, both the truth of the facts represented and the reasonableness of the demands were universally acknowledged; but they were struck by the following considerations: "What numerous forces on land and sea they were obliged to maintain; and, what a large additional fleet must soon be provided, in case of a war with Macedonia breaking out. That Sicily and Sardinia, which, before, had yielded a revenue, now scarcely maintained the troops employed in their own defence. That the public expenses were supplied by a tax; but as the number of those who contributed to this tax, had been diminished by the great slaughter of the troops at the Thrasimenus, and at Cannæ; so the surviving few, if loaded with multiplied impositions, must perish likewise, only by a different malady. It was therefore concluded, that, if the state did not find support in credit, it could find none in money; and it was judged proper, that the prætor Fulvius, should go out to the assembly of the commons, and lay before the people the necessitous situation of the country; exhorting them, that such as had increased their estates by farming the public revenues should now assist that government, to which they owed their prosperity, with indulgence in respect of time; and that they should engage to furnish, by contract, the supplies necessary for the army in Spain, on condition, when money should come into the treasury, of being the first paid." These matters the prætor explained in the assembly, and gave public notice of the day on which he would contract for the supplying of clothing, and corn, for the army in Spain, and such other things as were necessary for the men on board the fleet.

XLIX. When the time came, three companies consisting of nineteen men, attended in order to engage in the contract. Their demands were twofold: first, that they should be exempted from military service as long as they might be concerned in this business of the state; the other, that when they had sent goods on ship-board, any damage afterwards sustained, either through the means of storms, or of the enemy, should be at the public loss. Both being complied with, they concluded the contract, and with the money of private per-

sons: such were the habits of thinking, such the love of their country, which, with uniform influence, pervaded all ranks of men. As all engagements were entered into with great spirit, so were they fulfilled with the most faithful punctuality, and exactly in the same manner, as if the supplies were drawn, as formerly, out of an opulent treasury. At this time, the town of Illiturgi, having revolted to the Romans, was besieged by Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar son of Bomilcar. Between these three camps, the Scipios, after a difficult struggle, and a great slaughter of their opponents, forced their way into the place, introducing a quantity of corn, of which there had been a scarcity. Then, after exhorting the townsmen to defend their walls with the same courage with which they had seen the Roman troops fight in their behalf, they marched to attack the largest of the camps, where Hasdrubal had the command. Thither also came up the two other Carthaginian generals, with their two armies, who perceived that on the issue of that attack the fate of all depended: the troops in camp therefore sallied out to the fight. There were in the engagement, of the enemy, sixty thousand; of the Romans about sixteen thousand; yet so far was the victory from being doubtful, that the Romans slew a greater number of the Carthaginians than they themselves had in the field; took above three thousand prisoners; somewhat less than one thousand horses; fifty-nine military standards; killed five elephants in the battle; and took possession of the three camps on one and the same day. When the siege of Illiturgi was thus raised, the Carthaginian armies marched to lay siege to Intibili; recruiting their forces out of that province, which was, above all others, fond of war, provided either plunder or hire was in view, and which, at that time, abounded with young men. A second general engagement took place, attended with the same event on both sides: upwards of thirteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and more than two thousand taken, with forty-two standards and nine elephants. On this, almost every state in Spain joined the party of the Romans; and, during this campaign, the events of the war there were much more important than those in Italy.





THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXIV.

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Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, takes part with the Carthaginians; is put to death by his subjects, on account of his tyranny and cruelty. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, proconsul, with an army composed mostly of slaves, defeats the Carthaginian army under Hanno, at Beneventum; gives the slaves liberty. Most of the states in Sicily go over to the side of the Carthaginians. Claudius Marcellus, consul, besieges Syracuse. War declared against Philip king of Macedonia, who is surprised by night, and routed at Apollonia. Operations of the Scipios, against the Carthaginians, in Spain. Treaty of friendship with Syphax king of Numidia; he is defeated by Massinissa king of the Massyllians. The Celtiberians join the Romans, and their troops are taken into pay: the first instance of mercenaries serving in a Roman army.

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ON his return from Campania into Bruttium, Hanno, assisted by the Bruttians, who served him also as guides, endeavoured to gain possession of the Greek cities, which were the more inclined to adhere to their alliance with Rome, for the very reason that they saw the Bruttians whom they both hated and feared, taking part with the Carthaginians. The first attempt was made on Rhegium, and several days were spent there to no purpose. Meanwhile the Locrians hastily conveyed from the country into the city, corn, timber, and other necessities, for which they might have occasion, wishing at the same time to leave nothing which the enemy could seize; while the multitude, which poured out of the gates, became every day more and more numerous. At last, those only were left in the place, who were obliged to repair the works, and to carry weapons to the posts of defence. Against this mixed multitude, consisting of persons of all ages and ranks, and straggling through the fields, mostly unarmed, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, sent out his cavalry, who having received orders not to hurt any of them, only threw their squadrons in the way to cut off their retreat to the city, towards which they directed their scattered

flight. The general himself, having taken his station on an eminence, which commanded a view both of that and the adjacent country, ordered a cohort of Bruttians to approach the walls, and invite the leaders of the Locrians to a conference, and with assurances of Hannibal's friendship, to persuade them to a surrender. At the beginning of the conference, the Bruttians had no credit given to any of their representations. Afterwards, when the Carthaginians appeared on the hills, and the few citizens, who had effected an escape, had informed the townsmen that the rest of the multitude were in the enemy's power, then, overcome by fear, they answered, that they would consult the people. Accordingly, they instantly summoned an assembly, in which appeared all of the most unsettled who wished for a change of measures and of allies, with those, whose relations had been intercepted by the enemy, and who had their judgments influenced by those pledges, as if so many hostages had been given for their conduct; while a few rather approving in silence, than venturing openly to maintain the cause which they would have espoused, it was concluded, with every appearance of perfect unanimity, to surrender



to the Carthaginians. Lucius Atilius, the commander of the garrison, and the Roman soldiers who were with him, were privately conveyed to the harbour, and put on board ships, to be carried off to Rhegium, and then the townsmen received Hasdrubal and his Carthaginians into the city, on the condition of an alliance being immediately entered into on terms of equality. When they had surrendered, they were very near losing the benefit of this stipulation; for the Carthaginian general accused them of having covertly sent away the Roman commander, while they alleged that he had escaped without their privity. A body of cavalry was now sent in pursuit, in case, by any accident, the current might detain him in the strait, or drive the ships to land: these did not overtake him; but they saw other ships crossing from Messina to Rhegium, which carried Roman soldiers, sent by the prætor, Claudius, as a garrison for the security of that city: in consequence of this, the enemy withdrew immediately from Rhegium. In pursuance of orders from Hannibal, a treaty of peace was concluded with the Locrians, on these terms, that "they should live in freedom under their own laws; that the city should be open always to the Carthaginians, but that the harbour should remain in their possession, as at first; and that, as the fundamental principle of the treaty, the Carthaginians should, on all occasions, assist the Locrians, and the Locrians the Carthaginians."

II. The Carthaginians, after this, marched back from the strait, while the Bruttians expressed great dissatisfaction at their having left Rhegium and Locri in safety, for they had destined to themselves the plunder of those places. Wherefore, having formed into bodies, and armed fifteen thousand of their own young men, they set out to lay siege to Croto, another Grecian city and a sea-port; thinking that it would prove a very great accession to their power, if they should gain possession of a harbour on the coast, and of a strongly fortified town. They were embarrassed by the considerations, that they could not well venture to proceed without calling in the Carthaginians to their assistance, lest they should appear to conduct themselves, in any case, inconsistently with the character of confederates; and that, on the contrary, should the Carthaginian general again act rather as an umpire of peace, than an auxiliary in war, the attack on

the independence of Croto, like the former one on Locri, would be productive, to them, of no advantage. For these reasons it was judged most advisable to send ambassadors to Hannibal, to procure from him beforehand an engagement, that Croto, when reduced, should be the property of the Bruttians. Hannibal, remarking that persons on the spot were the fittest to determine in such a case, referred them to Hanno, from whom they could obtain no decisive answer: for these commanders did not wish that a city, so celebrated and so opulent, should be plundered; and, at the same time, they entertained hopes, that, as the Bruttians were to be the assailants, the Carthaginians not appearing either to countenance or aid the attack, the inhabitants might, the more readily, come over to their side. But the Crotonians were not united in their designs, or in their wishes. The same distemper, as it were, had seized every one of the states of Italy; the nobility and commons embracing opposite parties, the former favouring the Romans, the latter violently endeavouring to bring about a union with the Carthaginians. A deserter informed the Bruttians, that a dissension of this sort prevailed in Croto, that one Aristomachus headed the party of the commons, and pressed them to surrender to the Carthaginians; that the city, being very extensive, and the works stretching to a great extent on all sides, the watches were divided separately between the senators and commons; and that, in every quarter, where the latter had the guard, the assailants would find a ready entrance. Under the direction and guidance of this deserter, the Bruttians encircled the town, and being received into it by the plebeians, carried, at the first assault, every post except the citadel; of this the nobles held the possession, having beforehand secured a refuge there, in case of such an event as now happened. Aristomachus also fled thither, pretending that he had advised surrendering the city to the Carthaginians, not to the Bruttians.

III. Before the coming of Pyrrhus into Italy, the wall encompassing Croto was twelve miles in circumference; since the devastation caused by the war which then took place, scarcely one-half of the enclosed space was inhabited; the river which formerly flowed through the middle of the town, now ran on the outside of the part occupied by buildings, and the citadel was at a great distance from

these. Six miles from the city stood the famous temple of Juno Lacinia, more universally celebrated than the city itself, and held in high veneration by all the surrounding nations. Here, a consecrated grove, encompassed on the extremities by close-ranged trees and tall firs, comprehended in the middle a tract of rich pasture ground, in which cattle of every kind, sacred to the goddess, fed, without any keeper, the herds of each particular kind going out separately, and returning at night to their stalls, without ever receiving injury, either from wild beasts or men. The profits, therefore, accruing from these cattle were great, out of which, a pillar of solid gold was erected and consecrated, so that the fane became as remarkable for riches as for sanctity. Several miracles are also attributed to it, as they generally are to such remarkable places: it is said that there is an altar in the porch of the temple, the ashes on which are never moved by any wind. The citadel of Croto, hanging over the sea on one side, and on the other facing the country, had originally no other defence than its natural situation; afterwards a wall was added, inclosing a place, through which Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, effecting a passage over some rocks, at the back part, had taken it by surprise. The fort thus situate, and deemed sufficiently secure, was held by the nobles, while the plebeians of Croto, in conjunction with the Bruttians, carried on the siege against them. After a considerable time, perceiving that the place was too strong to be reduced by their own force, they yielded to necessity, and implored the assistance of Hanno. Hanno endeavoured to prevail on the Crotonians to surrender, allowing a colony of Bruttians to be settled among them; so that their city, wasted and depopulated by wars, might recover its former populous state; but not one of the whole number, excepting Aristomachus, would listen to the proposal; they declared warmly, that "they would rather die, than, by admitting Bruttians into their society, be obliged to adopt foreign rites, manners, laws, and, in time, even a foreign language." Aristomachus, unable by persuasions to bring about a surrender, and finding no opportunity of betraying the citadel, as he had betrayed the town, left the place and went over to Hanno. Soon after this, ambassadors from Locri going, with Hanno's permission, into the citadel, used many arguments to prevail on them to suffer themselves to be removed to Locri, and not to

resolve on hazarding the last extremities. This design they had already got leave to execute from Hannibal himself, having sent deputies to treat with him in person. Accordingly Croto was evacuated, and the inhabitants, being conducted to the sea, went on board ships. The whole body of the people removed to Locri. In Apulia, even the winter did not produce a suspension of hostilities between the Romans and Hannibal. The consul Sempronius had his winter-quarters at Luceria; Hannibal his near Arpi. Several slight engagements passed between their troops, in consequence of opportunities offering, or of one or the other party gaining an occasional advantage; and by these, the Roman soldiery were improved, and rendered daily more cautious and guarded against the enemy's stratagems.

IV. In Sicily, the whole course of affairs took a turn unfavourable to the Romans, in consequence of the death of Hiero, and of the kingdom devolving to his grandson Hieronymus, a boy, in whom there was originally no room to expect moderation of conduct, much less, on his being invested with absolute power. His guardians and friends were happy in finding him of such a disposition, as they could hurry, at once, into every kind of vice. It is said that Hiero, foreseeing that this would be the case, had, in the last stage of his life, formed an intention of leaving Syracuse free, lest the sovereignty, which had been acquired and established by honourable means, should, under the tyrannical administration of a boy, be destroyed through folly and extravagance. This design his daughters opposed strenuously, because they expected that, while Hieronymus enjoyed the title of king, the whole administration of affairs would rest in them and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, for these were left the principal among his guardians. It was no easy matter for a man, now in his ninetieth year, and beset night and day by the insinuating wiles of women, to keep his judgment at liberty, and to regulate his domestic concerns by the standard of public utility. He, therefore, only took the precaution of setting fifteen guardians over his grandson; and these he entreated, in his dying moments, to maintain inviolate the alliance with the Roman people, which he had religiously observed through a course of fifty years; to direct their endeavours principally to the making the boy tread in his steps, and pursue the maxims in-



culcated in his education: after giving these charges, he expired, and the governors quitted him. The will was then produced, and the prince, now about fifteen years old, was brought before the people in assembly, on which a few, who had been placed in different parts of the crowd for the purpose of raising acclamations, signified their approbation of the will; while the rest affected as if they had lost their parent, dreaded all things, in a state thus bereft of its protector. The king's funeral was next performed, and, more through the love and affection of his subjects than any care of his relations, was numerously attended. In a little time after, Andranodorus displaced the other guardians, asserting that Hieronymus had attained to the years of manhood, and was capable of holding the government; and by thus resigning the guardianship, which he held in common with many, he collected in himself singly the power of them all.

V. Scarcely would even a good and moderate prince, succeeding one so highly beloved as Hiero, have found it easy to acquire the affections of the Syracusans. But Hieronymus, as if he meant, by his own faults, to excite grief for the loss of his grandfather, demonstrated, immediately on his first appearance, how great an alteration had taken place in every particular. For the people, who had for so many years seen Hiero, and his son Gilon, no way differing from the rest of the citizens, either in the fashion of their dress or any other mark of distinction, now beheld purple and a diadem; armed guards, and the king sometimes issuing from his palace, as the tyrant Dionysius used to do, in a chariot drawn by four white horses. This assuming pride in equipage and show naturally exposed him to universal contempt; besides which he showed a disdainful carriage when addressed, and rudeness in answering; generally refused access, not only to strangers, but even to his guardians, and debased himself by lusts of uncommon kinds and inhuman cruelty. Such great terror, therefore, possessed all men, that, of his household, some had recourse to flight, others to a voluntary death, to avoid the sufferings which they apprehended. Two of the former, Andranodorus and Zoippus, the sons-in-law of Hiero, and a man named Thraso, were the only persons permitted to enter his house with any degree of familiarity; and though not much listened to on other subjects, yet when they argued, An-

dranodorus and Zoippus for taking part with the Carthaginians, and Thraso for maintaining the alliance with the Romans, they sometimes, by the warmth and earnestness of their disputes, attracted the young man's attention. While matters were in this situation, a servant who was of the same age with Hieronymus, and had, from childhood, enjoyed the privileges of perfect familiarity with him, brought information of a plot formed against his life. The informer could name only one of the conspirators. Theodotus, by whom himself had been sounded on the subject. This man being instantly seized, and delivered to Andranodorus to be put to the torture, without hesitation confessed himself guilty, but still concealed his accomplices. At last, being racked, beyond what human patience could endure, he pretended to be overcome by his sufferings; but, instead of making discovery of the plotters, he pointed his informations against persons who had no concern in the business, telling a feigned story, that Thraso was the author of the conspiracy, and that the others would never have entered on any attempt of such importance, had they not been induced to it by their trust in so powerful a leader; naming, at the same time, those who, while he framed his account in the intervals between his agonies and groans, occurred to him as the most worthless among Hieronymus's intimates. The mention of Thraso, beyond every other circumstance, made the tyrant think the information deserving of belief. He was therefore instantly consigned to punishment, and the rest, who had been named equally guiltless of the crime, underwent the like fate. Not one of the conspirators, though their associate in the plot was kept for a long time under the torture, either concealed himself or fled: so great was their confidence in the fortitude and fidelity of Theodotus; and which, indeed, were fully approved in him.

VI. The only bond which preserved the connexion with Rome being now dissolved by the removal of Thraso, immediately there appeared a manifest intention of siding with the opposite party. Ambassadors were despatched to Hannibal, who sent back a young man of noble birth, called Hannibal, and with him Hippocrates and Epicyles, who were born at Carthage, but derived their extraction originally from Syracuse, whence their grandfather had been banished; by the mother's side they were Carthaginians. By their means, a treaty was form-

ed between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse; and, with the approbation of the Carthaginian, they remained with the latter. The prætor, Appius Claudius, whose province Sicily was, on being acquainted with these transactions, sent, immediately, ambassadors to Hieronymus, who, telling him that they were come to renew the alliance which had subsisted with his grandfather, were heard and dismissed with derision; Hieronymus asking them with a sneer, "What had been the event of the battle of Cannæ? For Hannibal's ambassadors told things scarcely credible. He wished," he said, "to know the truth, that he might thereby determine which side offered the fairest prospect to his choice." The Romans told him, that, when he began to listen to embassies with seriousness, they would return to Syracuse; and, after admonishing, rather than requesting him, not to violate faith rashly, they departed. Hieronymus despatched commissioners to Carthage, to conclude an alliance conformable to the treaty with Hannibal; and it was finally agreed, that when they should have expelled the Romans from Sicily, which, he said, would speedily be effected if they sent ships and an army, the river Himera, which nearly divides the island into two parts, should be the boundary between the dominions of Syracuse and those of Carthage. Afterwards, puffed up by the flatteries of people who desired him to remember, not only Hiero, but also his grandfather by his mother's side, king Pyrrhus, he sent another embassy, representing that he thought it reasonable that Sicily should be entirely ceded to him, and that the dominion of Italy should be acquired for the people of Carthage, as an empire of their own. This fickleness and unsteadiness of mind they, considering him as a hot-brained youth, did not wonder at; nor did they enter into any dispute on it, content with detaching him from the party of the Romans.

VII. But, on his side, every circumstance concurred to precipitate his ruin; for, after sending before him Hippocrates and Epicydes with two thousand soldiers, to endeavour to get possession of those cities which were held by Roman garrisons, he himself, with all the rest of his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand horse and foot, marched to Leontini. Here the conspirators, every one of whom happened to be in the army, posted themselves in an uninhabited house, standing in a narrow

lane, through which Hieronymus used to pass to the forum. While the rest stood here, armed and prepared for action, waiting for his coming up, one of their number, whose name was Dinomenes, and being one of the bodyguards, had it in charge, that, as soon as the king drew near the door, he should, on some pretence, in the narrow pass, stop the crowd behind from advancing. All was executed as had been concerted. Dinomenes, by stretching out his foot, as if to loosen a knot which was too tight, arrested the people, and occasioned such an opening, that the king, being attacked as he was passing by without his armed followers, was pierced with several wounds, before assistance could be given him. Some, on hearing the shout and tumult, discharged their weapons at Dinomenes, who now openly opposed their passing; notwithstanding which he escaped with only two wounds. However, seeing the king stretched on the ground, they betook themselves to flight. Of the conspirators, some repaired to the forum to the populace, who were overjoyed at the recovery of liberty; others proceeded to Syracuse, to take the requisite precautions against the purposes of Andranadorus and other partisans of the king. Affairs being in this unsettled state, Appius Claudius, when he observed the storm gathering in his neighbourhood, informed the senate by letter, that all Sicily favoured the people of Carthage and Hannibal. On his part, in order to counteract the designs of the Syracusans, he drew all his troops to the frontiers between that kingdom and his own province. Towards the close of this year, Quintus Fabius, by direction of the senate, fortified Puteoli, which, during the war, began to be much frequented as a place of trade, and placed a garrison in it. Going thence to Rome to hold the elections, he issued a proclamation for the assembly, on the first day on which it could properly meet; and, passing by the city without stopping, went down to the field of Mars. On this day, the lot of giving the first vote fell to a younger century of the Anien tribe, and this having nominated Titus Otacilius and Marcus Æmilius Regillus consuls, Quintus Fabius commanded silence, and spoke to this effect:

VIII. "If either we had peace in Italy, or had to deal with such an enemy as would allow of any remissness on our side, I should deem that man deficient in proper respect to your in-



dependent rights, who attempted to throw any obstacle in the way of those inclinations, which you bring with you into the field of election. with the purpose of conferring the high offices of the state on persons of your own choice. But when you consider that the present war is of such a nature, and the conduct of our present enemy such that none of our commanders has ever committed an error which has not been followed by most disastrous consequences, it behoves you to come hither to give your suffrages with the same careful circumspection with which you go out in arms to the field of battle; and every one ought thus to say to himself: 'I am to nominate a consul qualified to vie with Hannibal in the art of war.' In the present year, at Capua, on the challenge of Jubellius Taurea, the completest horseman among the Campanians, we sent against him Claudius Asellus, the completest horseman among the Romans. Against a Gaul, who at a former time pronounced a challenge on the bridge of the Anio, our ancestors sent Titus Manlius, a man abundantly furnished both with strength and courage. I cannot deny that there was the same reason for placing every degree of confidence, a few years after, in Marcus Valerius, when he took arms for the combat against a Gaul who gave a similar defiance. Now, as, in selecting foot soldiers and horsemen, we endeavour to find such as are superior, or, if that cannot be effected, equal in strength to their antagonists; let us, in like manner, look out for a commander equal to the general of the enemy. When we shall have chosen the man of the most consummate abilities in the nation, yet still, being elected at the moment, and appointed but for one year, he will be matched against another invested with a command of long and uninterrupted continuance, not confined by any narrow limitations either of time or of authority, or which might hinder him to conduct and execute every measure according to the exigencies of the war; whereas with us, before we have well completed our preparatory operations, and when we are just entering on business, our year expires. I need say no more concerning the qualifications of the persons whom you ought to elect consuls; I shall therefore only add a few observations respecting those whom the prerogative century has made the objects of its favour. Marcus Æmilius Regillus is flamen of Quirinus, consequently we could neither send him abroad from his

sacred employment, nor keep him at home, without neglecting, in one case, the business of the war, or in the other, that of religion. Otacilius is married to a daughter of my sister, and has children by her. Nevertheless, I am too sensible of the obligations which I and my ancestors owe to your kindness, not to prefer the interest of the public to that of any private connexions. In a calm sea, any mariner, even a passenger, can steer the vessel; but when a furious storm arises, putting the sea into violent agitation, and the ship is hurried away by the tempest, then a pilot of skill and resolution becomes necessary. We sail not in a calm, but have already been very near foundering in several storms; you must, therefore, be careful to use the utmost prudence and caution with respect to the person whom you place at the helm. Titus Otacilius, we have had a trial of you in a less important business: you gave us no proof that we ought to confide in you for the management of affairs of greater moment. We fitted out, this year, a fleet, of which you had the command, for three purposes; to ravage the coast of Africa, to secure our own coasts of Italy, and, principally, to prevent reinforcements with money and provisions being transmitted from Carthage to Hannibal. If he has performed for the public, I do not say all, but any one of these services, create Titus Otacilius consul. But if, on the contrary, while you held the command of the fleet, every thing came to Hannibal safe and untouched, as if he had no enemy on the sea; if the coast of Italy has been more infested this year than that of Africa; what reason can you offer, why people should pitch on you in particular to oppose such a commander as Hannibal? If you were consul, we should judge it requisite to have a dictator nominated according to the practice of our forefathers. Nor could you take offence at its being thought that there was, in the Roman nation, some one superior to you in the art of war. It concerns no man's interest more than your own, Titus Otacilius, that there be not laid on your shoulders a burthen, under which you would sink. I earnestly recommend, then, Romans, that, guided by the same sentiments which would influence you, if while you stood armed for battle you were suddenly called on to choose two commanders, under whose conduct and auspices you were to fight, you would proceed this day in the election of consuls, to whom your children are to swear

obedience, at whose order they are to join the colours, and under whose care and direction they are to wage war. The lake Thrasimenus and Cannæ, examples melancholy in the recollection, are, nevertheless, useful warnings to guard against the like. Crier, call back the younger Anien century to vote."

IX. Otacilius, now exclaiming with great heat that the design of Fabius was to be continued in the consulship, and becoming very obstreperous, the consul ordered his lictors to advance to him; and, as he had not entered the city, but had gone directly, without halting, into the field of Mars, he put him in mind that the axes were carried in his fasces. The prerogative century proceeded a second time to vote, and chose consuls, Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fourth time, and Marcus Marcellus, a third time. The other centuries, without any variation, named the same. One prætor was likewise re-elected, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. The other three chosen were new ones, Titus Otacilius Crassus, a second time, Quintus Fabius, the consul's son, who was at the time curule ædile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of prætors being over, a decree of the senate was passed, that "Rome should, out of course, be the province of Quintus Fulvius; and that he in particular should hold the command in the city, when the consuls should go abroad to the campaign." Twice in this year happened great floods, and the Tiber overflowed the country, with great demolition of houses and destruction of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war, [Y. R. 538. B. C. 214.] Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fourth, and Marcus Marcellus, a third time, entering together into the consulship, attracted the notice of the public in an unusual degree; for, during many years, there had not been two such consuls. The old men observed, that thus had Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius been declared consuls, in the time of the Gallic war; and thus, afterwards, Papirius and Carvilius, against the Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Tarentines. Marcellus was chosen consul in his absence, being at the time with the army, and the office was continued to Fabius, who was on the spot, and presided in person at the election. The state of the times, the exigencies of the war, and the danger threatening the very being of the state, hindered the people from examining the precedent strictly, neither did they suspect the con-

sul of ambition for command; on the contrary, they rather applauded his greatness of soul, because, knowing that the state stood in need of a general of the highest abilities, and that he himself was unquestionably the person so qualified, he had made light of any public censure which he might incur on the occasion, in comparison with the interest of the commonwealth.

X. On the day of the consuls' entering on their office, a meeting of the senate was held in the capitol, in which it was decreed, first, that the consuls should cast lots, or settle between themselves, which of them should, before his setting out for the army, hold the assembly for the appointment of censors. Then all those who were at the head of armies were continued in authority, and ordered to remain in the provinces: Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with an army of volunteer slaves: Caius Terentius Varro in the Picenian, and Manius Pomponius in the Gallic territories. Of the prætors of the preceding year, Quintus Mucius was ordered in quality of prætor, to hold the government of Sardinia, and Marcus Valerius to command on the sea-coast near Brundisium, watching attentively, and guarding against any motion which might be made by Philip king of Macedonia. To Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the province of Sicily was decreed, and to Titus Otacilius the same fleet which he had commanded the year before against the Carthaginians. Numerous prodigies were reported to have happened this year; and the more these were credited by simple and superstitious people, the more such stories multiplied: that at Lanuvium crows had built their nest in the inside of the temple of Juno Sospita; in Apulia, a green palm-tree took fire; at Mantua, a stagnating piece of water, caused by the overflowing of the river Mincius, appeared as of blood; at Cales, a shower of chalk; and, in the cattle-market at Rome, one of blood fell in the Istrian street; a fountain under ground burst out in such an impetuous stream, as to roll and carry off jars and casks which were in the place, like a violent flood; lightning fell on the public courthouse, in the capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the field of Mars, a nut-tree in the country of the Sabines, and a public road, a wall and a gate at Gabii. Other stories of miracles were already spread about; that the spear of Mars at Præneste moved forward of its own accord;



that an ox spoke in Sicily; that an infant in the mother's womb, in the country of the Marucianians, had called out "Io, Triumphe!" at Spoletum a woman was transferred into a man, and at Adria an altar was seen in the sky, and round it figures of men in white garments. Nay, even in the city of Rome itself, besides a swarm of bees being seen in the forum, several persons, affirming that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum, roused the citizens to arms; when those who were at the time on the Janiculum asserted, that no person had appeared there except the usual inhabitants of that hill. These prodigies were expiated, conformably to the answers of the aruspices, by victims of the greater kinds, and supplication was ordered to be performed to all the deities who had shrines at Rome.

XI. Having finished the ceremonies enjoined for conciliating the favour of the gods, the consuls proposed to the senate, to take into consideration the state of the nation, the management of the war, the number of forces to be employed, and the places where the several divisions were to act. It was resolved that eighteen legions should be employed against the enemy; that each of the consuls take two to himself; two should be employed in the defence of the provinces of Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia; that Quintus Fabius, prætor, should have two under his command in Apulia, and Tiberius Gracchus two of volunteer slaves in the country about Luceria; that one should be left to Caius Terentius, proconsul for Picenum, one to Marcus Valerius for the fleet at Brundisium, and that two should garrison the city. In order to fill up this number of legions, it was necessary to levy six new ones, which the consuls were ordered to raise as soon as possible; and, at the same time, to fit out an additional number of ships; so that, including those which were stationed on the coasts of Calabria, the fleet should, this year, consist of an hundred and fifty ships of war. The levy being finished, and the new vessels launched, Quintus Fabius held an assembly for the appointment of censors, when Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were elected. A rumour spreading, that war had broke out in Sicily, Titus Otacilius was ordered to proceed thither with his fleet; and there being a scarcity of seamen, the consuls, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, published a proclamation that every

person, who in the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius had been rated, or whose father had been rated at fifty thousand *asses* of brass,<sup>1</sup> or, from that sum, up to one hundred thousand,<sup>2</sup> or had since acquired such a property, should furnish one seaman with pay for six months; every one rated from an hundred thousand, up to three hundred thousand,<sup>3</sup> three seamen, with pay for a year; every one rated from three hundred thousand, up to one million,<sup>4</sup> five seamen; every one rated higher, seven; and that senators should provide eight seamen each, with pay for a year. The seamen furnished in obedience to this ordinance, being armed and equipped by their owners, went on board the ships, with provisions ready dressed for thirty days. This was the first instance of a Roman fleet being manned at the expense of private persons.

XII. These preparations, so unusually great, raised fears among the Campanians in particular, lest the Romans should begin the campaign with the siege of Capua. They sent ambassadors, therefore, to Hannibal, entreating him to march his army to that place: acquainting him, that "the Romans were raising new armies for the purpose of laying siege to it, for there was no city against which they were more highly incensed, for having deserted their party." As this message, and the manner in which it was delivered, intimated such strong apprehensions, Hannibal thought it advisable to proceed with despatch, lest the Romans might be beforehand with him; whereupon, leaving Arpi, he took possession of his old camp on the Tifata over Capua. Then leaving the Numidians and Spaniards for the defence both of the camp and the city, he marched away with the rest of his forces to the lake of Avernus, under the pretence of performing sacrifice, but in reality with a design to make an attempt on Puteoli and the garrison there. As soon as Maximus received intelligence that Hannibal had departed from Arpi and was returning into Campania, he hastened back to his army, without halting either night or day, sending orders to Tiberius Gracchus, to bring forward his forces from Luceria to Beneventum, and to the prætor Quintus Fabius, son to the consul, to hasten to Luceria, in the place of Gracchus. At the same time, the two prætors set out for

1 L. 161. 9s. 2d.      2 L. 322. 18s. 4d.  
3 L. 1666. 14s.      4 L. 3229. 2s. 4d.

Sicily, Publius Cornelius to command the army, Otacilius the fleet on the sea coast. The rest also departed to their respective provinces, and those who were continued in command remained in the same districts where they had been in the former year.

XIII. While Hannibal was at the lake Avernus, there came to him, from Tarentum, five young men of quality, who had been made prisoners, some at the lake Thrasimenus, some at Cannæ, and who had been sent home with that generosity which the Carthaginian showed towards all the allies of the Romans: these told him, that "out of gratitude for his kind treatment, they had persuaded a great number of the Tarentine youth to prefer his alliance and friendship to that of the Romans; and that they had been sent as deputies by their countrymen, to request that Hannibal would draw his army nearer to Tarentum; that if his standards and his camp were once seen from that place, the city would, without any delay, be delivered into his hands; for the commons were under the influence of the younger men, and the management of public affairs was with the commons." Hannibal, after highly commending and loading them with a profusion of promises, desired them to return home in order to bring the scheme to maturity, saying, that he would be there in due time. With these hopes the Tarentines were dismissed. Hannibal had, before their application, conceived an ardent wish to gain possession of Tarentum; he saw that it was a city not only opulent and of great note, but likewise a seaport, commodiously situated, opposite Macedonia; and that king Philip, should he pass over into Italy, would steer his course to that harbour, because the Romans were in possession of Brundisium. Having performed the sacrifice which he had proposed at his coming, and having, during his stay, utterly laid waste the lands of Cumæ, as far as to the promontory of Misenum, he changed his route suddenly to Puteoli, with design to surprise the Roman garrison. This consisted of six thousand men, and the place was secured, not only by the nature of its situation, but by strong works. Here Hannibal delayed three days, and attempted the garrison on every quarter; but, finding no prospect of success, he marched forward to ravage the territory of Neapolis, rather for the sake of gratifying his resentment, than with any hope of becoming master of the town. By his arrival in the

neighbourhood, the commons of Nola were encouraged to stir, having for a long time been disaffected to the cause of the Romans, and harbouring, at the same time, resentment against their own senate. Deputies therefore came to invite Hannibal, with a positive promise to deliver the city into his hands: but the consul Marcellus, whom the nobles solicited, by his expeditious measures prevented the design from taking place. In one day he made a march from Cales to Suessula, though he met with some delay in passing the river Volturnus; and from thence, on the ensuing night, introduced into Nola six thousand foot and three hundred horse, to support the senate. While every precaution requisite for securing the possession of Nola was thus used by the consul with vigorous despatch, Hannibal, on the other side, was dilatory in his proceedings; for, after having twice before been baffled in a project of the same kind, he was now the less inclined to credit the professions of the Nolans.

XIV. Meanwhile the consul, Quintus Fabius, set out to attempt the recovery of Casilinum, which was held by a Carthaginian garrison: and, at the same time, as if by concert, there arrived at Beneventum, on one side, Hanno from Bruttium, with a large body of infantry and cavalry; and on another, Tiberius Gracchus, from Luceria. The latter came first into the town; then hearing that Hanno was encamped at the river Calor, about three miles distant, and that by detachments from thence, devastations were committed on the country, he marched out his troops, pitched his camp about a mile from the enemy, and there held an assembly of his soldiers. The legions which he had with him consisted mostly of volunteer slaves, who had chosen rather to merit their liberty in silence, by the service of a second year, than to request it openly. He had observed, however, as he was leaving his winter quarters, that the troops, on their march, began to murmur, asking, whether "they were ever to serve as free citizens?" He had, however, written to the senate insisting, not so much on their wishes, as on their merits; declaring that "he had ever found them faithful and brave in the service; and that, excepting a free condition, they wanted no qualification of complete soldiers." Authority was given him to act in that business, as he himself should judge conducive to the good of the public. Before he resolved upon coming



to an engagement, therefore, he gave public notice, that "the time was now come, when they might obtain the liberty which they had so long wished for. That he intended, next day, to engage the enemy in regular battle, in a clear and open plain, where, without any fear of stratagems, the business might be decided by the mere dint of valour. Every man, then, who should bring home the head of an enemy he would, instantly, by his own authority, set free; and every one who should retreat from his post, he would punish in the same manner as a slave. Every man's lot now depended on his own exertion; and, as security for their obtaining their freedom, not only he himself stood pledged, but the consul Marcellus, and even the whole senate, who, having been consulted by him on the subject of their freedom, had authorized him to determine in the case." He then read the consul's letter and the decree of the senate, on which a universal shout of joy was raised. They eagerly demanded the fight, and ardently pressed him to give the signal instantly. Gracchus gave notice that they should be gratified on the following day, and then dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, exulting with joy, especially those who were to receive liberty as the price of their active efforts for one day, spent the rest of their time until night in getting their arms in readiness.

XV. Next day, as soon as the trumpets began to sound to battle, the above-mentioned men, the first of all, assembled round the general's quarters, ready and marshalled for the fight. At sunrise Gracchus led out his troops to the field, nor did the enemy hesitate to meet him. Their force consisted of seventeen thousand foot, mostly Bruttians and Lucanians, and twelve thousand horse, among whom were very few Italians, almost all the rest were Numidians and Moors. The conflict was fierce and long; during four hours neither side gained any advantage, and no circumstance proved a greater impediment to the success of the Romans, than from the heads of the enemy being made the price of liberty; for when any had valiantly slain an opponent, he lost time, first, in cutting off the head, which could not be readily effected in the midst of the crowd and tumult, and then his right hand being employed in securing it, the bravest ceased to take a part in the fight, and the contest devolved on the inactive and dastardly. The military tribunes now represented to Gracchus, that the soldiers

were not employed in wounding any of the enemy who stood on their legs, but in maiming those who had fallen, and instead of their own swords in their right hands, they carried the heads of the slain. On which he commanded them to give orders with all haste, that "they should throw away the heads, and attack the enemy: that their courage was sufficiently evident and conspicuous, and that such brave men need not doubt of liberty." The fight was then revived, and the cavalry also were ordered to charge: these were briskly encountered by the Numidians, and the battle of the horse was maintained with no less vigour than that of the foot; so that the event of the day again became doubtful, while the commanders, on both sides, vilified their adversaries in the most contemptuous terms, the Roman speaking to his soldiers of the Lucanians and Bruttians, as men so often defeated and subdued by their ancestors; and the Carthaginian, of the Romans as slaves, soldiers taken out of the workhouse. At last Gracchus proclaimed, that his men had no room to hope for liberty, unless the enemy were routed that day, and driven off the field.

XVI. These words so effectually inflamed their courage, that, as if they had been suddenly transformed into other men, they renewed the shout, and bore down on the enemy with an impetuosity, which it was impossible longer to withstand. First the Carthaginian van-guard, then the battalions were thrown into confusion; at last the whole line was forced to give way; then they plainly turned their backs, and fled precipitately into their camp, in such terror and dismay, that none of them made a stand, even at the gates or on the rampart; and the Romans following close, so as to form almost one body with them, began anew a second battle within their works. Here, as the fight was more impeded by the narrowness of the place so was the slaughter more dreadful, the prisoners also lending assistance, who, during the confusion, snatched up weapons, and forming in a body, cut off numbers in the rear. So great therefore, was the carnage, that out of so large an army, scarcely two thousand men, most of whom were horsemen, escaped with their commander: all the rest were either slain or made prisoners; thirty-eight standards were taken. Of the victorious party, there fell about two thousand. All the booty was given up to the soldiers, except the prisoners, and such cattle as should be claimed by the owners within thirty days.

When they returned into the camp, laden with spoil, about four thousand of the volunteer soldiers, who had fought with less spirit than the rest, and had not broken into the Carthaginian camp along with them, dreading punishment, withdrew to an eminence at a small distance. Next day they were brought down from thence by a military tribune, and arrived just as Gracchus was holding an assembly, which he had summoned. Here the proconsul, having, in the first place, honoured with military presents the veteran soldiers, according to the degree of courage and activity shown by each in the fight, said, that "as to what concerned the volunteers, he rather wished that all in general, worthy and unworthy, should receive commendations from him, than that any should be reprimanded on such a day as that;" and then, praying that "it might prove advantageous, happy, and fortunate to the commonwealth and to themselves;" he pronounced them all free. On which declaration, in transports of joy, they raised a general shout, and while they now embraced and congratulated each other, raising their hands towards heaven, and praying for every blessing on the Roman people, and on Gracchus in particular, the proconsul addressed them thus: "Before I had set all on an equal footing of freedom, I was unwilling to distinguish any by a mark, either of bravery or of cowardice. But now, since I have acquitted the honour of government, lest every distinction between them be lost, I will order the names of those who, conscious of being remiss in the action, have lately made a secession, to be laid before me; and, summoning each, will bind them by an oath, that, as long as they shall serve me in the army, they will never, except obliged by sickness, take food or drink in any other posture than standing. This penalty you will undergo with patience, if you consider, that your cowardice could not be more slightly branded." He then gave the signal of preparation for a march, and the soldiers, carrying and driving on their booty, returned to Beneventum so cheerful and so gay, that they seemed to have come home from a feast, given on some remarkable occasion, rather than from a field of battle. All the Beneventans poured out in crowds to meet them at the gates, embraced the soldiers, congratulated them, and pressed them to come to their houses. They had already prepared entertainments in their

inner courts, and entreated Gracchus to permit his soldiers to partake of the same. Gracchus gave them leave, on condition that they should all dine in the public street; every thing was accordingly brought out before each person's door, where the volunteers dined with the caps of liberty, or white woollen fillets in their hands, some reclining, others standing, who, at the same time, attended the rest. This afforded a sight so pleasing, that Gracchus, on his return to Rome, ordered a representation of that day's festival to be painted in the Temple of Liberty, which his father caused to be built on the Aventine, out of money accruing from fines, and which he afterwards dedicated.

XVII. While these transactions passed at Beneventum, Hannibal, after ravaging the lands of Neapolis, marched his army to Nola. The consul, as soon as he was apprised of his approach, sent for the proprætor Pomponius, and the army which lay in the camp over Suesula: being determined to go out, and not to decline an engagement with him. He sent Caius Claudius Nero with the main strength of the cavalry in the dead of the night, through the gate which was most distant from the enemy, ordering him to ride round so as not to be observed, until he came behind their army, to follow them leisurely as they moved, and as soon as he should perceive that the battle was begun, to advance on their rear. What prevented Nero from executing these orders, whether mistake of the road, or the shortness of the time, is uncertain. Although the battle was fought while he was absent, yet the Romans had evidently the advantage; but by the cavalry not coming up in time, the plan of operations was disconcerted. Marcellus, not daring to follow the retiring foe, gave the signal for retreat, while his men were pursuing their success. However, more than two thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen that day; of the Romans less than four hundred. About sunset, Nero returned, after having to no purpose fatigued the men and horses through the whole day and night, without even getting a sight of the Carthaginian; he was very severely reprimanded by the consul, who went so far as to affirm, that he was the cause of their not having retorted on the enemy the disaster suffered at Cannæ. Next day the Roman army marched out to the field, but Hannibal, tacitly acknowledging his defeat, kept within his trenches. In the dead of the



night of the third day, giving up all hope of getting possession of Nola, a project never attempted without loss, he marched away towards Tarentum, where he had a greater prospect of success.

XVIII. Nor did less spirit appear in the administration of the Roman affairs at home, than in the field. The censors being, by the emptiness of the treasury, discharged from the care of erecting public works, turned their attention to the regulating of men's morals, and checking the growth of vices, which, like distempered bodies, ever apt to generate other maladies, had sprung up during the war. First they summoned before them those, who, after the battle of Cannæ, were said to have formed the design of deserting the commonwealth, and abandoning Italy. At the head of these was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, who happened to be quæstor at the time. They then ordered him, and the others accused of the same criminal conduct, to plead to the charge; and as these could not clear themselves, they pronounced judgment, that those persons had made use of words and discourses, tending to the detriment of the commonwealth, inasmuch as they purported the forming of a conspiracy for the purpose of abandoning Italy. Next to these were summoned the over ingenious casuists with respect to the means of dissolving the obligation of an oath, who supposed, that by returning privately into Hannibal's camp, after having begun their journey with the rest of the prisoners, they should fulfil the oath which they had taken. Of these, and the others above-mentioned, such as had horses at the public expense, were deprived of them, and they were all degraded from their tribes and disfranchised. Nor was the care of the censors confined merely to the regulating of the senate and the equestrian order. They erased from the lists of the younger centuries, the names of all those who had not served as soldiers during the last four years, not having been regularly exempted from service, or prevented by sickness. These, in number above two thousand, were disfranchised, and all were degraded from their tribes. To this simple censorial sentence was added a severe decree of the senate, that all those whom the censors had degraded should serve as foot soldiers, and be sent into Sicily, to join the remains of the army of Cannæ; the time limited for the service of soldiers of this description being, until the enemy should be driven

out of Italy. While the censors now, on account of the impoverished treasury, declined contracting for the repairs of the sacred edifices, the furnishing of horses to the curule magistrates, and other matters of like nature, a great number of those, who had been accustomed to engage in contracts of the kind, waited on them, and recommended that they "transact every kind of business, and engage in contracts, in the same manner as if there were money in the coffers; assuring them, that no one would call on the treasury for payment, until the conclusion of the war." Afterwards came the former owners of those whom Tiberius Sempronius had made free at Beneventum: who said, that they had been sent for by the public bankers, in order that they might receive the price of their slaves; but that they did not desire it until the war should be at an end. When this disposition to support the credit of the treasury appeared among the plebeian class, the property belonging to minors, and of widows, began to be brought in; the people believing that they could not deposit it any where in greater security, or with more religious regard to their trust, than under the public faith: and when any thing was bought, or laid in for the use of the said minors or widows, a bill was given for it on the quæstor. This generous zeal of the private ranks spread from the city into the camp, where no horseman, no centurion, would take his pay; and should any have received it, the others would have censured them as mercenary.

XIX. The consul, Quintus Fabius, lay encamped before Casilinum, which was defended by a garrison of two thousand Campanians, and seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers. The commander was Statius Metius, sent thither by Cneius Magius Atellanus, who was chief magistrate that year, and was now employed in arming the populace and the slaves promiscuously, intending to attack the Roman camp while the consul was laying siege to the place. None of his designs escaped the knowledge of Fabius, who therefore sent a message to his colleague at Nola, that, "while the siege of Casilinum was carried on, there was a necessity for another army to oppose the Campanians; that either he himself should come, leaving a moderate garrison at Nola, or, if affairs there required his stay, from not yet being in a state of security against the attempts of Hannibal, he should in

that case send for the proconsul, Tiberius Gracchus, from Beneventum." On receiving this message, Marcellus, leaving two thousand men to garrison Nola, came with the rest of his army to Casilinum, and, by his arrival, the Campanians, who were on the point of breaking out into action, were kept quiet. And now the two consuls, with united forces, pushed on the siege. But the Roman soldiers, in their rash approaches to the walls, receiving many wounds, and meeting little success in any of their attempts, Quintus Fabius gave his opinion, that they ought to abandon an enterprise which, though of slight importance, was attended with as much difficulty as one of great consequence; and that they should retire from the place, especially as more momentous business called for their attention. Marcellus prevented their quitting the siege with disappointment, urging, that there were many enterprises of such a nature, that, as they ought not to be undertaken by great generals, so when once engaged in they ought not to be relinquished, because the reputation either of success or of failure, must be productive of weighty consequences. All kinds of works were then constructed, and machines of every description pushed forward to the walls. On this, the Campanians requested of Fabius that they might be allowed to retire in safety to Capua, when, a few having come out of the town, Marcellus seized on the pass by which they came, and immediately a promiscuous slaughter began near the gate, and soon after, on the troops rushing in, it spread through the city. About fifty of the Campanians, who first left the place, ran for refuge to Fabius, and under his protection escaped to Capua. Thus was Casilinum taken by surprise, during the conferences and delays of those who went to negotiate terms of capitulation. The prisoners, both Campanians and Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome, and there shut up in prison, and the multitude of the towns-people were dispersed among the neighbouring states, to be kept in custody.

XX. At the same time, when the army, after effecting their purpose, removed from Casilinum, Gracchus, who was in Lucania, detached, under a præfect of the allies, several cohorts, which had been raised in that country, to ravage the lands of the enemy. These Hanno attacked while they straggled in a careless manner, and retaliated a blow almost as severe as that

which he had received at Beneventum; then, to avoid being overtaken by Gracchus, he retired with the utmost speed into Bruttium. As to the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come; Fabius proceeded into Samnium, in order to overrun the country, and recover, by force, the cities which had revolted. The Samnites of Caudium suffered the most grievous devastations; their territory was laid waste with fire to a great extent, and men and cattle were carried off as spoil. The following towns were taken from them by assault: Combulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melæ, Fulfulæ, and Orbitanium; from the Lucanians, Blandæ; Æcæ, belonging to the Apulians, was taken after a siege. In these towns twenty-five thousand were taken or slain, and three hundred and seventy deserters retaken; these, being sent by the consul to Rome, were all beaten with rods in the comitium, and cast down from the rock. All this was performed by Fabius in the course of a few days. Bad health confined Marcellus at Nola, and prevented his taking the field. At the same time the prætor, Quintus Fabius, whose province was the country round Luceria, took by storm a town called Aecua, and fortified a strong camp near Ardonea. While the Romans were thus employed in various places, Hannibal had arrived at Tarentum, after utterly destroying every thing in his way. At last, when he entered the territory of Tarentum, his troops began to march in a peaceable manner: nothing was injured there, nor did any ever go out of the road; this proceeding flowed manifestly not from the moderation either of the soldiers or their commander, but from a wish to acquire the esteem of the Tarentines. However, after he had advanced almost close to the walls, finding no commotion raised in his favour, an event which he expected to happen on the sight of his vanguard, he encamped about the distance of a mile from the town. Three days before Hannibal's approach, Marcus Livius being sent by the prætor, Marcus Valerius, commander of the fleet at Brundisium, had formed the young nobility of Tarentum into bodies; and, posting guards at every gate, and along the walls, wherever there was occasion, by his unremitting vigilance, both by day, and more particularly by night, left no room for any attempt, either of the enemy or of the wavering allies. Wherefore, after many days had been spent there to no purpose, Hannibal, finding that none of those who had attended him at the lake



Avernus, either came themselves, or sent any message or letter, and perceiving that he inconsiderately suffered himself to be led by delusive promises, decamped and withdrew. He did not even then do any injury to their country, for though his counterfeited tenderness had brought him no advantage, yet he still entertained hopes of prevailing on them to renounce their present engagements. When he came to Salapia he collected there stores of corn from the lands of Metapontum and Heraclea, for midsummer was now past, and the place appeared commodious for winter-quarters. From hence he sent out the Moors and Numidians to plunder the territory of Sallentum, and the nearest woody parts of Apulia, where not much booty was found of any other kind than horses, several studs of which made the principal part of their acquisitions; of these, four thousand were distributed among the horsemen to be trained.

XXI. The Romans, seeing that a war of no slight moment was ready to break out in Sicily, and that the death of the tyrant had only given the Syracusans enterprising leaders, without working any change in their principles or tempers, decreed that province to the consul Marcus Marcellus. Immediately after the murder of Hieronymus, the soldiers in Leontini had raised a tumult, furiously exclaiming, that the death of the king should be expiated by the blood of the conspirators. Afterwards, the words **LIBERTY RESTORED**, a sound ever delightful to the ear, being frequently repeated, and hopes being held out of largesses from the royal treasure, of serving under better generals, mention at the same time being made of the tyrant's shocking crimes, and more shocking lusts; all these together produced such an alteration in their sentiments, that they suffered the body of the king, whom just now they had so violently lamented, to lie without burial. The rest of the conspirators remained in the place in order to secure the army on their side; but Theodotus and Sosis, getting on horseback, galloped with all possible speed to Syracuse, wishing to surprise the king's party, while ignorant of every thing that had happened. But not only report, than which nothing is quicker on such occasions, but likewise an express, by one of Hieronymus's servants, had arrived before them. Wherefore Andranodorus had strengthened with garrisons

both the island<sup>1</sup> and the citadel, and also every other post which was convenient for his purpose. After sunset, in the dusk of the evening, Theodotus and Sosis rode into the Hexapylum, and having shown the king's garments dyed with blood, and the ornament which he wore on his head, passed on through the Tycha, calling the people at once to liberty and to arms, and desiring them to come all together into the Achradina. As to the populace, some ran out into the street, some stood in the porches of their houses, some looked on from the roofs and windows, all inquiring into the cause of the commotion. Every place blazed with lights, and was filled with various confused noises. Such as had arms assembled in the open places; such as had none pulled down from the temple of Olympian Jove the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, presented to Hiero by the Roman people, and hung up there by him; beseeching the god to lend, with good will, those consecrated weapons to men taking them up in defence of their country, of the temples of the deities, and of their liberty. This multitude was also joined to the watch, stationed in the several principal quarters of the city. In the island Andranodorus had, among other places, occupied the public granary with a guard; this place, which was enclosed with hewn stone, and built up to a great height, like a citadel, was seized by the band of youths appointed by Andranodorus to garrison it, and they despatched a

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1 Syracuse was founded by a colony of Athenians, and rose gradually to the very first rank of greatness and splendour. At the time of these transactions it consisted of four parts, each of which deserved the name of a city. 1. The island, called also Ortygia, was joined to the main land by a bridge, and, stretching out into the bay, formed two harbours, a large one to the south-east, and a smaller one on the north-west. Here stood the royal palace and the treasury, and, at the remotest point, the fountain Arethusa arises. 2. The Achradina. This was the largest and strongest division of the city; it stretched along the bottom of the lesser harbour, whose waters washed it, and was divided from the other parts by a strong wall. 3. The Tycha, so named from a remarkable temple of Fortune, *τύχη*, formed the south-eastern part of the city. 4. Neapolis, or the New Town: this was the latest built, and lay westward of the Tycha. The principal entrance into this part was guarded by a fort called Hexapylum, from its having six gates. To this part belonged Epipolæ, an eminence commanding a view of the whole city.

Of this once famous city the only part now inhabited is the island. The ruins of the rest are about twenty-two miles in circumference, and are covered with vineyards, orchards, and corn fields.

message to the Achradina, that the corn therein was at the disposal of the senate.

XXII. At the first dawn the whole body of the people, armed and unarmed, came together into the Achradina to the senate-house; and there, from an altar of Concord, which stood in the place, one of the principal nobles, by name Polyænus, made a speech fraught with sentiments both of liberty and moderation. He said that "Men who had experienced the hardships of servitude and insult, knew the extent of the evil against which they vented their resentment; but what calamities civil discord introduces, the Syracusans could have learned only from the relations of their fathers, not from their own experience. He applauded them for the readiness with which they had taken arms, and would applaud them yet more if they did not make use of them unless constrained by the last necessity. At present he thought it advisable that they should send deputies to Andranodorus, to require of him to be amenable to the direction of the senate and people, to open the gates of the island, and withdraw the garrison. If he meant, under the pretext of being guardian of the sovereignty for another, to usurp it into his own hands, he recommended it to them to recover their liberty by much keener exertions than had been shown against Hieronymus." Accordingly, on the breaking up of the assembly, deputies were sent. The meetings of the senate were now revived; for, though it had, during the reign of Hiero, continued to act as the public council of the state, yet since his death, until now, it had never been convened, or consulted on any business. When the commissioners came to Andranodorus, he was much moved by the united voice of his countrymen, by their being in possession of the other quarters of the city, and moreover by that division of the island, which was the strongest, being lost to him, and in the hands of the other party. But his wife, Demarata, daughter of Hiero, still swelling with royal arrogance and female pride, reminded him of an expression frequently uttered by Dionysius the Tyrant, who used to say, that "a man ought to relinquish sovereign power when he was dragged by the feet, not while he sat on horseback. It was easy," she said, "at any moment to resign the possession of a high station; to arrive at, and acquire it, was difficult and arduous." Desired him to "ask from the ambassadors a little time for consideration, and to employ it in sending

for the soldiers from Leontini, to whom, if he promised some of the royal treasure, he might dispose of every thing at his pleasure." These counsels, suited to the character of the woman, Andranodorus neither totally rejected nor immediately adopted; judging it the safer way to the acquisition of power, to yield to the times for the present. He therefore desired the deputies to carry back for answer, that "he would be obedient to the directions of senate and people." Next day, at the first light, he opened the gates of the island, and went into the forum in the Achradina. There he ascended the altar of Concord, from whence Polyænus had addressed the people the day before, and first, at the beginning of his discourse, spent some time in entreating their pardon for the delay which he had made, for, "he had kept the gates shut," he said, "not with intention to separate his own interest from that of the public, but through fearful uncertainty, the sword being once drawn, when, and in what way an end might be put to the shedding of blood; whether they would be content with the death of the tyrant, which was all that the cause of liberty required, or whether all who had any connection with the court, either by consanguinity, affinity, or employments of any kind, were to be put to death, as accomplices in another's guilt. As soon as he perceived that those who had freed their country, meant also, together with liberty, to grant it safety, and that the designs of all aimed at the promotion of the public happiness, he had not hesitated to replace, under the direction of the people, both his own person, and every thing else committed to his charge and guardianship, since the prince who had entrusted him therewith had perished through his own madness." Then turning to those who had killed the tyrant, and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, "You have performed," said he, "a memorable exploit: but believe me, the career of your glory is only begun, not finished; and there yet subsists the utmost danger, that unless you exert yourselves immediately to secure peace and harmony, the nation may carry liberty to licentiousness."

XXIII. After this discourse he laid the keys of the gates and of the royal treasure at their feet. Being dismissed, full of joy, the people, with their wives and children, spent that day in offering thanksgivings in all the temples of the gods, and on the day following



an assembly was held for the election of prætors. Among the first was chosen Andranodorus; the greater number of the rest were elected from the band of conspirators against the king. Two of these were absent at the time, Sopater and Dinomenes; who, on hearing what had passed at Syracuse, conveyed thither the money belonging to the king, which was at Leontini, and delivered it to quæstors appointed for the purpose: to whom was also delivered the treasure which was in the island and in the Achradina. That part of the wall, which formed too strong a fence between the island and the city, was, with universal approbation, demolished. The other events which took place corresponded with the general zeal for liberty, which now actuated men's minds: Hippocrates and Epicydes, when intelligence was received of the tyrant's death, which the former had wished to conceal even by the murder of the messenger, were deserted by the soldiers; and, as the safest step in their present circumstances, returned to Syracuse. Lest their stay there should subject them to suspicion, as if they were watching some opportunity for effecting a revolution, they addressed first the prætors, and afterwards, through them, the senate; represented, that "being sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, as to a friend and ally, they had obeyed his orders in conformity to the will of their own commander. That they wished to return to Hannibal, but as they could not travel with safety while every part of Sicily was overspread with the Roman arms, they requested that a guard might be granted to escort them to Locri in Italy, and that thus, with very little trouble, the senate would confer a great obligation on Hannibal." The request was easily obtained, for the senate wished the departure of those generals of the late king, men well skilled in war, and at the same time needy and daring. But this measure, so agreeable to their wishes, they did not execute with the care and expedition requisite. Meanwhile those young men, accustomed to a military life, employed themselves sometimes among the soldiery; at others, among the deserters, the greatest number of whom were Roman seamen; at others, among the very lowest class of plebeians, in propagating insinuations against the senate and nobility; hinting to them, that "in the appearance of reviving the former alliance, they were secretly forming and preparing to execute a scheme of bringing

Syracuse under the dominion of the Romans; and that then their faction, and the few advocates for the renewal of the treaty, would domineer without control."

XXIV. Crowds of people, disposed to listen to and believe such reports, flocked into Syracuse in great numbers every day, and, afforded, not only to Epicydes, but to Andranodorus likewise, some hopes of effecting a revolution. The latter, wearied by the importunities of his wife, who urged that, "now was the time to possess himself of the sovereignty, while all was in a state of disorder, in consequence of liberty being lately recovered, but not yet established on a regular footing; while the soldiers, who owed their livelihood to the pay received from the late king, were yet at hand, and while the commanders sent by Hannibal, who were well acquainted with those soldiers, could aid the enterprise," took, as an associate in his design, Themistus, to whom Gelon's daughter was married; and in a few days after, incautiously disclosed the affair to one Ariston, an actor on the stage, whom he was accustomed to entrust with other secrets; a man whose birth and circumstances were both reputable; nor did his employment disgrace them, because, among the Greeks, that profession is not considered as dishonourable. This man, resolving to be guided by the duty which he owed to his country, discovered the matter to the prætors; who, having learned by unquestionable proofs that the information was well-founded, first consulted the elder senators, by whose advice he placed a guard at the door of the senate-house, and, as soon as Themistus and Andranodorus entered, put them to death. This fact, in appearance uncommonly atrocious, the cause of which was unknown to the rest, occasioned a violent uproar; but, having at length procured silence, they brought the informer into the senate-house. He then gave a regular detail of every circumstance, showing that the conspiracy owed its origin to the marriage of Gelon's daughter Harmonia, with Themistus; that the auxiliary troops of Africans and Spaniards had been engaged for the purpose of massacring the prætors and others of the nobility, whose property, according to orders given, was to be the booty of their murderers; that a band of mercenaries, accustomed to the command of Andranodorus, had been procured, with the design of seizing again on the Island. He afterwards laid before them

every particular; what things were to be done, and by whom, together with the whole plan of the conspiracy, supported by men with arms, ready to execute it. On which the senate gave judgment, that they had suffered death as justly as Hieronymus. The crowd round the senate-house being variously disposed, and unacquainted with the real state of the case, became clamorous: but, while they were uttering furious threats, the sight of the conspirators' bodies in the porch of the senate-house impressed them with such terror, that they silently followed the well-judging part of the plebeians to an assembly which was summoned. Sopater was commissioned by the senate and his colleagues to explain the matter to the people.

XXV. He brought his charges against the deceased as if they were then on trial: after taking a review of their former lives, he insisted that whatever wicked and impious acts had been perpetrated since the death of Hiero, Andranodorus and Themistus were the authors of them. "For what," said he, "did the boy Hieronymus ever do by the direction of his own will? What, indeed, could he do who had scarcely exceeded the years of childhood? His guardians and teachers exercised the sovereign power, screened from the public hatred which fell on him; and therefore ought to have died either before Hieronymus or with him. Nevertheless, those men who had merited and been doomed to die, have since the death of the tyrant, attempted new crimes; at first openly when Andranodorus, shutting the gates of the Island, assumed the throne as his by inheritance, and kept as proprietor what he had held as trustee: afterwards being abandoned by those who were in the Island, and blockaded by all the rest of the citizens who held the Achradina, and finding his open and avowed attempts on the crown ineffectual, he endeavoured to attain it by secret machinations and treachery: nor could he be induced to alter his measures even by kindness and the honour conferred on him; for it should be remembered that among the deliverers of their country, this treacherous conspirator against its liberty was chosen a prætor. But the spirit of royalty has been infused into these men by their royal consorts, Hiero's daughter married to one, Gelon's to the other." At these words a shout was heard from every part of the assembly, that "none of the race of the tyrants ought to live." Such is the nature of the populace; they

are either abject slaves or tyrannic masters. Liberty, which consists in a mean between these, they either undervalue, or know not how to enjoy with moderation; and, in general, there are not wanting agents disposed to foment their passions, who, working on minds which delight in cruelty, and know no restraint in the practice of it, exasperate them to acts of blood and slaughter. Thus, on the present occasion, the prætors instantly proposed the passing of an order, and it was hardly proposed before it was passed, that all the royal family should be put to death; whereupon persons sent by these magistrates executed the sentence on Demarata, daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, daughter of Gelon, the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus.

XXVI. There was another daughter of Hiero, called Heraclea, wife to Zoippus; who having been sent by Hieronymus ambassador to king Ptolemy, had continued abroad in voluntary exile. On getting notice that the executioners were coming to her also, she fled for refuge into the chapel of her household gods, taking with her two maiden daughters, with their hair dishevelled, and their appearance in every other particular calculated to excite compassion: to this she added prayers, beseeching the executioners, "by the memory of her father Hiero, and of her brother Gelon, not to suffer her, an innocent woman, to be involved in ruin under the hatred incurred by Hieronymus. To her nothing had accrued, from his being on the throne, but the exile of her husband; neither, during the life of Hieronymus, was her situation the same with that of her sister, nor since his death was her cause the same. Must it not be allowed, that if Andranodorus had succeeded in his projects, her sister would have reigned with him, whereas she must have been in servitude with the rest? If any one should tell Zoippus, that Hieronymus was killed and Syracuse free, who could doubt but he would instantly get on board a ship and return to his country? How deceitful were the hopes of men! Could he imagine, that in his native soil, restored to liberty, his wife and children were struggling to preserve their lives; and in what respect did they obstruct the cause of liberty or the laws? What danger could arise from them, a solitary, and, in a manner, widowed woman, and her poor orphan children? But, though no danger was apprehended from them, yet the whole royal race was detested. Let herself



and children be banished far from Syracuse and from Sicily; let them be conveyed to Alexandria; a wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." Finding them still inexorable, and wishing to make the best use of the time, (for she saw some even drawing their swords,) she desisted from farther entreaties for herself, and continued to beseech them to "spare, at least, her daughters, who were children of an age which even enraged enemies would refrain from injuring; and not, while they pursued their revenge against tyrants, to imitate themselves the crimes which had raised their hatred."

While she was speaking, they dragged her from the sanctuary, and slew her; and then turned their weapons against the children, who were sprinkled with the blood of their mother. But they, deprived of reason by grief and fear together, rushed out of the chapel with such quickness, that, had a passage been open to the public street, they would have filled the whole city with tumult: even as it was, though the extent of the house was not great, they several times made their way through the midst of many armed men, without receiving a wound, and extricated themselves from those that took hold of them, notwithstanding the number and strength of the hands with which they had to struggle: but at length, being reduced to the last weakness by wounds, after covering every place with their blood, they fell and expired. This scene, piteous in itself, was rendered yet more so by an incident that ensued; for shortly after, arrived a message, countermanding their execution, the sentiments of the people having suddenly turned to the side of compassion: and this compassion was soon converted into anger, on account of the precipitancy with which the sentence had been hurried on, so as to leave no time for re-consideration or the subsiding of passion. The populace, therefore, expressed much discontent, and insisted on an assembly of election to fill up the places of Andranodorus and Themistus, for both had been prætors; and this election was not at all likely to terminate in a manner agreeable to the present prætors.

XXVII. A day was appointed for the election, when, to the surprise of all, some person in the remotest part of the crowd named Epicycles; then another, in the same quarter, Hippocrates; which names were afterwards the most frequently repeated, with the manifest approbation of the multitude. The assembly itself

was an irregular one; for, not the commons alone, but also great numbers of the soldiery, and even of deserters, who wished to overturn every present establishment, composed the disorderly crowd. The magistrates, at first, pretended ignorance of what was going forward, thinking to protract the business; but, at last, overcome by the united voice of so very many, and dreading an insurrection, they declared those men prætors: who, however, did not immediately unveil their sentiments, though greatly chagrined,—first, at ambassadors having gone to Appius Claudius to conclude a truce of ten days, and then, when that was obtained, on others being sent to negotiate a renewal of the old alliance. At this time the Romans had a fleet of a hundred sail at Murgantia, watching what might be the result of the commotions of Syracuse, in consequence of the death of the tyrants, and to what points the view of the people might be directed by the late acquisition of liberty, to which they had so long been strangers. Meanwhile, the Syracusan ambassadors had been sent by Appius to Marcellus on his arriving in Sicily; who, when he heard the terms on which they proposed the alliance, conceiving expectations that the business might be adjusted to mutual satisfaction, sent ambassadors on his part to Syracuse, to treat with the prætors in person. Here was no longer the same quiet and tranquillity: on news being received that a Carthaginian fleet had arrived at Pachynum, Hippocrates and Epicycles, freed from apprehension, now began, sometimes among the mercenary soldiers, at others among the deserters, to spread insinuations, that there was a design of betraying Syracuse to the Romans. And when Appius came and kept his fleet stationed at the mouth of the harbour, with intention to raise the spirits of the other party, this gave the utmost appearance of credibility to their ill-grounded suggestions, insomuch that the populace at first ran down in a tumultuous manner, to oppose the landing of his men, if such an attempt should be made.

XXVIII. In this troubled state of affairs it was judged necessary to call a general assembly. Here, while opposite parties drew contrary ways, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, one of the leading nobles, named Apollonides, addressed them in a discourse of very salutary tendency at such a juncture; telling them that "no state ever had a nearer prospect either of safety or of ruin. If all would

unanimously incline either on the side of the Romans, or to that of the Carthaginians, their prosperity and happiness would equal that of any other nation whatever. If separate parties laboured to counteract each other, the war between the Carthaginians and the Romans was not more furious, than would be that which must follow between the Syracusans themselves, when each party should have its own troops, its own arms, its own leaders within the same walls. The most effectual endeavours ought to be used to bring all to unanimity in opinion. Which of the alliances might be the more profitable, was a question of a very inferior nature, and of much less moment. Nevertheless, on the choice of allies, they ought rather to follow the judgment of Hiero than that of Hieronymus, and give the preference to a friendship, of which they had a happy experience for fifty years, before one which would be at the present new to them, and was formerly found deceitful. Another consideration ought to be allowed some weight in their resolves; that it was in their power to decline a treaty of friendship with the Carthaginians, and yet not to enter, immediately at least, into a war with them; whereas with the Romans, they must instantly have either peace or war." The less of party spirit and warmth this speech contained, the greater was its influence on the hearers. To the prætors, and a select number of senators, a military council was joined, and even the commanders of companies, and the præfects of the allies, were ordered to share in their consultations. After the affair had been frequently debated with great heat, they at last resolved, because they could discover no plan on which war could be maintained against the Romans, that a treaty of peace should be formed with them, and that ambassadors should be sent with those of that nation, then in Syracuse, to ratify it.

XXIX. Not many days had passed, when deputies from the Leontines arrived, requesting aid for the defence of their country; and this application was considered as coming most seasonably for ridding the city of a disorderly turbulent rabble, and removing their leaders out of the way. The prætor, Hippocrates, was ordered to conduct the deserters thither; and these were accompanied by great numbers of mercenary auxiliaries, so that the whole amounting to four thousand soldiers. This expedition was highly pleasing, both to the persons employed, and to their employers; the

former gaining, what they had long wished for, an opportunity for disturbing the government; the latter rejoicing at such a nuisance being removed; the sink, as it were, of the city. However this proved only like giving a sick person present ease, that he might relapse with an aggravation of his disorder. For Hippocrates began at first, by secret excursions, to ravage the nearest parts of the Roman province; but afterwards, when Appius had sent a body of troops to protect the territories of the allies, he attacked, with his entire force, a detachment posted in his way, and killed a great number. When Marcellus was informed of these transactions, he instantly despatched ambassadors to Syracuse, to complain of this infraction of the treaty, and to represent, that occasions of quarrel would never be wanting, unless Hippocrates and Epicydes were banished, not only from Syracuse, but far from every part of Sicily. Epicydes not choosing, by remaining where he was, either to face the charge of being a confederate in his absent brother's crime, or to omit contributing his share towards effecting a rupture, went off to his seceding countrymen at Leonti, where finding the inhabitants filled with a sufficient degree of animosity against the Roman people, he undertook to detach them from the Syracusans also. For "the latter," he said, "had stipulated in their treaty with Rome, that every state which had been subject to their kings, should for the future be subject to them; and they were not now content with liberty, unless they possessed along with it regal and arbitrary power over other nations. The proper answer, therefore, to be given to any requisition from them, was, that the Leontines deemed themselves entitled to freedom no less than themselves, if it were only because their city was the spot where the tyrant fell; that there liberty was first proclaimed, where the troops had abandoned the king's generals, and flocked to Syracuse. Wherefore that article must be expunged from the treaty, or a treaty containing such an article should not be admitted." The multitude were easily persuaded; and when ambassadors from Syracuse complained of their cutting off the Roman detachment, and delivered an order, that Hippocrates and Epicydes should depart either to Locri, or to any other place which they chose, provided they retired out of Sicily, the Leontines roughly answered, that "they had not commissioned the Syracusans to make a treaty



of peace with the Romans for them, neither were they bound by other people's treaties." This answer the Syracusans laid before the Romans, declaring that "the Leontines were not under their direction; that, therefore, the Romans might make war on that people without any violation of the treaty with Syracuse, and that they would not fail to give their assistance in it, on condition that the others, when reduced to submission, should be again subjected to their government."

XXX. Marcellus marched against Leontini with his whole force, sending also for Appius, that he might attack it on another quarter; and so great was the ardour of the soldiers on that occasion, inspired by their resentment for the detachment being cut off while a treaty of peace was depending, that, at the first assault, they carried the town. Hippocrates and Epicydes, when they saw the enemy in possession of the walls, and breaking open the gates, retired, with a few others, into the citadel, from whence they made their escape secretly, during the night, to Herbessus. The Syracusans having marched from home in a body, eight thousand in number, were met at the river Myla by a messenger, who acquainted them, that Leontini was taken, and who mixed several falsehoods with the truth, saying, that both soldiers and townsmen had been put to the sword without distinction; nor did he believe that any one, above the age of childhood, was left alive; that the city was sacked, and the effects of the wealthy bestowed on the soldiers. On hearing such a shocking account, the army halted; and, every one being highly exasperated, the commanders, who were Sosis and Dinomenes, entered into consultation how they should act. The false report had received a colour of truth sufficient to justify apprehension, from the circumstance of a number of deserters, amounting to two thousand, having been beaten with rods and beheaded. But not one of the Leontines, or the other soldiers, had been hurt, after the capture of the city was completed; and every kind of property had been restored to the owners, except what was destroyed in the first confusion of the assault. The troops, who complained grievously of their fellow-soldiers being treacherously put to death, could not be prevailed on, either to proceed to Leontini, or to wait in their present post for more certain intelligence. On which the prætors, perceiving that they were inclined to mutiny, but that

this ferment would not be of long duration if their ringleaders in this foolish conduct were removed, led the army to Megara, whence they themselves, with a small body of horse, proceeded to Herbessus, with hopes that, in consequence of the general consternation, the city might be surrendered into their hands; but being disappointed in their expectations, they next day decamped from Megara, in order to lay siege to it with the whole of their force. Hippocrates and Epicydes now adopted a plan, which, though at first sight not free from danger, yet, every hope being cut off, was the only one which they could pursue; this was to put themselves into the hands of the soldiery, of whom a great part were well acquainted with them, and all were incensed on account of the supposed slaughter of their fellow-soldiers; and they accordingly went out to meet the army on its approach. It happened that the corps which led the van was a battalion of six hundred Cretans, who, in the reign of Hieronymus, had served under their command, and were also under an obligation to Hannibal, having been taken prisoners at the Thrasimenus, with other auxiliaries to the Romans, and dismissed. Hippocrates and Epicydes knowing them by their standards, and the fashion of their armour, advanced to them, holding out olive branches, and other emblems of suppliants, and besought them to receive them into their ranks, to protect them there, and not to betray them into the hands of the Syracusans, by whom they themselves would soon be delivered up to the Romans to be murdered. The Cretans immediately, with one voice, bade them keep up their courage, for they should share every fortune with them.

XXXI. During this conversation the standards had halted, nor had the cause of the delay yet reached the general. But soon a rumour spread, that it was occasioned by Hippocrates and Epicydes, and a murmur ran along the whole line, evidently demonstrating that the troops were pleased at their coming. On this, the prætors instantly rode forward, at full speed, to the van, asking, "What sort of behaviour was this? What did the Cretans mean by such disorderly conduct, maintaining conversation with an enemy, and allowing them to mix in their ranks?" They then ordered Hippocrates to be seized, and put in chains. On which words such a clamour ensued, begun by the Cretans, and continued by the rest, as clearly showed that if they proceeded farther in the

matter, they would have cause to be apprehensive for their own safety. Alarmed and perplexed by their situation, they ordered the army to march back to Megara, and sent expresses to Syracuse, with accounts of their present state. While the men were disposed to entertain every kind of suspicion, Hippocrates, to increase their apprehensions, employed an artifice: having sent out some of the Cretans to watch the roads, he afterwards read publicly a letter composed by himself, but which he pretended had been intercepted. The address was "The prætors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus." After the usual salutations, it mentioned, that "he had acted rightly and properly in not sparing any in Leontini. That all the mercenary soldiers were to be considered in the same light, and never would Syracuse enjoy tranquillity as long as one of the foreign auxiliaries remained, either in the city, or in their army: they therefore requested him to use his endeavours to reduce under his power those who were encamped with their prætors at Megara, and, by putting them to death, effectuate, at length, the delivery of Syracuse." As soon as this was read to the soldiers, they ran on all sides to arms with such clamours, that the prætors, in a fright, rode away, during the confusion, to Syracuse. But even their flight did not serve to quell the mutiny, and several attacks were made on the Syracusan troops: nor would one of them have found mercy, had not Epicydes and Hippocrates opposed the rage of the multitude, not through compassion or any humane intention, but through fear of forfeiting all hope of ever returning to the city; and from this further consideration, that, while they should find these men, themselves both faithful soldiers and hostages, they would, at the same time, engage also the favour of their relations and friends; in the first place, by so great an obligation conferred, and then, by having such a pledge in their hands. As they knew, too, from experience, how slight and insignificant an impulse is sufficient to set the populace in motion, they procured a soldier, who had been one of the number besieged in Leontini, and suborned him to carry to Syracuse, a story corresponding with the feigned tale told at Myla; and, by avowing himself the author, and asserting as facts, of which he had been an eye-witness, those particulars, of which doubts were harboured, to irritate the passions of the people.

XXXII. This man not only gained credit  
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with the populace, but, being brought before the senate, had address enough to influence even their judgment; and several, not apt to be over credulous, openly observed, that "it was happy that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans had been unmasked at Leontini. Had they come into Syracuse, their behaviour would have been the same, or probably more barbarous, as the incitements to avarice were greater there." Wherefore all agreed in opinion, that the gates ought to be shut, and guards posted for the defence of the city. But they did not so generally agree in the object either of their fears or their aversions. Among the military of all descriptions, and a great part of the plebeians, their hatred fell on the Roman nation; while the prætors, and a few of the nobility, notwithstanding that their judgment had been infected by the false intelligence, yet took more pains to guard against a nearer and more immediate danger: for Hippocrates and Epicydes were already at the Hexapylum; and the relations of the native soldiers then in the army, were using many arguments to persuade the people to open the gates, and to let their common country be defended against the Romans. And now one of the gates of the Hexapylum had been opened, and the troops had begun to march in, when the prætors arrived at the spot; they endeavoured, at first by commands and menaces, then by counsel and advice, to deter the inhabitants from their purpose; and, at last, finding all these ineffectual, they descended from their dignity, and had recourse to entreaties, beseeching them not to betray their country to men, who were lately instruments of a tyrant, and who now imprisoned the soldiers' minds. But, in the heat of the present ferment, the ears of the multitude were deaf to all such arguments, and efforts were made to break open the gates on the inside, no less violent than those from without. They were all soon forced, and the whole army received into the Hexapylum. The prætors, with the youth of the city, fled for safety into the Achradina. The mercenaries, deserters, and all the soldiers of the late king, then in Syracuse, augmented the force of the enemy. In consequence, the Achradina was taken at the first assault, and the prætors, except such as could make their escape in the confusion, were all put to death. Night put an end to the shedding of blood. Next day the slaves were invited to freedom; all the prisoners were discharged from confinement, and the



motley rabble, composed of all these different sorts, elected Hippocrates and Epicydes prætors: thus Syracuse, after a short enjoyment of the sunshine of liberty, sunk back into its former state of servitude.

XXXIII. As soon as the Romans were informed of these events, they immediately decamped from Leontini, and marched to Syracuse. At the same time it happened that ambassadors, sent by Appius, and who were approaching the place in a quinquereme, with difficulty escaped being taken: which, however, was the fate of a quadrireme, ordered to advance some distance before their galley, on its entering the harbour. And now not only the laws of peace, but even those of war, had been all thrown aside, when the Roman army pitched their camp at Olympium, a temple of Jupiter so called, distant a mile and a half from the city. From hence also it was judged proper to send ambassadors, who were prevented entering the city by Hippocrates and Epicydes, with their adherents coming out from the gate to meet them. The Roman, whose part it was to speak, said, that "the Romans came not with the intention of making war on the Syracusans, but of giving succour and support both to those as, after extricating themselves from the midst of carnage, fled to them for refuge; and also to those, who, overpowered by fear, endured a bondage more shocking, not only than exile, but even than death. Nor would the Romans suffer such an abominable massacre of their allies to pass unpunished. Wherefore if those, who had taken refuge with them, were allowed to return to their country with safety, and the authors of the massacre were delivered up, and liberty and their laws restored to the Syracusans, there would be no occasion for quarrel. If these requisitions were not complied with, whoever was the cause of the refusal should undergo the severest vengeance which their arms could inflict." To this Epicydes replied, that "if they had been charged with any message to him, and his friends, they would have returned an answer. That when the government of Syracuse should be in the hands of those to whom they came, they might then return to Sicily. If they began hostilities, they should learn, on trial, that the siege of Syracuse was a very different kind of business from that of Leontini." So saying, he turned his back on the ambassadors, and shut the gates. The Romans then, immediately, began to form the

siege of Syracuse, both by land and sea; by land, on the side of the Hexapylum; by sea, on that of the Achradina, the wall of which is washed by its waves. Having mastered Leontini by the terror which their assault inspired, and that at the first attack, they doubted not but they should be able, in some quarter or other, to make their way into a city of such wide extent, and whose defended parts lay at such a distance from each other; they pushed forward therefore to the walls every kind of machine used in sieges.

XXXIV. This enterprise, from the spirit and vigour with which it was undertaken, must have met the expected success, had it not been for one single person then in Syracuse: this was Archimedes, a man singularly skilled in the science of astronomy, and a great geometrician, eminently distinguished in the invention and construction of warlike engines, by means of which, with very slight exertions, he baffled the efforts of the enemy, made with immense labour. The wall, which, being drawn along unequal eminences, was in some parts high and difficult of access, in others low and liable to be approached through the level vales, he furnished with machines of all kinds, adapted to the nature of each particular place. That of the Achradina, which, as before observed, is washed by the sea, Marcellus attacked from his largest ships; while from the small vessels the archers, slingers, and light-infantry, (whose weapon is of such a kind that it cannot well be thrown back, except by experienced hands,) wounded almost every one defending the works. These requiring room for the discharge of their missiles, kept at a distance; but the other and larger ships, eight in number, were fastened together in pairs, by the removal of one tier of oars; while those on the exterior sides moved them both as if a single ship. These carried turrets, of several stories in height, with instruments for demolishing the rampart. Against this naval armament, Archimedes disposed, on the walls, engines of various sizes. On the ships, which lay at a distance, he discharged rocks of immense weight; and those which lay nearer, lighter, and therefore more numerous annoyances. And lastly, he opened in the wall from top to bottom a great number of spike-holes, a cubit in diameter, through which, without being seen, or in danger of being hurt, they poured arrows and darts from scorpions. Some ships having come up closer, in order that the wea-

pons from the engines might fly over them, he used an engine called Tolloeno, composed of a long lever supported at the middle, and fixed in such a manner that one arm of it projected beyond the wall; from the extremity of this hung, by a strong chain, an iron grapple, which, taking hold of the fore part of the ship, while the other extremity of the lever was weighed down to the ground by a heavy counterpoise of lead, lifted up the prow and set the vessel on its stern; the grapple then was suddenly disengaged, and the ship was, to the utter consternation of the seamen, dashed into the water with such force, that even if it had fallen in an erect position, it would have taken in a great deal of water. By these means the assailants were foiled in every attempt by sea; abandoning therefore that part of the plan, they bent all their efforts to the pushing forward the operations by land, and with their whole force. But on this side, too, the place was furnished with a similar train of engines of every description, procured in a course of many years by the direction and at the expense of Hiero, and through the singular skill of Archimedes. The nature of the ground also was favourable to the defendants, because the rock on which the foundations of the wall were laid, is in most places so steep, that not only bodies thrown from an engine, but such as rolled down by their own weight, fell with great power on the enemy: the same cause rendered the ascent difficult to be climbed, and the footing unsteady. Wherefore, a council being held, it was resolved, since every attempt ended in disappointment and disgrace, to desist from farther attacks, and only to blockade the place so closely as to cut off all supplies of provisions, either by land or sea.

XXXV. Meanwhile Marcellus marched, with about a third part of the forces, to recover those cities which, during the general disturbances, had revolted to the Carthaginians. Helorus and Herbessus he received by voluntary surrender. Having taken Megara by storm, he sacked and demolished it, in order to strike terror into others, particularly the Syracusans. About the same time Himilco, who had for a long time kept his fleet at the promontory of Pachynum, landed at Heraclea, which is also called Minoa, twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand horses, and twelve elephants; a much greater force than he had before on board his ships at Pachynum. When Syracuse was seized by Hippocrates, he had gone to Carthage,

and there, being encouraged by ambassadors from him as chief, and by letters from Hannibal, who affirmed that the time was now come for recovering possession of Sicily with the highest honour; and as his own advice given on the spot had no small degree of influence, he easily procured an order, that the greatest force possible of infantry and cavalry should be transported into that island. Immediately on his arrival he reduced Heraclea, and within a few days after, Agrigentum; raising at the same time in all the other states, who sided with the Carthaginians, such warm hopes of expelling the Romans from Sicily, that at last even the Syracusans, besieged as they were, assumed new courage. Judging that a part of their forces would be sufficient for defence alone, they divided the business in such a manner, that Epicydes should command the troops so appointed for guarding the city, and Hippocrates, in conjunction with Himilco, conduct the war against the Roman consul. The latter accordingly, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, having passed by night through some intervals between the Roman posts, began to pitch his camp near the city Acrillæ; while they were raising their fortifications, Marcellus came upon them, for he was now returning from Agrigentum, to which place he had in vain hastened by quick marches, in hope of reaching it before the enemy, but he found it already in their possession, and expected nothing less at that time than to meet a Syracusan army in his way. However, through fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, for whom he was by no means a match with the force which he then had, he was marching with all possible caution, and with his troops prepared for every occurrence.

XXXVI. This precaution adopted against the Carthaginians, happened to prove useful in respect of the Syracusans. Finding them scattered, separately employed in forming their camp, and mostly unarmed, he surrounded and cut off the whole of their infantry; the cavalry, after a slight opposition, fled with Hippocrates to Acra. This stroke having effectually checked the designs of those states, which were disposed to revolt from the Romans, Marcellus returned to Syracuse; and, after a few days, Himilco, being joined by Hippocrates, came and encamped at the river Anapus, about eight miles distant. About the same time fifty-five Carthaginian



ships of battle, commanded by Bomilcar, as admiral, put into the great harbour at Syracuse, and a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes landed the first legion at Panormus; it seemed, indeed, as if the theatre of war was removed hither from Italy, so intent were both nations on the affairs of Sicily. Himilco expected that the Roman legion, landed at Panormus, would fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse; but he missed it by taking the road which led through the inland parts of the country, while the legion, keeping close to the sea-coast, and being attended by the fleet, effected a junction with Appius Claudius, who, with a part of his forces, came as far as Pachynum to meet it. Nor did the Carthaginians delay longer at Syracuse. On the one hand, Bomilcar was diffident of his own strength at sea, as the Romans had a fleet of at least double his number; and, at the same time, as he perceived that the only effect of his forces remaining there, where they could do no service, would be, the aggravating the distress of his allies in the article of provisions, he sailed out into the main, and passed over to Africa. On the other hand, Himilco had in vain followed Marcellus to Syracuse, in hopes of finding an opportunity of engaging him before he should join the larger division of his army; but being disappointed in this, and seeing likewise that the enemy's post at Syracuse was secured from every attempt, both by the fortifications and the number of their forces, he did not choose to waste time to no purpose in sitting there as a spectator of the siege carried on against his allies, and therefore decamped and marched away his army, with intention to carry it wherever a prospect of a revolt from the Romans should invite him, that he might invigorate by his presence the resolution of those who favoured his interest. And first, through the treachery of the inhabitants, who betrayed the Roman garrison, he got possession of Murgantia, where the Romans had large magazines of corn and every kind of provisions.

XXXVII. By this revolt, other states were encouraged to imitate the example; and the Roman garrisons were either driven out of the fortresses, or betrayed and overpowered. Enna, standing on a lofty eminence, which was steep and craggy on every side, was not only impregnable by reason of its situation, but had moreover a strong force in its citadel, with a governor who could not be easily overreached by

treachery. This was Lucius Pinarius, a man of spirit and activity, who relied more on his own precaution, to render every scheme of perfidy impracticable, than on the fidelity of the Sicilians; and his solicitude to be prepared for every emergency was now increased by the intelligence he had received of so many cities revolting, or being betrayed, and the garrisons put to death. Wherefore, every thing was kept in a state of readiness, with guards and watches constantly on duty, as well by night as by day, nor did the soldier ever quit his arms or his post. When the leading men in Enna, who had already bargained with Himilco for the betraying of the garrison, understood that the Roman commander had left no room for the practice of any deception, they resolved to act openly, and represented to him, that the city and the citadel ought to be under their care, since they had been connected with "the Romans as free men in alliance, not as slaves in custody." They therefore required that the keys of the gates should be returned to them, observing, that on good allies honour was the strongest tie, and that then only would the senate and people of Rome think them deserving of thanks, when they should continue in friendship out of their own free will, not through compulsion." To this the Roman answered, that "he was placed there by his general, and from him had received the keys of the gates and the custody of the citadel, which he held not at his own disposal, or that of the inhabitants of Enna, but at his who had committed them to his charge. That to relinquish a man's post in a garrison, was, among the Romans, a capital crime, and that parents had confirmed that law even by the death of their own children. That the consul Marcellus was not far distant; let them send ambassadors to him, who had the right and authority to determine." They declared positively, that they would not send, and gave him notice, that, since words were of no avail, they would, seek some other means of asserting their liberty. Pinarius then desired, "that if they did not choose to take the trouble of sending to the consul, they would, at least, allow him to meet the people in assembly, that it might be known whether these were the denunciations of a party only, or of the whole state:" which being agreed to, an assembly was proclaimed for the following day.

XXXVIII. After this conversation, he

went back immediately into the citadel, and calling the troops together, spoke thus : "Soldiers, you must have heard in what manner the Roman garrisons have, of late, been betrayed and cut off by the Sicilians. The same treachery you have escaped, principally through the kindness of the gods, and next through your own resolution, in keeping continual guard and watch under arms without intermission by day or by night. I wish it were in our power to pass the rest of our time without enduring or offering cruel treatment. But this caution, which we have hitherto used, guards only against their secret machinations ; which, not having succeeded to their wish, they now openly and plainly demand the keys of the gates. The moment these are delivered to them, Enna will be made over to the Carthaginians, and we shall be massacred here in a more shocking manner than were those of Murgantia. This one night's time, I have, with difficulty, procured for consultation, that I might apprise you of the imminent danger to which you are exposed. At sunrise they intend to hold an assembly for the purpose of criminating me, and incensing the populace against you : before to-morrow night, therefore, Enna will be deluged either with your blood, or with that of its inhabitants. If they anticipate your measures, you will have no resource ; if you anticipate theirs, you will have no danger : whoever first draws the sword, his will be the victory. Do you therefore, in arms, and with all your attention awake, wait for the signal. I will be in the assembly, and, by talking and disputing, will prolong the time until every thing shall be ready. As soon as I give the signal with my gown, then let me see that you raise a shout on every quarter, attack the multitude, and mow down all with the sword ; take care that no one be left alive from whom either force or fraud can be feared. O ! Mother Ceres and Proserpine, and you other gods, whether of the superior or inferior regions, who patronise this city and these consecrated lakes and groves, so prosper us, I beseech you, with your favour and assistance, as we undertake such an enterprise with a view of averting, not of inflicting injury. I would use more words in exhorting you, soldiers, if you were to have a contest with men in arms : that unarmed and unguarded crowd you will kill until you shall be satisfied with killing : besides, the consul's

camp is at hand, so that nothing can be feared from Himilco and the Carthaginians."

XXXIX. Being dismissed with this exhortation, they went to take refreshment. Next day they posted themselves in different places, to block up the streets, and shut the passes against the townsmen going out ; the greatest part of them, on and round the theatre, as they had been before accustomed to stand spectators of the assemblies. The Roman commander was conducted by the magistrates into the presence of the people, where he represented, that the power and authority of determining the business in question lay in the consul, not in him, urging mostly the same arguments, which he had used the day before ; on which a few at first, then greater numbers, at last all, with one voice, insisted on his delivering the keys ; and when he hesitated and demurred, began to threaten him furiously, showing evidently that they would no longer refrain from the utmost violence. The governor then gave the concerted signal with his gown. The soldiers were prepared, having a long time expected it with earnest attention ; and now, while some of them, with loud shouts, ran down from the higher places against the rear of the assembly, others, in close array, blocked up the passages from the theatres. Thus, pent up in the inclosure, the inhabitants of Enna were put to the sword. Yet did they perish not only by the weapons of their enemy, but by their own hasty flight, for many tumbled over the others, and the whole falling on the wounded, the living on the dead were all promiscuously heaped together. From thence, the soldiers spread themselves over the city, and, as if it had been taken by storm, filled every part of it with terror and carnage, their rage venting itself with no less fury on the unarmed crowd, than if their passions had been exasperated by an equality of danger in the heat of battle. Thus, by an act either wholly unjustifiable, or excusable only on the ground of necessity, the possession of Enna was retained. Marcellus showed no disapprobation of the deed ; on the contrary, he granted the plunder of that place to the soldiers ; thinking that the Sicilians, deterred by fear of like treatment, would desist from the practice of betraying the Roman fortresses. The history of the sad catastrophe of this city, which stood in the middle of Sicily, and was so conspicuous, both on account of



the extraordinary natural strength of its situation, as also on account of every part of it being rendered sacred by the monuments of the rape of Proserpine of old, reached every part of the island almost in one day. People considered that horrid carnage as a violation of the mansions of the gods, as well as of those of men; and now even those who had hesitated until this time, openly declared in favour of the Carthaginians. Hippocrates then retired to Murgantia, and Himileo to Agrigentum; for they had, on an invitation from the treacherous inhabitants, brought their armies to Enna to no purpose. Marcellus returned into the territory of Leontini, where, having stored his camp with magazines of corn and other provisions, and left a small body of troops to defend it, he went to carry on the siege of Syracuse. Appius Claudius having obtained his leave to go to Rome to canvass for the consulship, he appointed in his room Titus Quintus Crispinus to the command of the fleet and of the old camp. He fortified a camp for himself, in which he erected huts for the winter, at a place called Leon, five miles distant from the Hexapylum. These were the transactions in Sicily previous to the commencement of winter.

XL. During that summer, the war with king Philip, which had been apprehended for some time, broke out into action. Deputies came from Oricum to the proprætor Marcus Valerius, who commanded the fleet at Brundisium and on the neighbouring coasts of Calabria, informing him, that Philip had first attempted Appollonia, sailing up the river with a hundred and twenty barks of two banks of oars; and, not succeeding there as speedily as he expected, had afterwards marched his army secretly by night to Oricum, which city, being situated in a plain, and being but weakly defended, either by fortifications or by men and arms, was overpowered at the first assault. To this information they joined entreaties, that he would bring them succour, and repel the attacks of that avowed enemy to the Romans from the maritime cities, which were assailed for no other reason, than because they lay contiguous to Italy. Marcus Valerius, leaving a lieutenant-general, Titus Valerius, to maintain his present post, and putting on board the ships of burden a number of soldiers, for whom there was not room in the ships of war, set sail with his fleet, fully equipped and

prepared, and arrived on the second day at Oricum, and without much difficulty retook that city, which had for its defence but a weak garrison, left by Philip at his departure. Hither came deputies from the Appollonians, with information, that they were besieged, because they refused to take part against the Romans, and that they were unable longer to withstand the force of the Macedonians, unless a Roman garrison were sent to their aid. Valerius promised to comply with their wishes, and sent two thousand chosen men in ships of war to the mouth of the river, under the command of Quintus Nævius Crista, præfect of the allies, a man of an enterprising spirit and experienced in service. He, as soon as his men were landed, sent back the ships to join the rest of the fleet at Oricum, whence he came; and leading his troops at a distance from the river, through a road where he was least likely to meet any of the king's party, got into town by night, without being discovered by them. During the following day all remained quiet, while the præfect reviewed the forces of the Appollonians, their arms, and the defences of the city. On examining all those matters, he found sufficient ground for confidence; at the same time learning from scouts, that a great degree of negligence and inattention prevailed among the enemy. In consequence of this intelligence, he marched out of the city in the dead of the night, without any noise, and, on entering their camp, found it so neglected and exposed, that a thousand of his men had gotten within the rampart, as we are well assured, before any one perceived them, and had they refrained from killing the soldiers, might have reached the pavilion of the king. The destroying of those who were nearest to the gate roused the others from sleep: and immediately such terror and dismay took possession of all, that not one of them offered to take arms, or to attempt expelling the assailants: nay, instead of that, even the king himself fled in the same condition as he had started out of bed; half naked in a manner, and in a dress which would scarcely be decent for a private soldier, much less a monarch, he effected his escape to his ships in the river. Thither also the rest of the multitude directed their precipitate flight. Somewhat less than three thousand men were either killed or taken, but the number of prisoners considerably exceeded that of the killed. The camp was then

sacked, and the Appollonians carried into their city, for the defence of their walls on any future occasion, the catapultas, balistas, and other engines, which had been provided for the purpose of demolishing them; all the rest of the booty found in the camp was consigned to the Romans. As soon as the news of this event reached Oricum, Marcus Valerius instantly drew his fleet to the mouth of the river, lest the king should attempt to escape by water. Philip, therefore, despairing of being able to cope with his adversaries, either by land or sea, drew up some of his ships into dock, burned the rest, and with his troops, mostly unarmed and despoiled of their baggage, returned by land into Macedonia. Marcus Valerius, with the Roman fleet, wintered at Oricum.

XLII. In Spain the contending parties met with various success during this campaign. For, before the Romans passed the river Iberus, Mago and Hasdrubal defeated a very numerous army of Spaniards, and all farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans, had not Publius Cornelius, by a rapid march, arrived in time to confirm the wavering resolutions of his allies. The Romans encamped first at a place called the High Fort, remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. The fortress was strong, and they had already provided a store of corn. Nevertheless, because all the country round was full of the enemy's troops, and as the Roman army, on its march, had been harassed by their cavalry, without being able to take revenge, and had lost two thousand men, who either loitered behind or straggled through the country, they removed thence to the neighbourhood of a friendly people, and fortified a camp at the mount of Victory. Hither came Cneius Scipio with all his forces; while on the other side, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, with a complete army, joined the other two Carthaginian generals, and their whole combined forces sat down opposite to the Roman with a river between them. Publius Scipio, going out privately with some light-armed troops to take a view of the adjacent country, passed not unobserved by the enemy, who would have cut him off in an open plain, had he not seized an eminence which was nigh. Even there he was closely invested, but his brother coming up, relieved him from that dangerous situation. Castulo, a strong city, reckoned among the most remarkable in Spain, and so closely connected with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had mar-

ried a native of it, revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians laid siege to Illiturgi, because it was held by a Roman garrison, and they had reason to expect that it would soon fall into their hands, chiefly in consequence of a scarcity of provisions. Cneius Scipio, with a legion lightly equipped, marched to the relief of the allies and the garrison, and forced his way into the city, between the two camps of the enemy, with great slaughter of their men. On the day following he made a sally, and fought with the same success. In the two battles, he killed above twelve thousand men, and took more than ten thousand, with thirty-six military standards: in consequence of which losses, the Carthaginians raised the siege. They then sat down before the city of Bigerra, which also was in alliance with the Romans. but on the approach of Cneius Scipio raised the siege without a battle.

XLIII. The Carthaginians then removed their camp to Munda, whither the Romans quickly followed them. Here a general engagement took place, which lasted near four hours: the Romans had decidedly the advantage; but, while they were pursuing the victory with the utmost ardour, the signal of retreat was given, in consequence of Cneius Scipio's thigh being pierced through with a javelin; the soldiers round him being seized with a panic, in the supposition that the wound was mortal. There was no doubt, but that, if they had not been thus stopped, they would, on that day, have taken the enemy's camp. Not only their soldiers, but elephants also, had already been driven up to the rampart, and, on the top of it, thirty-nine elephants had been killed with spears. Twelve thousand men are said to have fallen in this battle, and near three thousand to have been taken, with fifty-seven military ensigns. From thence the Carthaginians retreated to the city of Aurinæ, and the Romans, not to allow them time to recover from their defeat, followed them closely. Here Scipio, though carried into the field in a litter, engaged them again, and obtained a decided victory: though fewer of the enemy, by half, were slain in this battle than in the former; because, after their loss on that occasion, they could only bring a smaller number into the field. But as they are a race fitted by nature for the reviving of wars and the recruiting of armies, they soon, through the diligence of Mago, who was sent by his brother to levy soldiers, filled



up their complement of their troops, and resumed courage to risk afresh the issue of a battle. Though their battalions were now composed mostly of foreign soldiers, yet fighting on a side which had suffered so many discomfitures within a few days, they showed the same spirit as before, and the same consequence ensued. More than eight thousand men were slain, not many short of a thousand taken prisoners, together with fifty-eight military standards. The greater part of the spoils had belonged to the Gauls, among which were golden chains and bracelets in great numbers; there were also two remarkable chieftains of the Gauls killed in that battle, *Mœnicaptus* and *Civismarus*: eight elephants were taken, and three killed. During this current of success in Spain, the Romans began to feel ashamed of having suffered the town of *Saguntum*, the original object of dispute, to continue five years in the possession of the enemy. Wherefore, dislodging the Carthaginian garrison, they retook possession of the town, and restored it to such of the inhabitants as had survived the violence of the conflict. As to the *Turdetani*, who had been the instigators of the war between the Carthaginians and the people, they totally subdued them, sold them as slaves, and rased their city to the ground. Such were the occurrences in Spain during the consulate of *Quintus Fabius* and *Marcus Claudius*.

XLIII. At Rome, no sooner had the new plebeian tribunes entered into office, than one of them, *Lucius Metellus*, summoned the censors, *Publius Furius* and *Marcus Ætilius*, to trial before the people. In the preceding year, when he was *quæstor*, they had degraded him from the equestrian rank and from his tribe, and had disfranchised him on account of his having formed a conspiracy at *Cannæ* to abandon Italy: but they were supported by the other nine tribunes, who protested against their being brought to trial, and were consequently discharged. The death of *Publius Furius* prevented their closing the *lustrum*; and *Marcus Ætilius* abdicated his office. The election of consuls was held by the consul *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, and two were chosen who were both absent at the time, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, the present consul's son, and *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, a second time. The prætors appointed were *Marcus Atilius* and two who were then *curule ædiles*, *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus* and

*Cneius Fulvius Centumalus*, and lastly, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*. It is recorded that stage plays were now, for the first time, exhibited four days successively, by direction of the *curule ædiles*. This *Tuditanus*, now *ædile*, was the person who, at *Cannæ*, while the rest were stupified by fear, in consequence of such a dreadful disaster, made his way through the middle of the enemy.

XLIV. As soon as the elections were finished, [Y. R. 539. B. C. 213.] the consuls elect were called home to Rome, by the advice of the present consul *Quintus Fabius*, and assumed the administration. They then called a meeting of the senate, to determine concerning their own provinces and those of the prætors, the armies to be employed, and the commanders to whom each was to be allotted. These were distributed in the following manner: To the consuls was assigned the province of making head against *Hannibal*; and of the armies, the one which *Sempronius* himself had already under his command, and another commanded by the late consul *Fabius*. These consisted of two legions each. *Marcus Æmilius*, the prætor, to whose lot the foreign jurisdiction had fallen, (his share in the administration of justice being consigned to his colleague,) *Marcus Atilius*, city prætor, was to hold the province of *Luceria* and the two legions which *Quintus Fabius*, the present consul, had commanded as prætor; to *Publius Sempronius* fell the province of *Ariminum*; to *Cneius Fulvius*, *Suessula*, with two legions likewise to each; *Fulvius* to take with him the city legions; *Tuditanus* to receive his from *Marcus Pomponius*. The following commanders and provinces were continued: to *Marcus Claudius*, *Sicily*, so far as the limits of *Hiero's* dominions had extended; to *Lentulus*, prætor, the old Roman province in that island; to *Titus Otacilius*, the fleet. No additions were made to their armies. *Greece* and *Macedonia* were allotted to *Marcus Valerius*, with the legion and fleet which he had there; to *Quintus Mucius*, *Sardinia*, with his old army, which consisted of two legions, and to *Caius Terentius*, *Picenum*, with the one legion at the present under his command. It was ordered, that, besides those mentioned, two city legions should be levied, and twenty thousand troops of the allies. These were the leaders, these the forces provided for the defence of the Roman empire, against a multi-

tude of enemies, either declared or suspected. The consuls, after raising the two city legions, and filling up the numbers of the others, before they quitted Rome, expiated several prodigies, which had been reported. A wall and a gate had been struck by lightning, and also the temple of Jupiter at Aricia. Besides which several deceptions of the eyes and ears were credited as facts; that the figures of ships of war had appeared in the river at Tarracini, where no such ships were; that in the temple of Jupiter, at Vicilinum in the district of Compsa, a clashing of arms was heard, and that the river at Amiternum flowed in streams of blood. When the expiation of these was performed, according to the direction of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius to Lucania, Fabius to Apulia. The father of the latter coming into the camp at Suessula, as lieutenant-general under his son, the son went out to meet him, and the lictors, out of reverence to his dignity, went on in silence, until the old man rode past eleven of the fasces, when the consul ordering his next lictor to take care, he called to him to dismount, and the father then, at length, alighting, said, "I had a mind, my son, to try whether you were properly sensible of being consul."

XLV. Into this camp Darius Altinius of Arpi came privately by night, with three slaves, promising that if he were properly rewarded, he would betray Arpi to them. Fabius held a council to consider of the matter, when some were of opinion, that he ought to be scourged and put to death as a deserter, being a common foe to both parties, ever ready to change sides; who, after the misfortune at Cannæ, as if faith ought to follow the changes of fortune, had gone over to the Carthaginians, and drawn Arpi into a revolt; and now, when the Roman affairs were, contrary to his hopes and wishes, recovering from that disaster, it must appear doubly base to offer to serve, by an act of treachery, the party on whom he had practised his treachery before. Such a wretch, who always appeared to act on one side, while his wishes were on the other, such a perfidious ally and fickle enemy, ought to be made a third lesson to deserters along with the Falerian and Pyrrhus's traitors." On the other hand Fabius, the consul's father, said, that "people did not attend to the state of the times, but, in the very heat of war, as in a time of tranquillity, pronounced their decisions on every case with-

out any allowance for circumstances. Thus, at a time when they should rather contrive and labour to prevent, if possible, any of the allies revolting from the Roman cause, or become wavering in their inclinations, they were of opinion, that a person who repented and showed an inclination to return to his former connections, ought to be punished for an example. But if those who had once forsaken the part of the Romans, were at no time allowed to return to it, who could doubt, but that their nation would be deserted by its allies, and that they would shortly see every state in Italy combined under Carthaginian treaties? Nevertheless he was not disposed to think that any confidence should be reposed in Altinius: but he would strike out a middle way of proceeding, and recommend that, at present, he should not be treated either as an enemy or an ally, but should, during the continuance of the war, be kept in custody, at a small distance from the camp, in some city whose fidelity could be relied on; and that, on the event of peace, it should be considered whether his former defection pleaded stronger for punishment, or his present return for pardon." This advice of Fabius was adopted. Altinius was bound in chains, and, together with his attendants, delivered into custody; and a large quantity of gold which he had brought with him was ordered to be kept for his use. He was sent to Cales, where he was allowed to go out by day attended by guards, who confined and watched him by night. When he was missed at his house in Arpi, search was made for him at first, then the report of what had happened spreading through the city, occasioned a tumult among the citizens, as if they had lost their leader; so that, dreading an alteration of their present system, they despatched, instantly, to Hannibal an account of the affair. This was not at all displeasing to the Carthaginian, because he had long harboured suspicions of him, knowing the duplicity of his character; and besides, he had now gained an excuse for seizing and confiscating his great property. However, in order to make people believe that he was actuated rather by anger than rapaciousness, he exhibited a scene of uncommon barbarity; for having ordered his wife and children to be brought into the camp, he made a strict inquiry concerning the flight of Altinius, and likewise concerning the quantities of gold and silver which he had left at home; and, when he had got sufficient in-



formation of every particular, he burned them alive.

XLVI. Fabius set out from Suessula, intending to open the campaign with the siege of Arpi; and having pitched his camp about half a mile from the place, and taken a near view of the situation and fortifications of the town, he resolved to make his principal attack on a quarter where the works were the strongest, and the guard the most negligently kept. After providing every thing requisite for an assault, he selected out of the whole army the ablest centurions, and placed over them tribunes of known bravery, giving them six hundred soldiers, which number was deemed sufficient, with orders, that, on the sounding of the signal of the fourth watch, they should advance with scaling ladders to the chosen spot. The gate on that side was low and narrow, the corresponding street being little frequented, as leading through a deserted part of the town. He ordered them, after first scaling the wall, to proceed to this gate, and break down the bars on the inside; then, as soon as they had got possession of that quarter of the city, to give the signal with a coronet, that the rest of the forces might join them, saying, that he would have every thing in readiness. His orders were executed with vigour and spirit; while a circumstance, which seemed likely to obstruct the undertaking, proved the most favourable for concealing their operations. A heavy rain at midnight obliged the guards and watches in the town to slip away from their posts, and run for shelter into the houses, while the loudness of the storm, which was most violent at the beginning, prevented their hearing the noise made by those who were breaking the postern, and the sound, becoming afterwards more soft and regular, lulled most of the men to sleep. As soon as the assailants had secured possession of the gate, they placed the coronet-players in the street, at equal distances, and ordered them to sound as a summons to the consul; who, finding this part of the plan executed, immediately ordered his troops to march, and, a little before day, entered the city through the broken gate.

XLVII. At length the enemy were roused, the rain too abating with the approach of day. There was in the city a garrison of Hannibal's troops, amounting to five thousand effective men, and the armed people of Arpi themselves were three thousand more. These latter, the

Carthaginians, to guard against any treachery on their rear, opposed in front to the enemy. The fight was maintained for some time in the dark, and in narrow streets, the Romans having seized not only all the passes, but the houses likewise next to the gate, lest they might be struck or wounded by any thing thrown down from them. Some of the Arpians and Romans recognising each other, began to enter into conversation: the latter asking what had been the demerit of their countrymen, or what the merit of the Carthaginians, that could induce Italians to wage war in their favour, —in favour of foreigners and barbarians; in fine, against their ancient allies, and striving to reduce Italy to a state of vassalage, and to make it a tributary province to Africa? The Arpians, in excuse for themselves, declared, that, without knowing any thing of the matter, they had been sold to the Carthaginians by those who had the management of their affairs, and that they were kept in a state of subjection and oppression by a faction of a few. In consequence of this declaration, greater numbers on both sides joined in the conversation. At last the prætor of Arpi was brought by his countrymen to the consul, and mutual assurances being given, in the midst of the standards and troops, the Arpians on a sudden turned their arms against the Carthaginians in favour of the Romans. A body of Spaniards also, nearly a thousand in number, came over to the consul, without stipulating any other condition than that the Carthaginian garrison should be allowed to depart unhurt; which article was punctually fulfilled: the gates were thrown open: they were dismissed in safety, and joined Hannibal at Salapia. Thus was Arpi restored to the Romans, without any other loss than that of the life of one man, long since branded with treason, and lately with desertion. To the Spaniards a double allowance of provisions was ordered; and, on very many occasions afterwards, the government found them brave and faithful soldiers. While one of the consuls was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, a hundred and twelve Campanian horsemen, all men of noble birth, having, under pretence of ravaging the enemy's country, obtained leave from the magistrates to go out of Capua, came to the Roman camp above Suessula, told the advance guard who they were, and that they wished to speak with the prætor. Cneius Fulvius, who commanded there,

on receiving their message, ordered ten of their number, unarmed, to be conducted into his presence; and having heard their demands, which amounted to no more than that, on Capua being recovered, their property might be restored to them, he received them all into protection. At the same time the other prætor, Sempronius Tuditanus, reduced, by force, the town of Aternum, took above seven thousand prisoners, and a considerable quantity of brass and silver coin. At Rome a dreadful fire raged during two nights and one day: every thing between the Salinæ and the Carmental gate was levelled to the ground, as were the Æquimælium and the Jugarian street. The fire, catching the temples of Fortune, of Mother Matuta, and of Hope, on the outside of the gate, and spreading to a vast extent, consumed a great number of buildings, both religious and private.

XLVIII. During this year, the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, by the prosperous course of affairs in Spain, and from their having recovered many old, and acquired many new allies, were encouraged to extend their views to Africa itself. Syphax, at this time king of a part of Numidia, had suddenly commenced a war with the Carthaginians: to him they sent three centurions as ambassadors, to form a treaty of friendship and alliance, and to assure him, that, if he continued to prosecute the war against the Carthaginians, the Roman senate and people would be thankful for the service, and would use their best endeavours to repay the kindness afterwards to his entire satisfaction. This embassy was very acceptable to the barbarian: he entered into conversation with the ambassadors on the art of war; and when he heard the discourses of those experienced veterans, and compared his own practice with such a regular system of discipline, he became sensible of his ignorance in many particulars. Then he requested, as the first instance of that favour, which he might expect from good and faithful allies, that "two of them might carry back to their commanders the result of their embassy, and the other remain with him as his instructor in military knowledge; adding, that the people of Numidia were quite unacquainted with the method of fighting on foot, and were useful only on horseback: that this was the mode practised by their ancestors since their first existence as a nation, and to the same had the present generation been accustomed since their childhood. That he

had to deal with an enemy whose chief confidence lay in the power of their infantry; and that, therefore, if he expected to put himself on an equality with them in point of firm strength, he must procure a body of foot soldiers to oppose theirs. That his dominions abounded with numbers of men fit for the purpose, but that he was totally ignorant of the proper method of arming, training, and marshalling them; and they were in every respect awkward and unmanageable, like a mere mob collected by chance." The ambassadors answered, that they would, at the present, comply with his desire, provided he gave them an assurance that he would send the person back, in case their commanders should disapprove of what they had done. The name of him who remained with the king was Quintus Statorius. With the two centurions, the Numidian sent into Spain ambassadors on his part, to receive the ratification of the convention from the Roman generals; and he charged them, after they should have executed this commission, to persuade the Numidians, who acted as auxiliaries in the Carthaginian garrisons, to come over to the other side. Statorius, finding abundance of young men, raised an army of infantry for the king; and forming them into distinct bodies, according to the Roman method, taught them, in taking their posts and performing their several evolutions, to follow their standards and keep their ranks; and he so inured them to the practice of military works, and other duties of soldiers, that, in a short time, the king placed not more confidence in his cavalry than in his infantry, and even in a pitched battle, on a level plain, he defeated an army of Carthaginians. The arrival of the king's ambassadors was productive of great advantages to the Romans in Spain, for, as soon as it was known, the Numidians began to come over in great numbers from the enemy. In this manner did friendship commence between the Romans and Syphax. Of which transaction, as soon as the Carthaginians got notice, they instantly despatched ambassadors to Gala, who reigned in the other part of Numidia, over the nation called Masylans.

XLIX. Gala had a son named Masinissa, at that time only seventeen years old, but endowed with such talents as, even then, afforded strong presumption that he would leave the kingdom more extensive and opulent than when



he received it. The ambassadors represented, that "since Syphax had united himself with the Romans, for the purpose of being enabled, by their assistance, to exert greater force against the other kings and natives of Africa, it would be the interest of Gala to enter into alliance, as soon as possible, with the Carthaginians, on the other side; that, before Syphax passed over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa, it would be very practicable to overpower the former, who had, as yet, gained no advantage from his connection with Rome, except the name of it." Gala was easily persuaded to take part in the war, especially as his son earnestly solicited the command of the armies; and, in conjunction with the legions of the Carthaginians, he totally defeated Syphax in a great battle, in which, as we are told, thirty thousand men were slain. Syphax fled from the field with a few horsemen, and took refuge among the Maurusian Numidians, who inhabit the remotest coast of the ocean, opposite to Gades. Here the barbarians, attracted by his fame,

flocked to him from all sides, in such numbers, that he was soon at the head of a very great army. In order to prevent his carrying this force into Spain, from which he was separated only by a narrow strait, Masinissa, with his victorious troops, came up with him; and there, by his own strength, without any aid from the Carthaginians, he maintained the war against Syphax with great glory. In Spain nothing memorable was performed, except that the Roman generals brought over to their side the youth of Celtiberia, granting them the same pay which they had stipulated with the Carthaginians, and sending above three hundred Spaniards of the highest distinction into Italy to endeavour to draw off their countrymen, who served as auxiliaries in Hannibal's army. The only incident which occurred in Spain remarkable enough to deserve being recorded, was, that the Celtiberians, in this year, were the first mercenary troops ever entertained in the Roman armies.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXV.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, elected ædile before he had attained the age required by the law. The citadel of Tarentum, in which the Roman garrison had taken refuge, betrayed to Hannibal. Games instituted in honour of Apollo, called Apollinarian. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, defeat Hanno the Carthaginian general. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus betrayed by a Lucanian to Mago, and slain. Centenius Penula, who had been a centurion, asks the senate for the command of an army, promising to engage and vanquish Hannibal; is cut off with eight thousand men. Cneius Fulvius engages Hannibal, and is beaten, with the loss of sixteen thousand men slain; he himself escapes with only two hundred horsemen. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, lay siege to Capua. Syracuse taken by Claudius Marcellus, after a siege of three years. In the tumult occasioned by taking the city, Archimedes is killed, while intently occupied upon some figures which he had drawn in the sand. Publius and Cornelius Scipio, after having performed many eminent services in Spain, are slain, together with nearly the whole of their armies, eight years after their arrival in that country; and the possession of that province would have been entirely lost, but for the valour and activity of Lucius Marcius, a Roman knight, who, collecting the scattered remains of the vanquished armies, utterly defeats the enemy, storming their two camps, killing thirty-seven thousand of them, and taking eighteen hundred, together with an immense booty.

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HANNIBAL passed the summer, during which these events took place in Africa and Spain, in the territory of Tarentum, in continual expectation of having that city betrayed into his hands. Meanwhile some inconsiderable towns of that district, with others belonging to the Sallentines, revolted to him. At the same time, of the twelve Bruttian states which had, a year or two before gone over to the Carthaginians, the Consentians and Thurians put themselves again under the protection of the Roman people, and more of them would have done the same, had not Lucius Pomponius Veientanus, prefect of the allies, who, in consequence of several predatory expeditions in the territory of Bruttium, had acquired an appearance of a regular commander, assembled a tumultuary army, and fought a battle with Hanno. A vast number of his men were killed or taken on the occasion, but they were only an undisciplined rabble of peasants and slaves; and the least part of the loss was the

prefect himself being taken among the rest: for, besides his inconsiderate rashness in bringing on this engagement, having been formerly a farmer of the revenue, he had, by every iniquitous practice, proved faithless and detrimental, both to the state and to the companies concerned in that business. The consul Sempronius had many slight skirmishes in Lucania, none worthy of mention, but reducing several inconsiderable towns. In proportion as the war was protracted to a greater length, and successes and disappointments produced various alterations, not only in the situations, but in the sentiments of men, superstitious observances, and these mostly introduced from abroad, gained such ground among the people in general, that it seemed as if either mankind or the deities had undergone a sudden change. And now the customary rites were disused, not only in private, and within doors, but even in the public streets, the forum, and the capitol. These were frequented by crowds of women sacrificing,



and offering prayers to their gods, in modes hitherto unknown at Rome. A low sort of sacrificers, and soothsayers, had enslaved the people's understandings, and the number of these were increased in consequence of the great influx of the peasantry from the country, who, as their lands lay long untilld by reason of the continuance of the war, and the inroads of the enemy, were driven into the city through want and fear. These found an easy means of profit, in working on the deluded minds of the multitude, which practice they carried on as if it were a lawful occupation. At first, every well-judging person expressed indignation at such proceedings; afterwards, the matter came to be noticed by the senators, and attracted public censure from the government. The *ædiles*, and the judges of criminal causes,<sup>1</sup> were sharply rebuked by the senate, for not having prevented these practices, although, when they had attempted to disperse from the forum the crowd assembled on such an occasion, and to remove the implements of their rites, they were in imminent danger of personal injury. The evil now appearing too powerful to be checked by the efforts of the inferior magistrates, the senate gave a charge to Marcus Atilius, prætor of the city, to free the public from those superstitious nuisances. For this purpose, he read their decree in a general assembly; and, at the same time, gave notice, that "whosoever had any books of divination, and forms of prayer used on such occasions, or the art of sacrificing in writing, should bring all such books and writings to him before the calends of April, and that no person should in any place, either public or consecrated, perform sacrifice in any new or foreign mode."

II. Several of the priests established by law died this year, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, Caius Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a pontiff, Publius Furius Philus, an augur, and Caius Papirius Maso, son of Furius, a decemvir for the direction of religious rites. In the room of Lentulus was substituted, in the college of pontiffs, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus; in that of Papirius, Cneius Servilius Cæpio: Lucius Quintus Flaminius was created augur, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus decemvir for the direction of religious rites. The time of the consular election now drew nigh; but, as

it was not judged expedient to call away the consuls from the war, which they were prosecuting with vigour, Tiberius Sempronius, consul, nominated Caius Claudius Centho dictator, to hold the elections, and he appointed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus his master of the horse. The dictator, on the first day whereon the assembly could meet, elected consuls Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had held the government of Sicily, as prætor. Then were elected prætors, Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. As soon as the elections were finished, the dictator resigned his office. This year, with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was curule *ædile*. The plebeian tribunes opposed the pretensions of the latter to the *ædileship*, and insisted that he ought not to be admitted as a candidate, because he was not of the age required by law,<sup>2</sup> on which he answered, "If it is the will of all the citizens to make me *ædile*, I am old enough;" on this, the people hastened into their respective tribes, to give their votes in his favour, and with such a degree of zeal, that the tribunes at once relinquished their design. The compliments paid to the public by those *ædiles* were these: the Roman games were exhibited with magnificence, considering the circumstances of the times, and repeated during one day; with a donation of a gallon of oil to each street. The plebeian *ædiles*, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus, brought before the people a charge of incontinency against a considerable number of matrons, and several who were convicted were driven into exile. The plebeian games were repeated during two days; and, on occasion of these games, a banquet in honour of Jupiter was celebrated.

III. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus a third time, and Appius Claudius, entered upon the administration of the consulship. [Y. R. 540. B. C. 212.] The provinces were assigned to the prætors by lot; the administration of justice, both to

<sup>2</sup> No person could obtain a curule office until he had served ten campaigns; and, as the military age commenced at seventeen, a man must be at least twenty-seven before he was qualified to sue for the *questorship*. It seems that by this law the requisite ages were settled thus:

For the <i>questorship</i> . . .	31 years.
curule <i>ædileship</i> . . .	37 —
prætorship . . .	40 —
consulship . . .	43 —

<sup>1</sup> These were three. They were elected by the people to judge in criminal causes, superintend the prisons, and the execution of the condemned.

citizens and foreigners, formerly divided between two, now fell to Publius Cornelius Sulla; Apulia was allotted to Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Suesula to Caius Claudius Nero, and Etruria to Marcus Junius Silanus. It was decreed, that the consuls should conduct the war against Hannibal, and that each should receive two legions, one from Quintus Fabius, consul of the former year, the other from Fulvius Centumalus; that of the prætors, Fulvius Flaccus should command those legions which were at Luceria, under the prætor Æmilius, and Claudius Nero those which were in Picenum under Caius Terentius, and that they themselves should raise recruits to fill up the numbers of their respective armies. To Marcus Junius, for the service in Etruria, were given the two city legions of the preceding year. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were continued in command of their provinces, Lucania and Gaul, with the same forces as before; as was Publius Lentulus in the old Roman province in Sicily; Marcus Marcellus in Syracuse, and the late dominions of Hiero; Titus Otacilius in the command of the fleet, Marcus Valerius in that of Greece, Quintus Mucius Scaevola in that of Sardinia, and the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, in that of Spain. In addition to the troops already on foot, two city legions were levied by the consuls, the number of these this year being raised to twenty-three. The behaviour of Marcus Postumius Pyrgensis impeded these levies of the consuls, and went very near exciting a great and general commotion. This man was a farmer of the revenue, and for many years had not, in the whole empire, any equal in fraud and avarice, excepting Lucius Pomponius Veientanus, who was made prisoner by the Carthaginians under Hanno, while he was inconsiderately ravaging the lands of Lucania. As the public were to undergo any loss of the supplies sent for the use of the armies, which should be occasioned by storm, these two had fabricated accounts of pretended shipwreck; and even such as they reported with a degree of truth, had happened through their own fraudulent contrivance, not through accident. Having put a few goods, of little worth, on board of old shattered vessels, they sunk these in the deep, after taking out the sailors into boats prepared for the purpose, and then made a false return of the cargoes, as of much more considerable value than they

really were. A discovery of this fraud had been made the year before to Marcus Atilius the prætor, and by him communicated to the senate; but still no vote of censure had passed on it, because the senators were unwilling to disoblige, at such a time as that, the body of revenue farmers. The assembly of the people, however, proved a more strict avenger of it; and two plebeian tribunes, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, exerting themselves at last, when they saw that such conduct was become generally odious and scandalous, proposed a fine on Marcus Postumius of two hundred thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>1</sup> When the day arrived on which the cause was to be argued, such vast numbers of the commons attended the assembly that the area of the capitol could scarcely contain them; and when the pleadings were finished the only hope which the defendant seemed to have, was, that Caius Servilius Casca, a plebeian tribune, his near relation and intimate friend, should interpose a protest, before the tribes were called on for their opinions. After the witnesses had been examined, the tribunes desired the people to withdraw, and the urn was brought, in order that the tribes should draw lots, and then proceed to determine the matter. Meanwhile the revenue-farmers urged Casca to stop the proceedings for that day, at which the commons loudly declared their displeasure, and Casca happening to sit foremost at a front corner of the rostrum, his mind was highly agitated at once by fear and shame. Finding no support in him, the revenue-farmers, for the purpose of obstructing the business, rushed, in a compact body, into the space which had been cleared by the withdrawing of some, wrangling at the same time with the remaining people and with the tribunes. The dispute now seemed likely to proceed to violence, when the consul Fulvius said to the tribunes, "Do you not see that your authority is annihilated, and that an insurrection will probably be the consequence, unless you quickly dismiss the assembly of the commons?"

IV. The commons were accordingly dismissed; and the consuls, having assembled the senate, required their judgment concerning the interruption given to the assembly of the people, and the audacious violence of the revenue-farmers, representing, at the same time,



that " Marcus Furius Camillus, whose banishment was followed by the downfall of the city, had submitted to a sentence of condemnation, passed on him by his angry countrymen. That, before him, the decemvirs, whose laws were the public rule of conduct to the present day, and, afterwards, many of the most distinguished personages in the state, had yielded themselves to the public judgment. But Postumius, an obscure individual of Pyrgi, had wrested from the Roman people their right of suffrage; had dissolved an assembly of the commons, annihilated the authority of the tribunes, arrayed a band of men, and seized on a post, with design to cut off all communication between the commons and their tribunes, and to prevent the tribes being called to vote. That nothing had restrained the people from riot and bloodshed, but the calmness and moderation of the magistrates, in giving way for the time to the desperate audaciousness of a few, in suffering themselves and the Roman people to be overcome, and rather than an occasion should be given to those, who wished for a riot, dissolving, according to the defendant's desire, the assembly, whose proceedings he intended to hinder by force of arms." Every man of character reprobated such conduct as its heinousness deserved, and a decree of the senate was passed, declaring such violent outrage treason against the state, and of pernicious example; on which the Carvili, plebeian tribunes, desisting from the prosecution of the fine, immediately brought forward a capital accusation against Postumius, and ordered, that unless he gave bail, he should be taken into custody by the beadle, and carried to prison. Postumius, after giving bail, did not appear. The tribunes then proposed to the commons, and the commons passed this order, that "if Marcus Postumius did not appear before the calends of May, and, being summoned on that day, did not answer to the charge, 'or show sufficient cause for his non-appearance, he should be adjudged an exile, his goods should be confiscated, and himself interdicted from fire and water."<sup>1</sup> They then proceeded to prosecute on capital charges,

<sup>1</sup> There was no law which authorized the sentencing a Roman citizen, directly, to banishment: but by the interdiction above-mentioned, the criminal was deprived of every right of a citizen; and, it being declared unlawful to supply him with any necessary, he was compelled to go into exile.

and compelled to give bail, each of those who had fomented the tumult and disorder. At first, they threw into prison such as could not find security, and afterwards, even such as could; to avoid the danger of which treatment, most of those concerned went into exile. Such were the consequences of the fraud of the revenue-farmers, and of their daring attempt to screen themselves from punishment.

V. An assembly was then held for the election of a chief pontiff, at which Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, the new pontiff, presided. Three candidates maintained a very obstinate contest, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, now a third time consul, who had formerly served the office of censor; Titus Manlius Torquatus, distinguished likewise by two consulships and the censorship; and Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also to solicit for the office of curule ædile. The latter, young as he was, gained a complete victory over his competitors in this dispute, notwithstanding their advantages in respect of years, and the honours with which they were decorated. Before him there had not occurred, in the course of a hundred and twenty years, an instance of any person, who had not sat in a curule chair, being created chief pontiff, excepting Publius Cornelius Calussa. Although the consuls found it very difficult to complete the levies of young men for the purposes of filling up vacancies in the old legions and raising new ones for the city, yet the senate forbade them to cease their endeavours, and ordered two sets of triumvirs to be appointed, one of which within, and the other beyond, the distance of fifty miles, should inspect into the number of free-born men in all the market-towns and villages, and enlist such for soldiers as had strength enough to carry arms, though they should not yet have attained the regular age for service; and that "the plebeian tribunes would be pleased to propose to the people the passing of an order, that all persons under the age of seventeen years, who should take the military oath, should be allowed their years of service, in like manner as if they had been of the age of seventeen, or older, when enlisted." In pursuance of this decree of the senate, two sets of triumvirs were appointed, who enlisted free-born youths in every part of the country.

VI. At this time a letter was read in the senate, written from Sicily by Marcus Marcellus, relative to a request of the troops sea-

ing under Publius Lentulus. This army consisted of those who had been in the battle of Cannæ; they had been sent abroad into Sicily, as mentioned before, under a rule, that they should not be brought home to Italy before the conclusion of the Carthaginian war. With the permission of Lentulus, they sent the most respectable among the horsemen and centurions, and a chosen number of the legionary infantry, as deputies to Marcus Marcellus, to his winter-quarters; and, when they were admitted to an audience, one of them addressed him in this manner: "Marcus Marcellus, we would have carried our remonstrances into Italy to you, while you were consul, immediately after the passing of that severe, if we may not call it unjust, decree of the senate concerning us, had we not entertained the hope, that being sent into a province full of disturbance, in consequence of the death of their kings, to maintain a war of difficulty against the united forces of the Sicilians and Carthaginians, we might, by our wounds and blood, have made satisfaction to the anger of the senate, as, in the memory of our fathers, our countrymen, taken by Pyrrhus at Heraclea, made atonement by their exertions in arms against the same Pyrrhus. Yet, conscript fathers, for what demerit on our part did you then conceive, or do you now retain, displeasure against us? Addressing you, Marcus Marcellus, I consider myself as addressing both the consuls and the whole senate; for had you been our consul at Cannæ, both our affairs and those of the public would have been in a happier state. Suffer me, then, I beseech you, before I complain of the hardship of our situation, to clear ourselves of the guilt which is laid to our charge. If the cause of our ruin at Cannæ was not the wrath of the gods, nor the decree of fate, under whose laws the immutable series of human events is carried on in a regular chain, but misconduct in some, to whom, I pray you, is that misconduct to be imputed? To the soldiers, or to the commanders? As a soldier, I shall certainly never say any thing of my commander, especially since I know that thanks have been given him by the senate, for not having despaired of the Commonwealth, and that, since his flight from Cannæ, he has been continued in command through every succeeding year. We have heard, moreover, that others who saved their lives on that melancholy occasion, and who were then our military tribunes, sue

for, and administer offices of honour, and hold the command of provinces: is it, conscript fathers, that you easily grant pardon to yourselves, and to your offspring, while you inexorably pour vengeance on our worthless heads? Was it no disgrace for a consul, and other chiefs of the state, to fly, when no other hope was left; and did you send your soldiers into the field, under a particular obligation to die there? At the Allia, almost the whole army fled; at the Caudine forks, the troops, without even attempting opposition, surrendered to the enemy; not to mention other and shameful defeats. Nevertheless, so far were those armies from having any mark of ignominy contrived for them, that the city of Rome was recovered by means of those very troops who had fled from the Allia to Veii; and the Caudine legions, who had returned without arms to Rome, being sent back armed into Samnium, sent under the yoke that very enemy who had so lately exulted in their disgrace. But can any one make a charge of cowardice, or running away, on the troops who fought in the battle of Cannæ, in which more than fifty thousand men fell; from which the consul made his escape with only seventy horsemen; and from which no one brought away his life, who does not owe it to the enemy's being fatigued with killing? At the time when the proposal of ransoming the prisoners was rejected, people, in general, bestowed praises on us, for having reserved ourselves for the use of the commonwealth, for having gone back to the consul to Venusia, and formed an appearance of a regular army. Now we are in a worse condition than were those taken by an enemy in the time of our fathers: for, in their case, there was only an alteration made in their arms, in their station in the army, and in the place where they were to pitch their tents in camp; all which, however, they reversed, at once, by a strenuous exertion in the service of the public, by one successful battle. None of them were sent into banishment; not one was precluded from the hope of serving out his legal term, and gaining a discharge; in short, they were brought face to face with an enemy, in fighting whom they might at once put an end either to their life or their dishonour. We, to whom nothing can be imputed, except that our conduct was the cause that any one Roman soldier survived the battle of Cannæ, are driven away to a dis-



tance, not only from our native country, and from Italy, but even from an enemy, to a place where we may grow old in exile, shut out from all hope, all opportunity of obliterating our disgrace, or of appeasing the wrath of our countrymen, or, in fine, of dying with honour. However, we seek not either an end of our ignominy, or the rewards of valour; we desire only permission to give a proof of our spirit, and to exercise our courage; we seek labour and danger, that we may discharge the duties of men, and of soldiers. This is now the second year, during which war is maintained in Sicily with great vigour on both sides; the Carthaginians conquer some cities, the Romans others; armies of infantry, and of cavalry, engage in battle; the operations are carried on at Syracuse by land and by sea; we plainly hear the shouts of the combatants, and the din of their arms, while we lie inactive and torpid, as if we had neither hands nor armour. With legions composed of slaves, the consul Tiberius Sempronius fought many pitched battles: they enjoy the fruits of their labour, freedom, and the rights of citizens. Let us be considered at least as slaves, purchased for the purpose of the present war. Let us be allowed to face the enemy, and to acquire freedom in battle. Do you choose to try our courage on sea, or on land; in the field, or in assaulting towns? Our petition is for the most arduous enterprises, the greatest labour, and the utmost danger: that what ought to have happened at Cannæ, may happen as soon as possible, since the whole remainder of our lives, from that day, has been doomed to shame."

VII. At the conclusion of this speech they prostrated themselves at Marcellus's feet. Marcellus told them, that a business of that sort lay not within his authority, or his power; that he would write to the senate, and govern himself, in every particular, by the judgment of that body. His letter on the subject was brought to the new consuls, and read by them in the senate, when the matter being taken into consideration, a decree was passed to this purpose, that "the senate saw no reason why the interests of the commonwealth should be intrusted to men who had deserted their fellow-soldiers in battle at Cannæ. That if Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, was of a different opinion, he should act as he might judge consistent with the public good and his own honour: provided

that none of those persons should be excused from labour, or receive any military present in reward of courage, or be brought home to Italy while the enemy had any footing there." After this, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and an order of the people, an assembly of election was held by the city prætor, in which were created five commissioners for repairing the walls and towers, and two sets of triumphs; one, to search for the effects belonging to the temples, and register the offerings; the other, to repair the temples of Fortune, and mother Matuta, within the Carmental gate, and likewise that of Hope, on the outside of the gate, which had been consumed by fire the year before. There were dreadful storms at this time: on the Alban mount, a shower of stones lasted, without intermission, for two days; many places were struck with lightning; two buildings in the capitol, the rampart of the camp above Suessula, in many places, and two of the men on guard were killed. A wall and some towers at Cumæ were not only struck, but demolished by lightning. At Reate, a huge rock was seen to fly about, and the sun appeared more red than usual, and of a colour like blood. On account of these prodigies there was a supplication for one day, the consuls employing themselves, for several others, in the performance of religious rites; at the same time solemn worship was performed, during nine days. The revolt of the Tarentines, after having been long hoped for by Hannibal, and apprehended by the Romans, happened to be accelerated by a cause which originated at a distance: a Tarentine, named Phileas, had been a long time at Rome under the pretext of political business. Being a man of restless disposition, and conceiving that he was losing his active powers during his stay in that city, he contrived to gain access to the hostages from Tarentum, who were kept in the court of the temple of liberty, and guarded with the less care, because it was not the interest either of themselves or of their state to impose upon the Romans. Having, after frequent conversations, procured their concurrence in his scheme, and bribed two of their keepers, he brought them out of their confinement in the beginning of the night, and fled in company with them. As soon as day arrived, the news of their escape spread through the city, and a party, sent in pursuit of them, seized them all at Tarracina and brought them back. They

were led into the comitium, and with the approbation of the people scourged with rods, and thrown down from the rock.

VIII. The cruelty of this punishment exasperated the inhabitants of the two most considerable Grecian cities in Italy, both as communities, and as individuals connected in relation, or friendship, with the persons thus put to death. A conspiracy was formed in consequence, by about thirteen of the young nobility at Tarentum, at the head of whom were Nico and Philemenus. Judging it necessary, before they took any step, to confer with Hannibal, they went out of the city by night, under pretence of hunting, and repaired to the place where he lay. When they came within a small distance of his camp, the rest concealed themselves in a wood near the road, while Nico and Philemenus, proceeding to the advanced guard, were taken into custody, and, at their own request, conducted into the presence of Hannibal. When they had laid before him the reasons for their undertaking, and what they intended to perform, they received high commendations, and a profusion of promises; and were desired, in order to make their countrymen believe that they came out of the city in search of plunder, to drive home before them some cattle belonging to the Carthaginians, which had been turned into pasture: at the same time, assurance was given them, that they might do it with safety, and without a dispute. Such a booty acquired by the young men was much noticed, and people wondered the less at their frequently repeating the same kind of enterprise. At another meeting with Hannibal, a covenant was solemnly ratified, that the Tarentines should, together with freedom, retain their own laws, and all their rights; that they should neither pay any kind of tribute to the Carthaginians, nor, without their own consent, receive a garrison from them; but that the present garrisons, when overpowered, should be put into the hands of the Carthaginians. After the terms were thus settled, Philemenus continued his practice of going out, and returning into the city, by night, with still greater frequency, attended by dogs and other requisites for hunting, of which he was remarkably fond; then, bringing home something, which he either took himself in the chase, or carried off from the enemy, who laid it purposely in his way, he generally presented it to the commander, or to the watchmen at the gates, who supposed that

he chose to pass particularly by night, through fear of surprise. When this practice had now become so customary, that, at whatever time of night he gave the signal by a whistle, the gate would be opened, Hannibal thought it was time to put their design into execution. He lay at the distance of three days' journey, and, in order that his keeping his camp fixed in one and the same spot, for such a length of time, might create the less wonder, feigned himself sick. Even the Romans in garrison at Tarentum had now ceased to look with suspicion on his remaining so long inactive.

IX. But when he determined to go on to Tarentum, choosing out of the infantry and cavalry ten thousand men, who, in activity of body, and lightness of their armour, seemed best qualified for expedition, he began his march at the fourth watch of the night; having first detached about eighty Numidian horsemen, with orders to scour the country on each side of the road, examining every place carefully, lest any of the people who might observe his approach from a distance should escape: to bring back such as were before them on the way, and to kill all whom they met, in order that the neighbouring inhabitants might have reason to suppose it a plundering party, rather than an army. Hannibal, after marching with rapid speed, pitched his camp at the distance of about fifteen miles from Tarentum: nor did he, even there, discover to the soldiers their destination, only giving it in charge not to suffer any one to turn aside, or quit the line; and, above all, to keep their attention alert to receive orders, and to do nothing without the command of their officers; adding, that in due time he would let them know what he wished to be done. About the same hour, a report had reached Tarentum, that a small number of Numidian horsemen were ravaging the lands, and had spread terror among the inhabitants through a great part of the country: but the Roman commander paid no farther regard to this intelligence, than to order a party of cavalry to go out very early next morning, to stop these depredations; and, so far was he from increasing his vigilance in other respects, that, on the contrary, he considered this inroad of the Numidians as a proof, that Hannibal and his army had not stirred from their camp. Early in the night, the Carthaginian put his troops in motion, and Philemenus, with his usual burthen, taken in hunting, served him as a guide, while the rest of



the conspirators waited for the concerted signals. It had been settled among them, that Philemenus, bringing in his game through the gate where he was accustomed to pass, should introduce some men in arms, while Hannibal should, on another side, approach the gate called Temenis, which, being about the middle of the land side, faced towards the east, and near which, within the walls, stood some tombs, where Nico waited his arrival. On approaching the place, Hannibal, according to agreement, raised up a fire, and made it blaze. The same signal was returned by Nico, and then the fires were extinguished on both sides. Hannibal led on his men in silence to the gate. Nico, falling suddenly on the guards, who were fast asleep, slew them in their beds, and threw the gate open. Hannibal then entered with his infantry, but ordered the cavalry to halt without, in order that if occasion should require, they might have open ground to act in. At the same time, Philemenus, on the other side, drew nigh the postern through which he had usually passed, and his signal, which had now become familiar, with his well known voice, saying that he was hardly able to bear the weight of a huge beast he had killed, soon brought out a watchman, and the gate was opened. While two young men carried in a boar, he himself followed with a huntsman unencumbered, and while the watchman, astonished at the size of the animal, turned incautiously to those who carried it, he ran him through with a hunting spear. About thirty armed men then pushed in, slew the rest of the watchmen, and broke open the next gate, through which a band of soldiers in array immediately burst in. These were conducted thence in silence, to the forum, and there joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian now sent the Tarentines of his party, with two thousand Gauls, formed in three divisions, through the several parts of the city with orders to take possession of the most frequented streets, and, on a tumult arising, to kill the Romans every where, and spare the townsmen. But to render this practicable, he gave direction to the young Tarentines, that whenever they saw any of their countrymen at a distance, they should bid them be quiet and silent, and fear nothing.

X. Now all was tumult and uproar as usual in a city newly taken, but how occasioned, no one knew with certainty. The Tarentines supposed that the Romans had risen in arms to

sack the city; the Romans, that an insurrection, with some treacherous intent, had taken place among the townsmen. The commander being roused at the beginning of the disturbance, fled away to the port, and getting into a boat was carried round to the citadel. The consternation was increased by the sound of a trumpet heard from the theatre: it was a Roman one, procured before hand by the conspirators for this purpose, and being unskilfully blown by a Greek, it was impossible to discover who gave that signal, or to whom it was given. When day appeared, the sight of the Carthaginian and Gallic arms removed all doubt from the minds of the Romans; and, on the other side, the Greeks, seeing these lie slaughtered in every quarter, perceived that the city was taken by Hannibal. When the light became more clear, and the Romans, who survived the carnage, had fled into the citadel, the tumult began gradually to subside, then Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to be called together without their arms. They all attended, some few excepted, who had accompanied the Romans in their retreat into the citadel, resolved to share every fortune with them. Here Hannibal addressed the Tarentines in terms of much kindness; reminded them of his behaviour to their countrymen, whom he had taken at the Thrasimenus or Cannæ, inveighing, at the same time, against the overbearing tyranny of the Romans. He then ordered each to retire to his own house, and to write his name on the door; because, on a signal shortly to be given, he would order every house, not so inscribed, to be plundered; adding, that if any should write his name on the habitation of a citizen of Rome, (for the Romans lived in houses of their own,) he should be treated as an enemy. The assembly was then dismissed, and as soon as the doors were marked with inscriptions, so as to distinguish the houses of friends from those of enemies, the signal was given, and the troops spread themselves through all parts of the town to plunder the quarters of the Romans, in which a considerable booty was found.

XI. On the following day he led on his forces to attack the citadel; but found, that on the side towards the sea, which flows almost round it, forming it into a peninsula, it was defended by very high rocks, and, on the side towards the town, by a wall, and a very large ditch; and that consequently it was impregnable, either in the way of assault, or

by regular approaches. Not choosing either to be detained from more important business, by taking on himself the care of defending the Tarentines, or in case he left them without a strong garrison, to put it in the power of the Romans to attack them from the citadel whenever they pleased, he determined to cut off the communication between the citadel and the city by a rampart. Besides, he entertained some hopes, that the Romans, attempting to hinder this, might be brought to an engagement, and that, should they sally forth with more than ordinary eagerness, great numbers of them might be cut off, and the strength of the garrison, thereby reduced to such a degree, that the Tarentines could alone defend the city against them. As soon as the work was begun, the garrison, suddenly throwing open one of the gates, made an attack on the workmen. The guards there stationed suffered themselves to be beaten off, in order that the others might grow bolder on success, and that great numbers of them might join the pursuit, and advance to a greater distance. This they did : when on a signal given, the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal had kept in readiness for this purpose, rushed forward on all sides. The Romans were unable to withstand their onset ; while the narrowness of the ground, and the difficulties caused by the part of the work already begun, and the implements collected for carrying it on, obstructed their hasty flight, so that most of them tumbled headlong into the ditch, and more lives were thus lost than in the battle. The work was then carried on without any farther obstruction. A ditch of vast dimensions was dug, and on the inner side of that a rampart thrown up. It was resolved likewise to add, at a small distance behind, and in the same direction, a wall, so that even without a garrison the townsmen might be able to secure themselves against any attack of the Romans. Hannibal, however, left a company to serve as such, and at the same time to assist in completing the wall ; and then, marching out with the rest of his forces, he encamped at the river Galesus, about five miles distant from the city. From this post he returned to inspect the work, and finding that it had advanced much more briskly than he had expected, conceived hopes of being able even to make himself master of the citadel, which is not secured, like other fortresses of the kind, by height of situation, but built on level ground, and divided

from the city only by a wall and a trench. The approaches were now pushed forward with every kind of machinery, when a reinforcement, sent from Metapontum, inspired the Romans with courage to assail the works of the enemy, by surprise, in the night. Some of them they levelled, others they destroyed by fire, and this put an end to Hannibal's attacks on the citadel in that quarter. His only prospect of success was now in a blockade, and that not very flattering, because the citadel being seated on a peninsula, commanded the entrance of the harbour, and had the sea open ; while the city was of course debarred from the importation of provisions, and the besiegers were in more danger of want than the besieged. Hannibal, calling together the chiefs of the Tarentines, enumerated all the present difficulties, and added, that " he could neither see any way of storming so strong a fortress, nor place any hope in a blockade, as long as the enemy had the command of the sea. But if he were possessed of ships, by means of which he could prevent the introduction of supplies, the garrison would speedily either abandon the place, or surrender." In this the Tarentines agreed with him ; but they were of opinion, that " he who offered the counsel ought likewise to offer aid to put it in execution : for, if the Carthaginian ships were called over from Sicily, they would be able to effect the purpose ; as to their own, which were shut up in a narrow creek, how could they, while the enemy commanded the harbour's mouth, ever make their way into the open sea ?"—" They shall make their way," said Hannibal : " many things, difficult in their nature, are made easy by good management. Your city lies in a plain ; very wide and level roads stretch out to every side ; by that which runs across the middle of the city, from the harbour to the sea, I will, without much labour, carry over your ships on waggons. The sea, now in possession of the foe, will then be ours ; we will invest the citadel on that side, and on this by land ; or rather, we will shortly take possession of it, for the garrison will either abandon it, or surrender themselves with it." This discourse excited not only hopes of the design being accomplished, but the highest admiration of the general's skill. Immediately waggons were collected from all parts, and fastened together ; machines were applied to haul up the ships, and the road was repaired, in order that the vehicles



might meet the less obstruction in passing. Beasts for drawing, with a number of men, were then procured; the work was commenced with briskness, so that, in a few days, the fleet, equipped and manned, sailed round the citadel, and cast anchor just before the mouth of the harbour. In this state Hannibal left affairs at Tarentum, and returned to his winter quarters. Whether the defection of the Tarentines took place in this, or the preceding year, authors are not agreed: the greater number, and those who lived nearest to the time of these transactions, represent it as having happened as here stated.

XII. At Rome, the Latine festival detained the consuls and prætors until the fifth of the calends of May: on that day, having completed the solemnities on the mount, they set out for their respective provinces. A new perplexity, respecting religious matters, afterwards occurred, arising from the divinations of Marcius. This Marcius had been a celebrated soothsayer, and when, in the preceding year, an inquiry after such books as regarded them was made, according to the decree of the senate, his had come into the hands of Marcus Atilius, the city prætor, who was employed in that business, and he had handed them over to the new prætor Sulla. Of two predictions of this Marcius, one, on account of its verity, for it was actually fulfilled, procured credit to the other, the time of whose completion had not yet arrived. In the former of these, the defeat at Cannæ was foretold, nearly in these words: "Roman of Trojan race, fly the river Cannæ, lest foreigners compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomedæ. But thou wilt not believe me until thou fillest the plain with blood, and the river carry many of thy thousands slain from the fruitful land into the great sea. To fishes, and birds, and beasts of prey inhabiting the earth, to these, thy flesh be food. For so has Jupiter said to me." Those who had served in the army in those parts recollected the plains of the Argive Diomedæ and the river Cannæ, as well as the defeat itself. The other prophecy was then read: it was more obscure; and the expression more perplexed:—"Romans, if you wish to expel the enemy, and the ulcer which has come from afar, I direct, that games be vowed to Apollo, and that they be performed in honour of that deity, every year, with cheerfulness. When the people shall have granted a particular sum out of the public fund, let private persons

contribute, each according to his ability. At the performance of these games, that prætor will preside who shall hold the supreme administration of justice in respect to the people and commons. Let the decemvirs sacrifice victims after the Grecian mode. If you do these things properly you shall ever rejoice, and your state will improve; for Apollo will extirpate your foes who quietly feed on your plains." They took one day to explain this prophecy, and on the following, a decree of the senate was passed, that the decemvirs should examine the books concerning the performance of games and sacrifices to Apollo. When the examination was made, and the result reported to the senate, they voted, that games should be vowed to Apollo, and that when these should be finished, ten thousand asses in weight<sup>1</sup> should be given to the prætor to defray the expences of the public worship, and also two victims of the larger sort." By another decree they ordered, "that the decemvirs should sacrifice according to the Grecian rites, and with the following victims: to Apollo, with a gilded steer; to Diana, with two white gilded goats; and to Latona, with a gilded heifer." The prætor, when about to exhibit the games in the great circus, published a proclamation, that the people should, during those games, pay in their contributions, proportioned to their ability, for the service of Apollo. This was the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were vowed and performed for the attaining of success, and not of health, as is generally supposed. At the exhibition of the games all wore garlands, the matrons made supplications, and people in general feasted in the courts of their houses, with their doors open; and the day was solemnized with every kind of religious ceremony.

XIII. While Hannibal was in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, both the consuls continued in Samnium, showing every appearance of an intention to besiege Capua. The inhabitants of that city began already to feel a calamity, usually attendant on long sieges, a famine, the consequence of their having been hindered by the Roman armies from tilling their lands. They therefore sent deputies to Hannibal, entreating that, before the consuls should march the legions into their country, and all the roads should be occupied by their parties, he would order corn to be conveyed into

Capua from the neighbouring places. On this, Hannibal immediately commanded Hanno to march away with his army from Bruttium into Campania, and to take care that the Capuans should be well supplied with corn. Hanno, on leaving Bruttium, was careful to avoid the camps of the enemy, and the consuls who were in Samnium : and coming near Beneventum, encamped on an elevated spot, three miles from that town. From thence he issued orders that the corn collected in the summer should be brought in from the states of that country, who were of his party, to his camp, and appointed troops to escort the convoys. He then sent an express to the Capuans, fixing a day on which they should attend, to receive the corn, with the carriages of all kinds, and beasts of burthen, which they could collect. This business the Campanians conducted with their usual carelessness and indolence ; little more than forty carriages were sent, and with them a few beasts of burthen : for which they were sharply rebuked by Hanno, who observed, that even hunger, which kindled a spirit in dumb beasts, could not stimulate those people to active diligence ; however, he appointed another day, when they were to come for the corn with more sufficient means of conveyance. The people of Beneventum being informed of every particular of these transactions, instantly despatched ten deputies to the consuls encamped near Bovianum, who, as soon as they heard what was going on at Capua, agreed between themselves, that one of them should lead his army into Campania ; and accordingly, Fulvius, to whose lot that province had fallen, setting out by night, marched into the town of Beneventum. Here, the distance being short, he quickly learned, that Hanno had gone out with a division of his army to forage ; that the business of delivering the corn to the Capuans was managed by a quaestor ; that two thousand carts had arrived, attended by a disorderly unarmed rabble ; that every thing was done with hurry and confusion, and that the regularity of a camp, and military subordination were entirely banished by the intermixture of such a number of peasants. This intelligence being sufficiently authenticated, the consul issued orders that the soldiers should get in readiness, against the next night, their standards and arms, as he intended to attack the Carthaginian camp. Leaving all their knapsacks and baggage at Beneventum, they began their march at the fourth

watch ; and arriving, a little before day, at the camp, struck such terror there, that if it had stood on level ground, they might undoubtedly have taken it at the first assault : it was protected by the height of its situation, and its fortifications, which could not be approached on any side, except by a steep and difficult ascent.

XIV. At the dawn of day a furious battle commenced : the Carthaginians not only maintained their rampart, but, having the advantage of the ground, tumbled down the enemy as they climbed up the steep ; nevertheless, the obstinate courage of the latter overcame all obstacles, and they made their way in several parts at once up to the rampart and trenches, but at the expense of many wounds, and a great loss of men. The consul, therefore, calling together the military tribunes, told them, that "this inconsiderate attempt must be given up, and that he judged it the safer course to carry back the army, immediately, to Beneventum, and then on the day following, to pitch his camp so close to that of the enemy, as to put it out of the power, either of the Campanians to go out, or of Hanno to return into it ; and that, in order to effect this with the greater ease, he should send for his colleague, and the army under his command ; and that they should direct their whole force to that point." This plan of the general was disconcerted, after the retreat began to sound, by the shouts of the soldiers, expressing their scorn of such pusillanimous orders. Close to one of the enemy's gates was a Pelignian cohort, whose commander, Vibius Accueus, snatched the standard, and threw it over the rampart ; uttering imprecations on himself and the cohort, if they left their ensign in the hands of the enemy. He then rushed forwards, across the ditch and rampart, into the camp. The Pelignians now fought within the rampart, when Valerius Flaccus, a military tribune of the third legion, began upbraiding the Romans with dastardly behaviour, in yielding up to the allies the honour of taking the camp. On this, Titus Pedanius, first centurion, and who commanded the first century, snatching the ensign from the standard-bearer, cried out, "This standard, too, and I your centurion, will instantly be within the rampart ; let those follow who wish to save the same from falling into the enemy's hands." Then crossing the ditch, he was followed, first, by the men of his own century.



and, afterwards, by the whole legion. The consul now, seeing them mount the rampart, altered his design, and instead of calling off the troops, exerted himself to incite and animate them; representing the imminent hazard and danger to which that very gallant cohort of their allies, and a legion of their own countrymen, were exposed. On which they one and all, with the utmost ardour, regardless whether the ground was easy or difficult, pushed onwards through every obstacle; and, in spite of the showers of weapons, which fell on every side, and of all the opposition which the enemy with their arms and bodies could give them, forced their way in. Many even of the wounded, and of those whose blood and strength began to fail them, struggled forward, that they might fall in the camp of the enemy. It was entered therefore in as short a space as if it had stood in a plain, and had no fortification to protect it. Both armies being now shut up together within the rampart, the sequel was a carnage, not a fight: upwards of six thousand of the enemy were slain, and above seven thousand taken, together with the Campanians who came for the corn, and all their train of waggon and beasts of burthen. There was also great abundance of other booty, which Hanno and his plunderers had collected out of the lands of the states in alliance with the Roman people. After demolishing the enemy's camp, the army returned to Beneventum, and there the consuls (for Appius Claudius came thither in a few days after), divided and sold the spoil. Those who were chiefly instrumental in this affair, particularly Accæus the Pelignian, and Titus Pedanius first centurion of the third legion, received honorary presents. Hanno, who was then at Caminium, in the territory of Cæres, on being informed of the loss of his camp, returned with the small party of foragers which he had with him, into Bruttium, in a manner more like a flight than a march.

XV. The Campanians, when informed of the disaster which had fallen on them and their allies, despatched deputies to Hannibal, to acquaint him, that "the two consuls were at Beneventum, within one day's march of Capua; so that the war might almost be said to be close to their gates and walls. That unless he afforded them speedy succour, Capua would fall into the enemy's power in a shorter time than Arpi had done. That even Tarentum, taken in its whole extent, not to speak of its citadel,

ought not to be deemed of such consequence, as to induce him to neglect the defence of Capua, (a city which he used to compare to Carthage,) and to throw it into the hands of the Roman people." Hannibal promised to pay due attention to the affairs of the Campanians; and, for the present, sent with their deputies a body of two thousand horsemen, to assist them in protecting their lands from depredations. Meanwhile, the Romans, among the variety of their other concerns, were not disregarding of the citadel of Tarentum, and the garrison besieged in it. By direction of the senate, Caius Servilius, lieutenant-general, was sent by Publius Cornelius, prætor, into Etruria, to purchase corn; with which having loaded several vessels, he passed through the guard ships of the enemy, and arrived in the port of Tarentum. His coming produced such a change in their disposition, that they who, a little before, when their hopes of relief were small, had frequently, in conferences, been solicited by the Carthaginian to desert the Roman cause, began now to solicit him to come over to them. The garrison was abundantly strong, for the troops stationed at Metapontum had been brought hither for the defence of the citadel. The Metapontines being hereby freed from the restraint under which they had been held, instantly revolted to Hannibal; as did the Thurians, on the same coast, induced, not only by the example of the Tarentines and Metapontines, with whom they were connected by consanguinity, being originally descended from natives of the same country of Achaia, but principally by resentment against the Romans, for the late execution of the hostages. The friends and relations of these sent letters and messages to Hanno and Mago, who were at no great distance in Bruttium, that if they brought their army near the walls, they would deliver the city into their hands. There was a small garrison at Thurium commanded by Marcus Atinius, and they supposed that he might be easily tempted to engage rashly in a battle; not from any confidence in his own troops, (for they were very few,) but from relying on the support of the young men of the place, whom he had purposely formed into companies and armed, that he might have them ready to aid him in exigencies of the kind. The Carthaginian commanders, dividing their forces, entered the territory of Thurium; and then Hanno, at the head of the infantry, in hostile array,

advanced towards the city; while Mago, with the cavalry, halted under the cover of some hills, which stood conveniently for concealing the stratagem. Atinius learning nothing from his scouts but the march of the infantry, and ignorant both of the treachery within the city, and of the enemy's ambush, led out his forces to battle. The infantry engaged without any degree of vigour, the only exertions being made by the few Romans in front, the Thurians rather waiting for the issue, than taking any part in the action, while the Carthaginian line retreated on purpose to draw the incautious enemy to the back of the hill, where their horse was posted. No sooner did they arrive here, than the cavalry, rushing on with loud shouts, instantly put to flight the crowd of Thurians, who were almost ignorant of discipline, and not very faithfully attached to the party on whose side they appeared. The Romans, notwithstanding their being surrounded, and hard pressed, by the infantry on one side, and the cavalry on the other, maintained the fight for a considerable time: at last, they also turned their backs, and fled towards the city. Here the conspirators were collected together in a body, and received with open gates the multitude of their countrymen; but when they saw the routed Romans making towards them, they cried out, that the Carthaginians were close at hand, and if the gates were not speedily closed, the enemy, and all together, would pour in. In this manner they shut out the Romans, and left them to perish by the sword. Atinius, however, with a few others, gained admittance. A dispute now arose, and lasted for some time, one party maintained that they ought to defend the city, another, that they ought to yield to fortune, and surrender it to the conquerors. But, as is too often the case, bad counsels prevailed. They conveyed Atinius, with a few attendants, to the ships near the shore, which they did out of personal regard to himself, and on account of the justice and mildness of his conduct in command, rather than out of goodwill to the Romans, and then opened their gates to the Carthaginians. The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the territory of Campania, with the intention not only of destroying the corn, which was now in the blade, but of laying siege to Capua; hoping to signalize their consulate by the destruction of so opulent a city, and, at the same time, to free their government from the great shame of

suffering a revolt so near home to pass unpunished during the space of three years. But, that Beneventum should not be without a garrison, and that, in case of sudden emergencies, if Hannibal should come to Capua to succour his allies, as they had no doubt but he would, there might be a body of cavalry to oppose him, they ordered Tiberius Gracchus to come from Lucania to Beneventum, with his horse and light infantry, and to appoint some officer to command the legions in camp, in order to preserve peace in Lucania.

XVI. While Gracchus was performing sacrifices, preparatory to his departure from Lucania, a prodigy of disastrous import occurred: when a victim was killed, two snakes, creeping up from some hiding-place to the entrails, eat the liver, and, after being seen by all present, suddenly vanished. It is even said, that when, by advice of the aruspices, the same sacrifice was repeated, and the pots containing the entrails were more carefully watched, the snakes came a second, and a third time, and after eating the liver, went away unhurt. Though the diviners gave warning, that this portent concerned the general, and that he ought to be on his guard against secret enemies, and plots, yet his impending fate could not be averted by any effort of prudence. There was a Lucanian, called Flavius, the head of that division of his countrymen who adhered to the Romans when the other went over to Hannibal; and he was, in that year, in the chief magistracy, having been elected prætor by his party. This man changing his mind on a sudden, and seeking some means of ingratiating himself with the Carthaginian, did not think it enough to draw his countrymen into a revolt, unless he ratified the league between him and the enemy with the head and blood of his commander, to whom he was also bound by ties of hospitality, and whom, notwithstanding, he determined to betray. He held a private conference with Mago, who commanded in Bruttium, and having received from him a solemn promise, that if he would deliver the Roman general into the hands of the Carthaginians, the Lucanians should be received into friendship, and retain their own laws and their liberty, he conducted the Carthaginian to a spot, whither, he said, he would bring Gracchus with a few attendants. He then desired Mago to arm both horsemen and footmen, and to take possession of that retired place, where a very large number might be con-



cealed. After thoroughly examining the same on all sides, they appointed a day for the execution of the plan. Flavius then went to the Roman general, and told him, that "he had made some progress in an affair of great consequence, to the completion of which the assistance of Gracchus himself was necessary. That he had persuaded all the prætors of those states in Lucania, who, during the general defection in Italy, had revolted to the Carthaginians, to return into friendship with the Romans, alleging that the power of Rome, which, by the defeat at Cannæ, had been brought to the brink of ruin, was every day improving and increasing, while Hannibal's strength was declining, and had sunk almost to nothing. That, with regard to their former transgression, the Romans would not be implacable; for never was there a nation more easily appeased, and more ready to grant pardon; and asking, how often had their own ancestors received pardon of rebellion? These things," he said, "he had represented to them; but that it would be more pleasing to them to hear the same from Gracchus himself: to be admitted into his presence, and to touch his right hand, that they might carry with them that pledge of faith. He had fixed a place," he said, "for the parties to meet remote from observation, and at a small distance from the Roman camp; there the business might be finished in a few words, and the alliance and obedience of the whole nation of Lucania secured to the Romans." Gracchus, not perceiving, either in this discourse, or in the proposition itself, any reason to suspect perfidy, and being imposed on by the plausibility of the tale, left the camp with his licitors and one troop of horse, and, following the guidance of his guest, fell precipitately into the snare. The enemy at once rose from their ambush, and, what removed all doubt of treachery, Flavius joined himself to them. Weapons were now poured from all sides on Gracchus and his horsemen. He immediately leaped down from his horse, ordered the rest to do the same, and exhorted them, "as fortune had left them but one part to act, to dignify that part by their bravery. To a handful of men, surrounded by a multitude in a valley hemmed in by woods and mountains, what else was left than to die? The only alternative they had was, either tamely waiting their blows, to be massacred, like cattle, without the pleasure of revenge or with minds totally abstract-

ed from the thoughts of pain or of what the issue might be, and actuated solely by resentment and rage, to exert every vigorous and daring effort, and to fall covered with the blood of their expiring foes." He desired that "all should aim at the Lucanian traitor and deserter;" adding, that "whoever should send that victim before him to the infernal regions, would acquire distinguished glory, and the greatest consolation for his own loss of life." While he spoke thus, he wrapped his robe about his left arm, (for they had not even brought bucklers with them,) and then rushed on the murderers. The fight was maintained with greater vigour than could have been expected, considering the smallness of the number. The Romans, whose bodies were uncovered and exposed, on all sides, to weapons thrown from the higher grounds into a deep valley, were mostly pierced through with javelins. Gracchus, being now left without support, the Carthaginians endeavoured to take him alive; but, observing his Lucanian guest among them, he rushed with such fury into the thickest of the band, that they could not seize him without the loss of many lives. Mago immediately sent his body to Hannibal, desiring that it should be laid, with the fasces taken at the same time, before the general's tribunal. This is the true account of the matter: Gracchus was cut off in Lucania, near the place called the Old Plains.

XVII. Some lay the scene of this disaster in the territory of Beneventum, at the river Calor, where, they say, he went from the camp to bathe, attended by his licitors and three servants; that he was slain by a party of the enemy, who happened to be lurking in the ozers which grew on the bank, while he was naked and unarmed, attempting, however, to defend himself with the stones brought down by the river. Others write, that, by direction of the aruspices, he went out half a mile from the camp, that he might expiate the prodigies before-mentioned in a place free from defilement, and that he was surrounded by two troops of Numidians, who were lying in wait there. So far are writers from agreeing with regard either to the place or the manner of the death of a man so renowned and illustrious. There are also various accounts of his funeral: some say that he was buried by his own men in the Roman camp; others, whose account is more generally received, that a funeral pile was

erected for him by Hannibal, at the entrance of the Carthaginian camp, and that the troops under arms marched in procession round it, with the dances of the Spaniards, and the several motions of their arms and bodies peculiar to each nation; while Hannibal himself joined in solemnizing his obsequies with every mark of respect, both in the terms in which he spoke of him, and in the manner of performing the rites. Such is the relation of those who state the affair as having happened in Lucania. If those are to be believed who affirm that he was killed at the river Calor, the enemy kept possession of Gracchus's head only, which being brought to Hannibal, he immediately sent Carthalo to convey it into the Roman camp to Cneius Cornelius, the quæstor; solemnizing the funeral of the general in his camp, in the performance of which the Beneventans joined with the soldiers.

XVIII. The consuls, having entered the Campanian territories, spread devastation on all sides, but were soon alarmed by the townsmen, in conjunction with Mago and his cavalry, marching hastily out against them. They called in the troops to their standards, from the several parts where they were dispersed; but, before they had completed the forming of their line of battle, they were put to the rout, and lost above fifteen hundred men. On this success, that people, naturally disposed to arrogance, assumed the highest degree of confidence, and endeavoured to provoke the Romans by frequent skirmishes: but the battle, into which they had been incautiously drawn, had rendered the consuls more circumspect. However, the spirit of their party was revived, and the boldness of the other diminished, by an occurrence, in itself, of a trivial nature, but that, in war, scarcely any incident is so insignificant, that it may not, on some occasion, give cause to an event of much importance. A Campanian, called Badius, had been a guest of Titus Quintius Crispinus, and lived on terms of the closest friendship and hospitality with him, and their intimacy had increased in consequence of Crispinus having, in his own house at Rome, given very kind and affectionate attendance to Badius in a fit of sickness which he had there before the defection of Campania. This Badius, now, advancing in front of the guards posted before one of the gates, desired that Crispinus might be called: on being told of it, Crispinus, retaining a sense of private duties

even after the dissolution of the public treaties, imagined that his old acquaintance wished for an amicable interview, and went out to some distance. As soon as they came within sight of each other, Badius cried out, "Crispinus, I challenge you to combat: let us mount our horses, and, making the rest keep back, determine which of us is superior in arms." To which Crispinus answered, that "they were neither of them at a loss for enemies, on whom they might display their valour; that, for his part, should he even meet him in the field of battle, he would turn aside, to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of a guest;" he then attempted to go away. Whereupon, the Campanian, with greater passion, upbraided him as a coward; casting on him undeserved reproaches, which might with greater propriety have been applied to himself, at the same time charging him as being an enemy to the laws of hospitality, and as pretending to be moved by concern for a person to whom he knew himself unequal; he said, that "if not sufficiently convinced, that, by the rupture of the public treaties, private obligations were at the same time dissolved, Badius the Campanian, now, in presence of all, in the hearing of the two armies, renounced all connections of hospitality with Titus Quintius Crispinus, the Roman. He was under no bond of society with him; an enemy had no claim of alliance on an enemy, whose country, and whose tutelary deities, both public and private, he had come to invade: if he were a man, he would meet him." Crispinus hesitated long; but at last, the men of his troop persuaded him not to suffer the Campanian to insult him with impunity. Wherefore, waiting only to ask leave of the generals to fight, out of rule, with one who gave him a challenge, with their permission he took arms, mounted his horse, and calling Badius by name, summoned him to the combat. The Campanian made no delay, and they encountered in full career: Crispinus passing his spear over Badius's buckler, ran it through his left shoulder, and, on his falling in consequence of the wound, dismounted in order to despatch him as he lay, but Badius, to avoid impending death, left his horse and his buckler, and ran off to his own party. Crispinus seized the horse and arms, and with these glorious badges of victory, and with his bloody weapon held up to view, was conducted by the soldiers, amidst praises and congratulations, to the consuls, from whom he



received ample commendations and honourable presents.

XIX. Hannibal marched from the territory of Beneventum to Capua, and, on the third day after his arrival there, drew out his forces to face the enemy, confident that after the Campanians had a few days before, without his assistance, fought them with success, the Romans would be much less able to withstand him and his army, which had so often defeated them. When the battle began, the Roman army was in danger of being worsted, in consequence, principally, of a charge made by the enemy's cavalry, who overwhelmed them with darts, until the signal was given to their own cavalry to charge; and now the contest lay between the horse, when Sempronius's army, commanded by the quaestor Cneius Cornelius, being descried at a distance, gave an equal alarm, each party fearing that it was a reinforcement coming to his antagonist. The signal of retreat was therefore given on both sides, as if by concert; and quitting the field on almost equal terms, they retired to their several camps: the Romans, however, had lost the greater number of men by the first onset of the horse. Next night the consuls, in order to draw Hannibal from Capua, marched away by different routes, Fulvius to the territory of Cumæ, Appius Claudius into Lucania. On the day following, when Hannibal was informed that the Romans had forsaken their camp, and gone off in two divisions, by different roads, he hesitated at first, considering which of them he should pursue; and at length determined to follow Appius, who, after leading him about through whatever track he chose, returned by another road to Capua. Hannibal met, in that part of the country, an unlooked for opportunity of striking an important blow: there was one Marcus Centenius, surnamed Penula, distinguished among the centurions of the first rank both by the size of his body, and by his courage: this man, who had served his time in the army, being introduced to the senate by the prætor, Publius Cornelius Sulla, requested of the senators to grant him the command of five thousand men, assuring them, that "being thoroughly acquainted both with the enemy and the country, he would speedily perform something that should give them satisfaction; and that the same wiles, by which hitherto the Roman commanders used to be entrapped, he would practise against the inventor of them." The folly of this proposal

was equalled by the folly with which it was assented to; as if the qualifications of a centurion and a general were the same. Instead of five, eight thousand men were granted him, half citizens and half allies; besides these, he collected in his march through the country a considerable number of volunteers; and, having almost doubled the number of his army, he arrived in Lucania, where Hannibal, after a vain pursuit of Appius, had halted. There was no room for doubt about the result of a contest between such a captain as Hannibal, and a subaltern; in short, between armies, of which one was become veteran in a course of conquest, the other entirely new raised, for the most part undisciplined and but half armed. As soon as the parties came within view of each other, neither declining an engagement, the lines were instantly formed. Notwithstanding the disparity of the forces, the battle was maintained in a manner unprecedented under such circumstances, the Roman soldiers, for more than two hours, making the most strenuous efforts, as long as their commanders stood: but he, anxious to support his former reputation, and dreading moreover the disgrace which would afterwards fall on him if he survived a defeat occasioned by his own temerity, exposed himself rashly to the weapons of the enemy, and was slain; on which the Roman line immediately fell into confusion, and gave way. But even flight was now out of their power, for so effectually had the enemy's cavalry shut up every pass, that out of so great a multitude, scarcely a thousand made their escape; the rest, meeting destruction on every side, were all cut off in various ways.

XX. The consuls resumed the siege of Capua with the utmost vigour, and took measures for procuring and collecting every thing requisite for carrying it on. A magazine of corn was formed at Casilinum; a strong post was fortified at the mouth of the Volturnus, where now stands a city; and a garrison was put into Puteoli, formerly fortified by Fabius Maximus, in order to secure the command both of the river, and of the sea adjoining. The corn lately sent from Sardinia, and that which the prætor Marcus Junius, had bought up in Etruria, was conveyed from Ostia into these two maritime fortresses, to supply the army during the winter. Meanwhile, in addition to the misfortune sustained in Lucania, the army of volunteer slaves, who, during the life of Gracchus, had

performed their duty with the strictest fidelity, supposing themselves at liberty by the death of their commander, forsook their standards, and disbanded. Hannibal, though not inclined to neglect Capua, or to abandon his allies at such a dangerous crisis, yet, having reaped such signal advantage from the inconsiderate conduct of one Roman commander, was induced to turn his attention to an opportunity which offered of crushing another. Some deputies from Apulia informed him, that Cneius Fulvius, the prætor, had at first, while engaged in the sieges of several cities of that country, which had revolted to Hannibal, acted with care and circumspection; but that afterwards, in consequence of an overflow of success, both himself and his men being glutted with booty, had so entirely given themselves up to licentiousness, that they neglected all military discipline. Wherefore, having on many other occasions, and particularly a few days before, learned from experience how little formidable an army was when under an unskilful commander, he marched away into Apulia.

XXI. Fulvius and the Roman legions lay near Herdonia, where intelligence no sooner arrived that the enemy was approaching, than the troops were very near snatching up their standards, and marching out to battle without the prætor's orders; and the suffering themselves to be restrained was owing to the opinion entertained by them, that they might act as they chose. During the following night, Hannibal, who had learned the disorder in their camp, and that most of them, calling the whole to arms, had presumptuously insisted on their commander's giving the signal, concluded with certainty, that he should now have an opportunity of fighting with advantage. He posted in the houses all around, and in the woods and thickets, three thousand light-armed soldiers, who, on notice given, were suddenly to quit their concealments; at the same time ordering Mago, with about two thousand horsemen, to secure all the passes on that side, to which he supposed the enemy would direct their flight. Having made these preparatory dispositions during the night, at the first dawn of day he led out his forces to the field: nor did Fulvius decline the challenge, though not so much led by any hope conceived by himself, as forcibly drawn by the blind impetuosity of his men. The line was therefore formed with the same inconsiderate hurry with which they came out

of the camp, just as the humour of the soldiers directed; for each, as he happened to come up, took whatever post he liked, and afterwards, either as whim or fear directed, forsook that post. The first legion, and the left wing, were drawn up in front, extending the line in length; and, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of the tribunes, that it was not deep enough to have any strength or firmness, and that the enemy would break through wherever they attacked, so far were they from paying attention, that they would not even listen to any wholesome advice. Hannibal now came up, a commander of a very different character, and with an army neither of a like kind, nor marshalled in like manner. The Romans consequently withstood not their first attack. Their commander, in folly and rashness equal to Centenius, but far his inferior in spirit, as soon as he saw the matter going against him, and his men in confusion, hastily mounted his horse, and fled with about two hundred horsemen. The rest of the troops, vanquished in front, and surrounded on the flanks and rear, were put to the sword, in such a manner, that out of eighteen thousand men, not more than two thousand escaped. The camp fell into the enemy's hands.

XXII. The news of these defeats, happening so quickly after one another, being brought to Rome, filled the minds of the public with much grief and consternation. However, as the consuls were hitherto successful in their operations in the quarter where the principal stress of the war lay, the alarm occasioned by these misfortunes was the less. The senate despatched Caius Lætorius and Marcus Metilius deputies to the consuls, with directions, that they should carefully collect the remains of the two armies, and use their endeavours to prevent them from surrendering to the enemy, through fear and despair, as had been the case after the defeat at Cannæ; and that they should make search for the deserters from the army of the volunteer slaves. The same charge was given to Publius Cornelius, who was also employed to raise recruits; and he caused proclamation to be made at all the fairs and markets, that the slaves in question should be searched for, and brought back to their standards. All this was executed with the strictest care. Appius Claudius, the consul, after fixing Decius Junius in the command at the mouth of the Vulturnus, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at



Puteoli, with orders that when any ships should arrive from Etruria and Sardinia, to send off the corn directly to the camp, went back himself to Capua, where he found his colleague Quintus Fulvius busy in bringing in supplies of all kinds from Casilinum, and making every preparation for prosecuting the siege of Capua. They then joined in forming the siege, and also sent for Claudius Nero, the prætor, from the Claudian camp at Suessula; who, leaving behind a small garrison to keep possession of the post, marched down with all the rest of his forces to Capua. Thus there were three prætorian pavilions erected round that city, and the three armies, commencing their operations in different quarters, proceeded to inclose it with a rampart and trench, erecting forts at moderate distances; so that when the Campanians attempted to obstruct their works, they fought them, in several places at once, with such success, that, at last, the besieged confined themselves within their walls and gates. However, before these works were carried quite round, the towsmen sent deputies to Hannibal, to complain of his abandoning Capua, and delivering it, in a manner, into the hands of the Romans; and to beseech him, now at least, when they were not only invested, but even pent up, to bring them relief. The consuls received a letter from Publius Cornelius the prætor, that "before they completed the circumvallation of Capua, they should give leave to such of the Campanians as chose it, to retire from the town and carry away their effects with them. That as many as withdrew before the Ides of March should enjoy their liberty and their property entire: but that both those who withdrew after that day, and those who remained in the place, should be treated as enemies." This notice was accordingly given to the Campanians, who received it with such scorn, that they answered with reproaches, and even menaces. Hannibal had led his legions from Herdonia to Tarentum, in hopes that, either by force or stratagem, he might gain possession of the citadel of that town; but, being disappointed therein, he turned his route toward Brundisium, which he expected would be betrayed to him. While he was wasting time here, also to no purpose, the deputies from Capua came to him, bringing at the same time their complaints, and intreaties for succour. To these Hannibal answered in an arrogant style, that he had before raised the siege

of their town; and that the consuls would not now wait his coming. With this encouragement the deputies were dismissed, and with difficulty made their way back into the city, which was by this time surrounded with a double trench and a rampart.

XXIII. At the very time when the circumvallation of Capua was going on, the siege of Syracuse came to a conclusion, having been forwarded not only by the vigour and spirit of the besieging general and his army, but also by treachery within. For in the beginning of the spring, Marcellus had deliberated some time, whether he should turn his arms against Himilco and Hippocrates, who were at Agrigentum, or stay and press forward the siege of Syracuse, though he saw that the city could neither be reduced by force, as being from its situation impregnable by land or sea, nor by famine, as supplies from Carthage had almost open access. Nevertheless, that he might leave no expedient untried, he had enjoined some deserters from Syracuse,—many of whom of the highest rank were then in the Roman camp, having been banished when the defection from the Romans took place, on account of their disapprobation of the design of changing sides,—to confer with persons of their own way of thinking, to sound the temper of the people, and to give them solemn assurances, that if the city were delivered into his hands, they should live free under their own laws. There was no opportunity of conversing on the subject, because the great number of persons suspected of disaffection had made every one attentive and vigilant to prevent any such attempt passing unobserved. A single slave belonging to some of the exiles, was sent as a deserter into the city, and he, communicating the business to a few, opened a way for negotiation of the kind. After this, some few getting into a fishing boat, and concealing themselves under the nets, were carried round in this manner to the Roman camp, where they held conferences with the deserters; and the same was done frequently, in the same manner, by several other parties: at last, the number amounted to eighty, and their plot was now ripe for execution, when a person called Attalus, offended that some part of the business had been concealed from him, discovered their design to Epicydes, and they were all put to death with torture. This project, thus rendered abortive, was soon succeeded by another: one Damippus, a Lacedæmonian,

being sent from Syracuse to king Philip, had been taken prisoner by the Roman fleet; Epicydes earnestly wished to ransom him in particular, and from this Marcellus was not averse; for the Romans, even at that time, were desirous of procuring the friendship of the Ætolians, with which nation the Lacedæmonians were in alliance. Some persons were accordingly deputed to treat for his release, and the place judged the most central and convenient to both parties was at the Trogilian port, adjoining the tower called Galeagra. As they came several times to this spot, one of the Romans, having a near view of the wall, by reckoning the stones, and estimating, as far as he was able, the measure of each in the face of the work, conjectured nearly as to its height, and finding it considerably lower than he or any of the rest had hitherto supposed, so that it might be scaled with ladders of even a moderate length, he represented the matter to Marcellus. The information was deemed not unworthy of attention, but as that spot could not be openly approached, being, for the very reason mentioned, guarded with particular care, it was determined to watch for a favourable opportunity: this was soon found, through the means of a deserter, who brought intelligence that the besieged were celebrating the festival of Diana, which was to last three days; and as, in consequence of the siege, most kinds of provisions were scarce, they indulged themselves in greater quantities of wine, which Epicydes supplied to the whole body of the plebeians, and which was distributed among the tribes by the people of distinction. Marcellus, on hearing this, communicated his design to a few military tribunes; and having, by their means, selected centurions and soldiers properly qualified for an enterprise at once important and daring, he privately procured scaling ladders, and ordered directions to be conveyed to the rest of the troops, that they should take their suppers early, and go to rest, because they were to be employed on an expedition in the night. Then, at the hour when he judged that the people, who had begun to feast early in the day, would be surfeited with wine, and begin to sleep, he ordered the men of one company to proceed with their ladders, while about a thousand men in arms were with silence conducted in a slender column to the spot. The foremost having, without noise or tumult, mounted the wall, the rest followed in order,

the boldness of the former giving courage even to the timorous.

XXIV. This body of a thousand men had now gained possession of a part of the city, when the rest, bringing up greater numbers of ladders, scaled the wall; the first party having given them a signal from the Hexapylos, to which they had penetrated without meeting a single person in the streets: for the greater part of the townsmen, having feasted together in the towers, were now either overpowered by wine, and sunk in sleep, or, being half inebriated, still continued their debauch. A few of them, however, who were surprised in their beds, were put to death. Vigorous efforts were then made to force open a postern gate near the Hexapylos, and, at the same time, the signal agreed on was returned from the wall by a trumpet. And now the attack was carried on in all quarters, not secretly, but with open force; for they had reached the Epipolæ, where there were great numbers of the guards stationed, and it became requisite not to elude the notice of the enemy, but to terrify them; and terrified they were: for, as soon as the sound of the trumpet was heard, and the shouts of the troops who had mastered part of the city, the guards thought that the whole was taken, and some of them fled along the wall, others leaped down from the ramparts, and crowds, flying in dismay, were tumbled headlong. A great part of the townsmen, however, were still ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen them, being all of them overpowered with wine and sleep; and in a city of such vast extent, what happened in any one quarter, could not be very readily known in all the rest. A little before day, a gate of the Hexapylos being forced, Marcellus, with all his troops, entered the city. This roused the townsmen, who betook themselves to arms, endeavouring, if possible, to preserve the place. Epicydes hastily led out some troops from the island called Nasos, not doubting but he should be able to drive out what he conjectured to be a small party, and which he supposed had found entrance through the negligence of the guards, telling the affrighted fugitives whom he met, that they were adding to the tumult, and that they represented matters greater and more terrible than they were. But when he saw every place round the Epipolæ filled with armed men, he waited only to discharge a few missive weapons, and



marched back into the Achradina dreading not so much the number and strength of the enemy, as that some treachery might, on such an opportunity, take place within, and that he might find the gates of the Achradina and the island shut against him. When Marcellus entered the gate, and had from the high grounds a full view of the city, the most beautiful perhaps of any in those times, he is said to have shed tears, partly out of joy at having accomplished an enterprise of such importance, and partly from the sensations excited by reflecting on the high degree of renown which the place had enjoyed through a long series of years. Memory represented to him the Athenian fleet sunk there; two vast armies cut off with two generals of the highest reputation; the many wars maintained against the Carthaginians with such equality of success; the great number of powerful tyrants and kings, especially Hiero, whom all remembered very lately reigning, and who, besides all the distinctions which his own merit and good fortune conferred on him, was highly remarkable for his zealous friendship to the Roman people: when all these reflections occurred to his mind, and were followed by the consideration, that every object then under his view would quickly be in flames, and reduced to ashes,—thus reflecting, before he advanced to attack the Achradina, he sent forward some Syracusans, who, as has been mentioned, were within the Roman quarters, to try if they could, by mild persuasions, prevail on the Syracusans to surrender the town.

XXV. The fortifications of the Achradina were occupied by deserters, who could have no hope of a pardon in case of a capitulation: these, therefore, would not suffer the others to come nigh the walls, nor to hold conversation with any one. Marcellus, finding that no opportunity could offer of effecting any thing by persuasion, ordered his troops to move back to the Euryalus. This is an eminence at the verge of the city, on the side most remote from the sea, commanding the road which leads into the country and the interior parts of the island, and therefore very commodiously situate for securing admittance to convoys of provisions. The commander of this fortress was Philodemus, an Argive, stationed here by Epicydes. To him Sosis, one of the ragicides, was sent by Marcellus with certain propositions; who, after a long conversation,

being put off with evasions, brought back an account that the Argive required time for deliberation. He deferred giving any positive answer from day to day, in expectation that Hippocrates and Himilco, with their legions, would come up; and he doubted not that if he could once receive them into the fortress, the Roman army, hemmed in as it was within walls, might be effectually cut off. Marcellus, therefore, seeing no probability of the Euryalus being either surrendered or taken, encamped between Neapolis and Tycha, parts of the city so named, and in themselves equal to cities; for he feared, lest, if he went into the more populous parts, the greedy soldiers might not, by any means, be restrained from pillaging. Hither came deputies from the Neapolis and the Tycha, with fillets and other badges of supplicants, praying him to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and to refrain from burning their houses. On the subject of these petitions, offered in the form of prayers rather than of demands, Marcellus held a council; and, according to the unanimous determination of all present, published orders to the soldiers, to “offer no violence to any person of free condition, but that they might seize every thing else as spoil.” The walls of the houses surrounding his camp served it as a fortification, and, at the gates facing the wide streets, he posted guards and detachments of troops, to prevent any attack on it while the soldiers should be in search of plunder. On a signal given, the men dispersed themselves for that purpose; and, though they broke open doors, and filled every place with terror and tumult, yet they refrained from bloodshed, but put no stop to their ravages, until they had removed all the valuable effects which had been amassed there in a long course of prosperous fortune. Meanwhile Philodemus, seeing no prospect of relief, and receiving assurances that he might return to Epicydes in safety, withdrew the garrison, and delivered up the fortress to the Romans. While the attention of all was turned to the commotion in that part of the city which was taken, Bomilcar, taking advantage of a stormy night, when the violence of the weather would not allow the Roman fleet to ride at anchor in the deep, slipped out of the harbour of Syracuse with thirty-five ships, and finding the sea open, sailed forth into the main, leaving fifty-five ships to Epicydes and the Syracusans. After informing the Carthaginians of the perilous state of affairs in Syracuse, he

returned thither, in a few days with a hundred ships, when he received, as is said, many valuable presents from Epicydes out of the treasure of Hiero.

XXVI. Marcellus, by gaining possession of the Euryalus, and putting a garrison into it, was freed from one cause of anxiety; for he had apprehended that a body of the enemy's forces might get into that fortress on his rear, and thence annoy his troops, pent up, as they were, and entangled among walls. He then invested the Achradina, forming three camps in proper situations, in hopes, by a close blockade, of reducing it by a want of necessaries. The outguards, on both sides, had been quiet for several days, when Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly arrived; and the consequence was an attack on the Romans in different quarters at once. For Hippocrates, having fortified a camp at the great harbour, and given a signal to the garrison in the Achradina, fell on the old camp of the Romans, where Crispinus commanded; and, at the same time, Epicydes sallied out against the ports of Marcellus, while the Carthaginian fleet warped in close to the shore, which lay between the city and the Roman station, in order to prevent any succour being sent by Marcellus to Crispinus. Their attacks, however, caused more alarm than real injury; for Crispinus, on his part, not only repulsed Hippocrates from his works, but made him fly with precipitation, and pursued him to some distance: and, in the other quarter, Marcellus beat back Epicydes into the town. It was even supposed that enough was now done to prevent any danger in future, from their making sudden sallies. To other evils attendant on the siege, was added a pestilence; a calamity felt by both parties, and fully sufficient to divert their thoughts from plans of military operations. It was now autumn; the places, where they lay, were in their nature unwholesome, but much more so on the outside of the city than within; and the heat was so intense, as to impair the health of almost every person in both the camps. At first, the insalubrity of the season and the soil produced both sicknesses and deaths; afterwards, the attendance on the diseased, and the handling of them, spread the contagion wide; insomuch, that all who were seized by it either died neglected and forsaken, or, also infecting such as ventured to take care of them, these were carried off also. Scarcely any thing was seen but funerals; and,

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both day and night, lamentations from every side rang in their ears. At last, habituated to these scenes of woe, they contracted such savageness, that, so far from attending the deceased with tears and sorrowings, they would not even carry them out and inter them, so that they lay scattered over the ground in the view of all, and who were in constant expectation of a similar fate. Thus the dead contributed to the destruction of the sick, and the sick to that of the healthy, both by the apprehensions which they excited, and by the contagion and noisome stench of their bodies; while some, wishing rather to die by the sword, singly assailed the enemy's posts. But the distemper raged with much greater fury in the Carthaginian camp than in that of the Romans: for the latter, by lying so long before Syracuse, were become more hardened against the air and the rains. Of the enemy's troops, the Sicilians, as soon as they saw that the spreading of the distemper was owing to an unhealthy situation, left it, and retired to the several cities in the neighbourhood, which were of their party: but the Carthaginians, who had no place of retreat, perished (together with their commanders, Hippocrates and Himilco,) to a man. Marcellus, when he perceived the violence of the disorder increasing, had removed his troops into the city, where, being comfortably lodged, and sheltered from the inclemency of the air, their impaired constitutions were soon restored: nevertheless great numbers of the Roman soldiers were swept away by this pestilence.

XXVII. The land forces of the Carthaginians being thus entirely destroyed, the Sicilians, who had served under Hippocrates, collected from their several states stores of provisions, which they deposited in two towns, of no great size, but well secured by strong situations and fortifications; one three miles distant from Syracuse, the other five; and, at the same time, they solicited succours. Meanwhile Bomilcar, going back again to Carthage with his fleet, gave such a representation of the condition of the allies, as afforded hopes that it might be practicable, not only to succour them in such a manner as would ensure their safety, but also to make prisoners of the Romans in the very city which they had, in a manner, reduced; and by this means he prevailed on the government to send with him as many transport vessels as could be procured, laden with stores of every kind, and to make an addition

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to his own fleet. Accordingly he set sail with a hundred and thirty ships of war, and seven hundred transports, and met with a wind very favourable for his passage to Sicily, but the same wind prevented his doubling Cape Pachynum. The news of Bomilcar's arrival first, and afterwards his unexpected delay, gave joy and grief alternately both to the Romans and Syracusans. But Epicydes, dreading lest, if the same easterly wind which then prevailed should continue to blow for some days longer, the Carthaginian fleet might sail back to Africa, delivered the command of the Achradina to the generals of the mercenaries, and sailed away to Bomilcar. Him he found lying to, with the heads of his vessels turned towards Africa, being fearful of an engagement with the enemy, not on account of any superiority in their strength or number of ships (for his own was the greater,) but because the wind was the more advantageous to the Roman fleet. With difficulty, then, he prevailed on him to consent to try the issue of a naval engagement. On the other side, Marcellus, seeing that an army of Sicilians was assembling from all quarters of the island, and that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching with abundance of supplies, began to fear, lest, if he should be shut up in a hostile city, and that every passage being barred both by land and sea, he should be reduced to great distress. Although unequal to the enemy in number of ships, he yet determined to oppose Bomilcar's passage to Syracuse. The two hostile fleets lay off the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as moderate weather should allow them to sail out into the main. On the subsiding of the easterly wind, which had blown furiously for several days, Bomilcar first put his fleet in motion, and his van seemed to make out to sea with intent to clear the cape; but, when he saw the Roman bearing down on him, and being suddenly alarmed, from what circumstance is not known, he bore away to sea, and sending messengers to Heraclea, ordering the transports to return to Africa, he sailed along the coast of Sicily to Tarentum. Epicydes, thus disappointed in a measure from which he had conceived very sanguine hopes, and unwilling to go back into the besieged city, whereof a great part was already in possession of the enemy, sailed to Agrigentum, where he proposed rather to wait the issue of affairs than to attempt any new enterprise.

XXVIII. When the Sicilians in camp were informed of all these events, (that Epicydes had withdrawn from Syracuse, that the Carthaginians had abandoned the island, and, in a manner, surrendered it a second time to the Romans,) they demanded a conference with those who were shut up in the town, and learning their inclinations, they sent deputies to Marcellus, to treat about terms of capitulation. There was scarcely any debate about the conditions, which were,—that whatever parts of the country had been under the dominion of the kings should be ceded to the Romans; and the rest, together with independence, and their own laws, should be guaranteed to the Sicilians. Then the deputies invited the persons entrusted with the command by Epicydes to a meeting, and told them, that they had been sent by the Sicilian army to them as well as to Marcellus, in order that those within the city, as well as those without, should all share one fortune, and that neither should stipulate any article separately, for themselves. From these they obtained permission to enter the place, and converse with their relations and friends, to whom they recited the terms which they had already adjusted with Marcellus; and, by the prospect of safety which they held out to their view, prevailed on them to unite in an attack on Epicydes's generals, Polyclitus, Philistio, and Epicydes, surnamed Syndos. These they put to death, and then calling the multitude to an assembly, and lamenting the famine they had undergone, insisted, that "notwithstanding they were pressed by so many calamities, yet they had no reason to complain of fortune, because it was in their own power to determine how long they would endure their sufferings. The reason which induced the Romans to besiege Syracuse was, affection to its inhabitants, not enmity. For when they heard that the government was seized on by the partizans of Hannibal, and afterwards by those of Hieronymus, Hippocrates, and Epicydes, they then took arms, and laid siege to the city, with the purpose of subduing, not the city itself, but those who cruelly tyrannized over it. But after Hippocrates had been carried off, Epicydes excluded from Syracuse, his generals put to death, and the Carthaginians expelled, and unable to maintain any kind of footing in Sicily, either by fleets or armies, what reason could the Romans then have for not wishing the safety of Syracuse, as much as if Hiero him-

self, so singularly attached to the Roman interest, were still alive? Neither the city, therefore, nor the inhabitants, stood in any other danger than what they might bring on themselves, by neglecting an opportunity of reconciliation with the Romans: but such another opportunity they never could have, as that which presented itself at that instant, on its being once known that they were delivered from their insolent tyrants."

XXIX. This discourse was listened to with universal approbation; but it was resolved that, before any deputies should be appointed, prætors should be elected: and then some of the prætors themselves were sent deputies to Marcellus. The person at the head of the commission addressed him to this effect: "Neither was the revolt, at the beginning, the act of us Syracusans, but of Hieronymus, whose conduct towards you was not near so wicked as his treatment of us; nor, afterwards, was it any Syracusan, but Hippocrates and Epicydes, two instruments of the late king, who, while we were distracted between fear on one side and treachery on the other, broke through the peace established on the death of the tyrant; nor can any period be named, in which we were at liberty, and were not at the same time in friendship with you. At present it is manifest, that as soon as ever, by the death of those who held Syracuse in bondage, we became our own masters, we have come, without a moment's hesitation, to deliver up our arms, to surrender ourselves, our city, and fortifications, and to refuse no conditions which you shall think fit to impose. Marcellus, the gods have given you the glory of taking the most renowned and most beautiful of all the Grecian cities; whatever memorable exploits we have at any time performed, either on land or sea, all will go to augment the splendour of your triumph. Let it not be your wish, that men shall learn from tradition, how great a city you have reduced, but rather, that the city itself may stand a monument to posterity, exhibiting to the view of every one who shall approach it, by land or by sea, our trophies over the Athenians and Carthaginians: then, yours over us; and that you may transmit Syracuse, unimpaired, to your family, to be kept under the patronage and guardianship of the race of Marcelli. Let not the memory of Hieronymus weigh more with you, than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend, than

the former your enemy; and, besides, you have felt many effects of the kindness of the one, while the other's madness tended only to his own ruin." From the Romans all their requests were easily obtained, and their safety ran no hazard from that quarter: there was more danger from a hostile disposition among themselves; for the deserters, apprehending that they were to be delivered up to the Romans, brought the auxiliary troops of mercenaries to entertain the same fears. Hastily taking arms, they first slew the prætors; then spreading themselves over the city, put to death in their rage every person whom chance threw in their way, pillaging every thing on which they could lay hands. Afterwards, that they might not be without leaders, they created six præfects, three to command in the Achradina, and three in the island. The tumult at length subsiding, the mercenaries discovered, on inquiry, the purport of the articles concluded on with Marcellus, and then began to see clearly, what was really the case, that their situation was widely different from that of the deserters. Very seasonably the deputies returned at this time from Marcellus, and assured them, that the suspicion which had provoked their fury was groundless, and that the Romans had no kind of reason to demand their punishment.

XXX. One of the three commanders in the Achradina was a Spaniard, by name Mericus. To sound him, a Spanish auxiliary in the camp of the Romans was purposely sent in the train of the deputies; who, taking an opportunity when he found Mericus alone, first informed him in what state he had left the affairs of Spain, from whence he had lately come; that "every thing there was under subjection to the Roman arms:" and added, "that it was in his power, by some service of importance, to become distinguished among his countrymen; whether it were that he chose to accept a commission in the Roman army, or to return to his native country. On the other hand, if he persisted in attempting to hold out the siege, what hope could he entertain, when he was so closely invested both by sea and land?" Mericus was so much affected by these arguments, that, when it was determined to send deputies to Marcellus, he appointed, as one of them, his own brother, who being conducted by the same Spaniard to a secret interview with Marcellus, and having received satisfactory assurances from him, and



concerted the method of conducting the business they had planned, returned to the Achradina. Then Mericus, with design to prevent all suspicion of treachery, declared, that "he did not approve of deputies thus going backwards and forwards; that none such ought to be received or sent; and that the guard might be kept with the stricter care, the proper posts ought to be divided among the præfects, so that each should be answerable for the safety of his own quarter." Every one approved of this division of the posts; and the tract which fell to his own lot, was that from the fountain Arethusa, to the mouth of the great harbour: of this he apprised the Romans. Marcellus therefore gave orders, that a transport ship, full of soldiers, should be towed in the night, by the barge of a quadrireme, to the Achradina; and that they should be landed opposite to the gate which is near the said fountain. This being executed at the fourth watch, and Mericus having, according to concert, admitted the soldiers into the gate, Marcellus, at the first light, assaulted the walls of the Achradina with all his forces, by which means he not only engaged the attention of those who guarded it, but caused several battalions to flock thither from the island, quitting their own posts to repel the furious assault of the Romans. While this alarm was at the height, some light galleys, prepared beforehand, sailed round, and landed a body of troops on the island; and these, making an unexpected attack on the half-manned posts, and the open gate, without much difficulty made themselves masters of the island; for it was abandoned to them by the garrison, who fled in consternation. The deserters maintained their ground with no more steadiness than these; for, being diffident in some degree even of each other, they betook themselves to flight during the heat of the conflict. When Marcellus learned that the island was taken, that one quarter of the Achradina was in possession of his troops, and that Mericus had joined them with the party under his command, he sounded a retreat, lest the royal treasure, which fame represented much larger than it was, should be rifled by the soldiers.

XXXI. The impetuosity of the soldiers being restrained, the deserters in the Achradina found time and opportunity to escape. The Syracusans, at length delivered from their fears, opened the gates of the fortress, and sent an humble deputation to Marcellus, asking

nothing more than their own lives, and those of their children. Marcellus summoned a council, to which he likewise invited those Syracusans who, having been driven from home in consequence of the disturbances in the city, had remained in the Roman quarters; and he gave the deputies this answer, that, "the friendly acts of Hiero, through a space of fifty years, were not more in number than the injuries committed against the Roman people within a few years past, by those who were in possession of Syracuse. But most of these had recoiled on the heads where they ought to fall; and those people had inflicted on each other much more severe punishments for their infraction of treaties, than the Romans would have wished. That he had, indeed, laid siege to Syracuse, and prosecuted it through the three last years, not with design that the Roman people might keep that state in servitude to themselves, but that the leaders of the deserters might not hold it under captivity and oppression. What part the Syracusans might have acted for the promoting of this design, was manifest from those of their countrymen who were within the Roman quarters; from the conduct of the Spanish general Mericus, who surrendered the quarter under his command; and from the late, indeed, but resolute measure adopted by themselves. That the advantages accruing to him, from all the toils and dangers by sea and land, which he had undergone through such a length of time under the Syracusan walls, were by no means equal to what Syracuse might have procured to itself." The quæstor was then sent with a guard to the island, to receive and secure the royal treasure; and the city was given up to the troops to be plundered, sentinels being first placed at the several houses of those who had staid in the Roman quarters. While numberless horrid acts of rage and of avarice were perpetrated, it is related that in the violence of the tumult, which was as great as greedy soldiers ever caused in sacking a captured city, Archimedes, while intent on some geometrical figures which he had drawn in the sand, was slain by a soldier, who knew not who he was; that Marcellus lamented his death, and gave him an honourable funeral; and that inquiry was also made for his relations, to whom his name and memory proved a protection and an honour. In this manner nearly, was Syracuse taken, and in it such a quantity of booty, as

Carthage, which waged an equal contest with Rome, would scarcely have afforded at that time. A few days before the conquest of Syracuse, Titus Otacilius, with eighty quinqueremes, sailed over from Lilybæum to Utica, and, entering the harbour before day, seized a number of transports laden with corn; he then landed his troops, ravaged a great part of the country round the city, and brought back to his fleet much booty of all kinds. On the third day from his departure, he returned to Lilybæum, with an hundred and thirty vessels filled with corn and spoil. He sent off their cargoes immediately to Syracuse, where, if this supply had not arrived so seasonably, both the conquerors and the vanquished were threatened alike with a destructive famine.

XXXII. As to the affairs of Spain, near two years had passed without any thing very material being done, and the business of the war consisted rather in scheming than in acting; but now, the Roman generals, quitting their winter-quarters, united their forces, and a council being held, all concurred in opinion that, since their sole object had hitherto been to detain Hasdrubal from the prosecution of his intended march into Italy, it was now time to think of an end to the war in Spain; and they trusted that their strength was rendered adequate to the undertaking, by the addition of thirty thousand Celtiberians, whom they had, during the preceding winter, engaged to join their arms. There were three armies of the enemy: one under Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and another under Mago, were encamped together at the distance of about five days' march.

The third lay nearer, and was commanded by Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, the oldest general in Spain, who was posted near a city named Anitorgis. Him the Roman general wished to overpower first, and they were confident that their strength was abundantly sufficient to effect it: their only concern was, lest Hasdrubal and Mago, dispirited by his retreat, might retire into the inaccessible forests and mountains, and thus protract the war. They therefore concluded, that it would be most advisable by separating their forces, to extend the compass of their operations, so as to comprehend the whole war at once. Accordingly, they divided them in such a manner, that Publius Cornelius was to lead two-thirds of the Romans and allies against Mago and Hasdrubal; and Cneius Cornelius,

with the other third of the veteran troops, and the Celtiberian auxiliaries, was to act against the Barcine Hasdrubal. The commanders began their march together, the Celtiberians advancing before them, and pitched their camp near the city of Anitorgis, within view of the enemy, from whom they were separated by a river. There Cneius Scipio, with the forces before-mentioned, halted, and Publius Scipio proceeded, according to his allotment, to the scene of action.

XXXIII. When Hasdrubal observed that there were but few Roman soldiers in the camp, and that all their dependance was on the Celtiberian auxiliaries, being well acquainted with the perfidious disposition of every barbarous nation, and particularly of these, among whom he had waged war for so many years, he contrived secret conferences with their leaders; for as both camps were full of Spaniards, an intercourse was easy; and with whom he concluded a bargain, that, for a valuable consideration they should carry away their troops. Nor did this appear to them a heinous crime; for it was not required that they should turn their arms against the Romans, and the hire given for not fighting was as great as could be expected for fighting; besides, rest from fatigue, the returning to their homes, and the pleasure of seeing their friends and families, all these were matters highly agreeable to them, so that the chiefs were not more easily persuaded than were their followers. It was farther considered, that they need not fear the Romans, whose number was small, even if they should attempt to detain them by force. It will ever, indeed, be incumbent on Roman generals to avoid carefully such kind of mistakes, and to consider instances like this as powerful warnings, never to confide so far in foreign auxiliaries, as not to keep in their camps a superior force of their native troops, and of their own proper strength. The Celtiberians, on a sudden, took up their standards and marched off, giving no other answer to the Romans (who besought them to stay,) than that they were called away by a war at home. When Scipio saw that it was impossible to detain the auxiliaries either by intreaties or force; that, without them, he was unable either to cope with the enemy, or effect a re-union with his brother; and that there was no other resource at hand, from which he could hope for safety, he resolved to retreat as far back as possible, avoiding, with the utmost



caution, any encounter with the enemy on equal ground ;—for they had crossed the river, and followed almost at the heels of his retreating troops.

XXXIV. At the same time Publius Scipio was surrounded with equal fears, and greater danger, occasioned by a new enemy ; this was young Masinissa, at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, afterwards rendered illustrious and powerful by the friendship of the Romans. He with his Numidian cavalry, met Publius Scipio as he approached, harassing him incessantly night and day. Not only were stragglers, who went to a distance from the camp for wood and forage, intercepted by him, but he would even ride up to the very intrenchments ; and often, charging into the midst of the advance guards, fill every quarter with the utmost confusion. In the night-time also, by sudden attacks, he frequently caused terror and alarm at the gates, and on the rampart ; nor did any place, or any time, afford the Romans respite from fear and anxiety, confined as they were within their trenches, and debarred from procuring every kind of necessary, suffering almost a regular blockade ; and which they knew would be still more close, if Indibilis, who was said to be approaching, with seven thousand five hundred Suesetianians, should join the Carthaginians. Impelled by the inextricable difficulties of his situation, Scipio, heretofore a commander of known caution and prudence, adopted the rash resolution of going out by night to meet Indibilis, and to fight him. Accordingly, leaving a small guard in the camp, under the command of Titus Fonteius, lieutenant-general, he marched out at midnight, and, falling in with the enemy, began an engagement. The troops encountered each other in the order of march rather than of battle ; however, irregular as the manner of fighting was, the Romans had the advantage. But on a sudden the Numidian cavalry, whose observation the general thought he had escaped, falling on his flanks, struck great terror into the troops, and, while they had this new contest to maintain, a third enemy fell upon them, the Carthaginian generals coming up with their rear during the heat of the battle. Thus the Romans were assailed on every side, unable to judge against which enemy they might best direct their united strength, in order to force a passage. While their commander fought, and encouraged his men, exposing himself to every danger, he was

run through the right side with a lance. The party who made the attack on the band collected about the general, when they saw Scipio fall lifeless from his horse, being elated with joy, ran shouting up and down through the whole line, crying out, that the Roman commander was killed ; which words clearly determined the battle in favour of the enemy. The latter, immediately on losing their general, began to fly from the field ; but though they might have found no great difficulty in forcing their way through the Numidians, and the other light-armed auxiliaries, yet it was scarcely possible that they should escape from such a multitude of cavalry, and of footmen who were nearly equal to the horses in speed. Accordingly, almost as many fell in the flight as in the battle, nor probably would one have survived, had not the night stopped the pursuit, it being by this time late in the evening.

XXXV. The Carthaginian generals were not remiss in making advantage of their good fortune : without losing time after the battle, and scarcely allowing the soldiers necessary rest, they marched away, with rapid haste, to Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, confidently assured, that after uniting their forces with his, they should be able to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. On their arrival at his camp, the warmest congratulations passed between the commanders and the armies, overjoyed at their late successes, in which so great a general, with his whole army, had been cut off, and they expected, as a matter of certainty, another victory equally important. Not even a rumour of this great misfortune had yet reached the Romans ; but there prevailed among them a melancholy kind of silence, and a tacit foreboding ; such a presage of impending evil as the mind is apt to feel when looking forward with anxiety. Cornelius, after the desertion of the auxiliaries, had nothing to dispirit him except the augmentation which he observed in the enemy's force, yet was he led by conjectures and reasoning, rather to entertain a suspicion of some disaster, than any favourable hopes. "For how," said he, "could Hasdrubal and Mago, unless decisively victorious in their own province, bring hither their army without opposition ? And how could it happen, that Publius had neither opposed their march, nor followed on their rear, in order that, if he found it impracticable to prevent the junction of the enemy's armies, he might, in any case, unite his forces with

those of his brother." Distracted with these perplexing thoughts, he could see no other means of safety at present, than by retreating as fast as possible. Accordingly, in the night, and while the enemy, ignorant of his departure, remained quiet, he performed a march of considerable length. On the return of day, the enemy, perceiving that his army had decamped, sent forward the Numidians, and set out on the pursuit with all the expedition in their power. Before night, the Numidians overtook them, and harassed them with attacks, sometimes on the flanks, sometimes on the rear. They then began to halt, and defend themselves: but Scipio earnestly exhorted them to fight and advance at the same time, lest the enemy's infantry should overtake them.

XXXVI. But as by this method of advancing at one time, and halting at another, they made but little progress on their way, and as the night now approached, Scipio called in his men, and collecting them in a body, drew them off to a rising ground, not very safe indeed, especially for dispirited troops, yet higher than any of the surrounding grounds. Here the infantry, receiving the baggage and the cavalry into the centre, and forming a circle round them, at first repelled, without difficulty, the attacks of the Numidian skirmishers. Afterwards, the three regular armies of the enemy approached with their entire force; when the general saw that without some fortification his men would never be able to maintain their post; he therefore began to look about, and consider whether he could by any means raise a rampart round it. But the hill was so bare, and the surface so rocky, that not so much as a bush was to be found which could be cut for palisades, nor earth with which to raise a mound, nor any means of forming a trench, or any other work; nor was any part of it such as to render it of difficult approach or ascent, every side arising with a gentle acclivity. However, that they might place in the way of the enemy some resemblance of a rampart, they tied the panniers together, and building them as it were on one another, formed a mound about their post, throwing on bundles of every kind of baggage where there was a deficiency of panniers for raising it. When the Carthaginian armies came to the place, they mounted the hill with perfect ease, but were at first so surprised at this strange appearance of a fortification, that they

halted, notwithstanding their officers every where called out, and asked them, "why did they stop, and not tear down and scatter about that ridiculous work, scarcely strong enough to stop women or children;" adding, that "they now had the enemy shut up as prisoners, and hiding themselves behind their baggage." Such were their contemptuous reproofs; but it was no easy matter either to climb over, or to remove, the bulky loads which lay in the way, or to cut through the panniers so closely compacted and buried under heaps of baggage. The packages which obstructed them were at length removed, and a passage opened to the troops; and the same being done in several parts, the camp was forced on all sides, while the Romans, inferior in number, and dejected by misfortunes were every where put to the sword by the more numerous enemy, elated with victory. However, a great number of the soldiers fled into the woods which lay at a small distance behind, and thence made their escape to the camp of Publius Scipio, where Titus Fonteius, his lieutenant-general, commanded. Cneius Scipio, according to some accounts, was killed on the hill, in the first assault; according to others, he fled into a castle standing near the camp; this was surrounded with fire, and the doors, which were too strong to be forced, being thus burned, they were taken; and all within, together with the general himself, were put to death. Cneius Scipio perished in the seventh year after his coming into Spain, the twenty-ninth day after the fall of his brother. Their deaths caused not greater grief at Rome, than in every part of Spain. Nay, among their countrymen, the loss of the armies, the alienation of the province, the misfortune of the public, challenged a share of their sorrow; whereas Spain lamented and mourned for the commanders themselves, and for Cneius even more than for his brother, because he had been longer in the government of their country, had earlier engaged their affections, and was the first who gave them a specimen of the Roman justice and moderation.

XXXVII. The army was now supposed to be utterly ruined, and Spain to be entirely lost, when one man retrieved the Roman affairs from this desperate condition: this was Lucius Marcius, son of Septimus, a Roman knight, a young man of an enterprising temper, and of a capacity which would do credit to a rank much superior to that in which he was born. These



very great talents had been improved by the discipline of Cneius Scipio, under which he had, in a course of many years, acquired a thorough knowledge of all the arts of war. Collecting the soldiers after their dispersion in the flight, and drafting others out of the garrisons, he formed an army far from contemptible, with which he joined Titus Fonteius, the lieutenant-general of Publius Scipio. Such a superior ascendancy was possessed by a Roman knight in the respect and esteem of the soldiery, that, after fortifying a camp on the hither side of the Iberus, they determined that a commander should be chosen for the two armies by the suffrages of the soldiers. On this, relieving each other successively in the guard of the rampart and other posts, until every one had given his vote, they all concurred in conferring the chief command on Lucius Marcius. The remaining time of their stay there, which was but short, was employed in strengthening the camp, and collecting provisions; the soldiers executing every order not only with diligence, but without betraying any dejection whatever. But when intelligence was brought that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was coming to crush the last remains of opposition; that he passed the Iberus, and was drawing near; and when they saw the signal of battle displayed by a new commander—then, recollecting what captains and what forces had used to support their confidence when going out to fight, they all on a sudden burst into tears, and beat their heads. Some raised their hands towards heaven, taxing the gods with cruelty; others, prostrate on the ground, invoked by name each his own former commander: nor could their lamentations be restrained by all the efforts of the centurions, or by the soothing and expostulations of Marcius himself, who asked them, “why they abandoned themselves to womanly and unavailing tears, and did not rather summon up their fiercest courage, for the common defence of themselves and the commonwealth, and for avenging their slaughtered generals?” Meanwhile, on a sudden, the shout and the sound of trumpets were heard, for the enemy were by this time near the rampart; and now their grief being instantly converted into rage, they hastily snatched up their arms, and, as if instigated by madness, ran to the gates, and made a furious attack on the forces, who were advancing in a careless and irregular manner. This unexpected reception immediately struck the

Carthaginians with dismay: they wondered whence such a number of enemies could have started up, since the almost total extinction of their force; whence the vanquished and routed derived such boldness, such confidence in themselves; what chief had arisen since the death of the two Scipios; who should command in their camp; who could have given the signal for battle? Perplexed and astonished at so many incidents, so unaccountable, they first gave way; and then, on being pushed with a vigorous onset, turned their backs: and now, either a dreadful havoc would have been made among the flying party, or the pursuers would have found their impetuosity turn out inconsiderate and dangerous to themselves, had not Marcius quickly sounded a retreat, and by stopping them in the front, and even holding back some with his own hands, repressed the fury of the troops. He then led them into the camp, with their rage for blood and slaughter still unabated. The Carthaginians at first retreated precipitately from the rampart; but when they saw that there was no pursuit, they imagined that the others had halted through fear; and then, as if holding them in contempt, they returned to their camp at an easy pace. Conformable to the same notion was their careless manner of guarding their works; for although the Romans were at hand, yet they considered them merely as the remains of the two armies vanquished a few days before: and, in consequence of this error, negligence prevailed among the Carthaginians in every particular. Marcius, having discovered this, resolved on an enterprise, at first view rather rash than bold; which was, to go and attack the enemy's post; for he considered that it would be easier to storm the camp of Hasdrubal while he stood single, than to defend his own, in case the three generals and three armies should again unite; and besides, that, on one hand, should he succeed in his attempt, he would gain relief from the distresses that encompassed him, and, on the other, should he be repulsed, yet his daring to make the attack would rescue him from contempt.

XXXVIII. However, lest the suddenness of the affair, and the apprehensions incident to men acting by night, might disconcert an undertaking which, at best, seemed but ill suited to his present condition, he judged it advisable to communicate his design to the soldiers, and to animate their spirits. Accordingly, being

assembled, he addressed them in a speech to this effect: "Soldiers, either my dutiful affection to our late commanders, both during their lives and since their death, or the present situation of us all, might be sufficient to convince every one of you, that the command with which I am invested, though highly honourable, as the gift of your judgment, is still in reality full of labour and anxiety. For at the time when (only that fear benumbs the sense of grief) I should not be so far master of myself as to be able to find any consolation for our losses, I am compelled singly to study the safety of you all; a task most difficult to a mind immersed in sorrow; so much so, that while I am devising the means of preserving to our country these remnants of the two armies, I cannot, even in those moments, be wholly abstracted from it. For bitter remembrance haunts me; and the two Scipios, by day and by night, disquiet me with anxious cares and dreams, and often awake me out of sleep. They charge me, not to let them, or their men (your fellow-soldiers, who for eight years maintained in this country a superiority in arms), or our commonwealth, remain unrevenged; to follow their discipline, and their maxims; and that as, during their lives, no one was more obedient to their commands than I was, so I should, after their death, ever deem that conduct the best, which I have most reason to think that they would have pursued on any emergency. I could wish, soldiers, that you, on your part, would not pay them the tribute of tears and lamentations, as if they were no longer in existence: they who live and flourish in the fame of their achievements; but that, whenever the memory of them recurs, you would go into battle as if you saw them encouraging you, and giving you the signal. Most certainly it must have been their image presenting itself to your eyes and minds that animated you yesterday to that memorable action, in which you gave the enemies a proof that the Roman race had not become extinct with the Scipios, and that the strength and valour of that nation, which was not crushed by the disaster at Cannæ, will ever rise superior to the severest inflictions of fortune. Now, after you have, from the suggestions of your own courage, braved danger with such intrepidity, I wish to try how much of the same bravery you will exert under the direction of your commander: for yesterday, when I gave the signal of retreat,

on seeing you pursue the routed Carthaginians with precipitation, I did not mean to break your spirit, but to reserve it for a more glorious and more advantageous opportunity; that you might afterwards, in short, and at a more favourable juncture, with full preparation, and well armed, assail your enemy unprepared, unarmed, and even buried in sleep. Nor, soldiers, did I conceive the hope of such an occasion offering, inconsiderately, and without reason, but founded it on the real state of things. Suppose any one should ask you, by what means, with your small numbers, and after suffering a defeat, you defended your camp against numerous forces elated with victory; you would surely give no other answer than that, being from these very circumstances apprehensive of danger, you had strengthened your quarters on every side with works, and kept yourselves ready and prepared for action. And this is always the case: men are least secure on that side, where their situation removes the apprehension of danger; because, wherever they think care unnecessary, they will be there unguarded and open. There is no one thing which the enemy at present less apprehend, than that we, so lately blockaded and assaulted, should have the confidence to assault their camp. Let us dare then to do what no one will believe we dare to undertake: the very persuasion of its difficulty will make it easy to us. At the third watch of the night I will lead you thither in silence. I know, certainly, that they have not a course of watches, nor regular guards. The noise of our shout at their gates, and the first attack, will carry the camp. Then, while they are torpid with sleep, dismayed by the sudden tumult, and surprised, unarmed in their beds, let that carnage be made, from which you were vexed at your being recalled yesterday. I am aware that the enterprise must appear presumptuous; but in cases of difficulty, and when hopes are small, the most spirited counsels are the safest; because if, in the moment of opportunity, which quickly fleets away, you hesitate, even but a little, you will in vain wish for it afterwards, when it is no more. They have one army in our neighbourhood, and two others at no great distance. From an immediate attack we have reason to expect success; you have already made trial of your own strength, and of theirs; but if we defer the matter, and they, on being informed of our behaviour in yesterday's irruption, cease to look on us with contempt, it is probable that



all their commanders, and all their forces, will unite in one body. In that case, can we hope to be able to withstand the enemy's three generals, and three armies, whom Cneius Scipio, with his army entire, could not withstand? As our generals were ruined by the dividing of their forces, so may the enemy, while separated and divided, be overpowered. There is no other way in which we can act with effect: let us therefore wait for nothing beyond the opportunity which the next night will afford us. Retire now, with the favour of the gods; refresh yourselves with food and rest, that you may, strong and vigorous, break into the camp of the enemy with the same spirit with which you defended your own." They heard with joy this new plan proposed by their new general, which pleased them the more, on account of its daring boldness. The remainder of the day was employed in preparing their arms, and taking their victuals, and the greater part of the night was given to rest. At the fourth watch they were in motion.

XXXIX. At the distance of six miles beyond the nearest camp lay another body of Carthaginians. Between the two was a deep valley, thick set with trees. About the middle of this wood, by a stratagem worthy the genius of a Carthaginian, a Roman cohort and some cavalry were placed in concealment. The communication being thus cut off, the rest of the troops were led in silence to the nearest body of the enemy, and finding no advanced guard before the gates, or watches on the rampart, they marched in without meeting an opposer, as they would into their own camp. The charge was then sounded, and the shout raised: some kill the assailed before they are quite awake, some throw fire on the huts which were covered with dry straw, some seize the gates to cut off their flight. The fire, the shouting, and the slaughter, altogether, so stunned and confounded the enemy's senses, that they neither could hear each other, nor think of what they should do. Unarmed, they every where fell in among troops of armed foes: some hastened to the gates; others, finding the passage shut, leaped over the rampart: and every one, as soon as he got out, fled directly towards the other camp. These were intercepted by the cohort and cavalry rushing out from their ambush, and were all slain to a man; and even had any escaped,

the Romans, having taken the nearer camp, ran forward to the other with such rapid haste, that no one could have arrived before them with the news of the disaster. At this camp, as it lay at a greater distance from an enemy, and as many had gone out before day in quest of forage, wood, and booty, they found every thing in a still more neglected and careless state; the weapons only standing at the out-posts, the men unarmed, sitting or lying on the ground, or walking about before the gates and rampart. In this unguarded situation they were attacked by the Romans, yet warm from the late fight, and flushed with victory. No opposition therefore could be given them at the entrances; within, indeed, the first shout and the tumult having brought many together from all parts of the camp, a fierce conflict arose, which would have lasted long, had not the sight of the blood on the shields of the Romans, discovered to the Carthaginians the defeat of their other party, and struck them with dismay. This panic occasioned a general flight; every one, except such as the sword overtook, rushing out wherever a passage could be found. Thus, in one night and day, through the successful conduct of Lucius Marcius, were two of the Carthaginian camps taken by storm. Claudius, who translated the annals of Acilius from the Greek language into the Latin, affirms, that there were thirty-seven thousand of the enemy killed, one thousand eight hundred and thirty taken, and a vast booty acquired; among which was a silver shield of an hundred and thirty-eight pounds weight, embossed with the image of the Barcine Hasdrubal. Valerius Antias says, that Mago's camp only was taken, where seven thousand were killed; and that, in the other battle, when the Romans sallied out and fought Hasdrubal, ten thousand fell, and that four thousand three hundred and thirty were taken. Piso writes, that Mago, having hastily pursued our troops who were retreating, five thousand of his men were killed in an ambuscade. All mention the name of the commander, Marcius, with great honour; and to his real glory they add also miraculous incidents; among others, that while he was haranguing his men, a flame was seen at the top of his head, without being felt by him, to the great fright of the surrounding soldiers. It is said, that, as a monument of his victory over the Carthaginians, the shield with the image of Hasdrubal, styled the Marcian, remained in the capitol until the burning

of that temple.<sup>1</sup> After this, hostilities were suspended in Spain for a long time, both parties being unwilling, after such severe shocks given and received, to risk an action which might be wholly destructive to one or both.

XL. During the time of these transactions in Spain, Marcellus having, after the taking of Syracuse, adjusted the other affairs of Sicily with such integrity and good faith as augmented not only his own glory, but likewise the majesty of the Roman people, carried off to Rome the ornaments of the city, the statues and pictures with which it abounded. These were no doubt the spoils of enemies, and acquired by the right of war, yet they first gave rise to a taste for the works of Grecian artists, and to the consequent unbounded rapacity with which all places, indiscriminately, both sacred and profane, have been plundered; and which, at last, has been exercised even against the deities of Rome, and that very temple itself, in the first instance, which was decorated by Marcellus with peculiar elegance: for formerly, those which he dedicated near the Capuan gate were visited by foreigners on account of their exquisite ornaments, of which a very small portion remains. Supplicatory embassies came to Marcellus from almost every state in Sicily: as their cases were dissimilar, so were the terms granted them. Such as either had not revolted, or had returned into amity, before the reduction of Syracuse, were received as faithful allies, and treated with kindness; while such as, after that event, had submitted through fear, being considered as conquered, had terms dictated to them by the victor. Still, however, the Romans had remaining, at Agrigentum, some enemies far from contemptible—Epiclydes and Hanno, who had been commanders in the late war, with a third and new one, sent by Hannibal in the room of Hippocrates, of a Lybophœnician race, a native of Hippo, called by his countrymen Mutines, an enterprising man, and instructed under no less a master than Hannibal himself in all the arts of war. To him Epiclydes and Hanno assigned the auxiliary Numidians; with these he overran the lands of their enemies in such a manner, and was so active in visiting their allies for the purpose of securing their fidelity, and of giving them succour as occasion required, that, in a short time, he filled all Sicily with his fame, and was considered as one

of the principal supports of the Carthaginian party. The Carthaginian general, therefore, and the Syracusan, who had hitherto remained shut up within the walls of Agrigentum, were induced, not only by the advice of Mutines, but by confidence in their strength, to venture out of the town; and they pitched their camp on the bank of the river Himera. When Marcellus was informed of this, he instantly put his troops in motion; and sat down, at the distance of about four miles from them, to observe their motions and intentions. But Mutines left him neither room nor time for deliberation, for he crossed the river, and charged his advanced guards with such fury as to cause great terror and disorder. Next day, in a kind of regular engagement he drove the Romans back into their fortifications. He was then called away by a mutiny of the Numidians which broke out in the camp; and as about three hundred of them had retired to a town called Heraclea of Minos, he went thither, in order to pacify and bring them back. At his departure he is said to have recommended earnestly to the other generals not to come to an engagement with the enemy during his absence. This gave much offence to both, particularly to Hanno, who was already jealous of his reputation: "that Mutines should dictate to him; a mongrel African to a Carthaginian general, commissioned by the senate and people." He prevailed on Epiclydes, who was disinclined to the measure, to consent that they should cross the river, and offer battle; alleging, that if they waited for Mutines, and the issue of the battle should prove fortunate, the honour would all be ascribed to him.

XLI. Marcellus fired with indignation at the thought that he, who had beaten off from Nola, Hannibal, when elated with his victory at Cannæ, should give way to such adversaries as these, and whom he had repeatedly defeated on land and sea, ordered his men to take arms hastily, and march out to meet them. While he was arranging his troops, ten Numidians from the enemy's line came to him at full gallop, and told him, that their countrymen, influenced first by the same motive which caused the mutiny, in which three hundred of their number had retired to Heraclea, and secondly, by seeing their own commander, at the very eve of a battle, sent out of the way, by officers who wished to derogate from his merit, had resolved to remain inactive during the fight.



Contrary to the insidious character of their nation, they fulfilled their promise. This added new spirits to the Romans, for the intelligence was quickly conveyed along the ranks, that the enemy were forsaken by their horse, which had been considered as the most formidable part of their force. At the same time, it damped the courage of the Carthaginians, who besides seeing themselves deprived of the support of the principal part of their strength, became even apprehensive of being attacked by their own cavalry. There was therefore no great contest: the first onset decided the affair. The Numidians stood quiet, on the wings, during the action, and when they saw their confederates turning their backs, accompanied them only a short way on their flight; for, observing that all in confusion made towards Agrigentum, in order to avoid the hardships of a siege, they withdrew themselves into several of the neighbouring cities. Many thousands were killed, and many taken, together with eight elephants. This was the last battle fought by Marcellus in Si-

cily, after which he returned in triumph to Syracuse. The year was now near to a close. The Roman senate therefore decreed that Publius Cornelius, prætor, should write to the consuls at Capua, that while Hannibal was at a great distance, and no business of moment was going on there, one of them should, if they thought proper, come to Rome to elect new magistrates. On receiving the letter, the consuls settled between themselves, that Claudius should hold the elections, and Fulvius remain at Capua. Claudius elected consuls, Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, who had not before held any curule office. Then Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso were elected prætors. The city jurisdiction fell to Piso, Sicily to Sulpicius, Apulia to Cethegus, and Sardinia to Lentulus. The present consuls were continued in command for the ensuing year.

THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXVI.

Hannibal encamps upon the banks of the Anio, within three miles of Rome. Attended by two thousand horsemen, he advances close to the Colline gate, to take a view of the walls and situation of the city. On two successive days the hostile armies are hindered from engaging by the severity of the weather. Capua taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius: the chief nobles die, voluntarily, by poison. Quintus Fulvius, having condemned the principal senators to death, at the moment they are actually tied to the stakes, receives despatches from Rome, commanding him to spare their lives, which he postpones reading until the sentence is executed. Publius Scipio, offering himself for the service, is sent to command in Spain: takes New Carthage in one day. Successes in Sicily. Treaty of friendship with the Ætolians. War with Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Acarnanians.

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I. THE consuls Cneius Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, as soon as they came into office, on the ides of March, [Y. R. 541. B. C. 211.] convened the senate in the capitol, and proposed to their consideration the state of the commonwealth, the method of conducting the war, and the disposition of the provinces and armies. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls of the preceding year, were continued in command; the legions which they had at present, were decreed to them, and an injunction was added, that they should not quit the siege of Capua, until they had reduced the place. This was a point on which the Romans kept their attention fixed with particular solicitude, not only from resentment, for which no state ever gave juster cause, but from the consideration, that a city so eminent and powerful, as it had, by its revolt, drawn several states into the same measure, would probably, if recovered, dispose their minds to wish for a reconciliation with the government under which they had formerly lived. Two prætors also, of the preceding year, were continued in command, Marcus Junius in Etruria, and Publius Sempronius in Gaul, each with the two legions which he then had. Marcus Marcellus was also continued, that he might,

in quality of proconsul, finish the remainder of the war in Sicily, with the army then under his command. Directions were given him, that he should take the complement requisite for completing the numbers of his troops, if that should be necessary, out of the legions which Publius Cornelius, proprætor, commanded in Sicily; conditionally, however, that he should not choose any soldier from among those who had been prohibited by the senate from receiving a discharge, or returning home before the conclusion of the war. To Caius Sulpicius, whose lot was the province of Sicily, were decreed the two legions formerly commanded by Publius Cornelius, and a supply of men from the army of Cneius Fulvius, which had been shamefully defeated and put to flight, the year before, in Apulia. For the soldiers of this description the senate had fixed the same term of service as for those concerned at Cannæ; and, as a farther mark of ignominy to both, it was ordered, that they should not reside during the winter in towns, nor build their winter huts nearer to any town than ten miles. To Lucius Cornelius, in Sardinia, the two legions were given which Quintus Murius had commanded; a supply of men, if requisite, the consuls were ordered to enlist. Titus Otaci-



lius and Marcus Valerius were ordered, with the fleets and legions then under their command, to guard the coasts of Greece and Sicily. On the former station were employed fifty ships and one legion; on the latter, one hundred ships and two legions. Twenty-three Roman legions were, this year, employed in the war on land and sea.

II. In the beginning of the year, on a letter from Lucius Marcius being laid before the senate, that assembly declared his services highly meritorious; but his assuming a title of honour (for, unauthorised either by order of the people or direction of the senate, he had, in addressing the senate, styled himself *proprætor*;) gave general offence. They deemed it "a precedent of pernicious tendency, that commanders should be chosen by the troops; and that the established privileges of assemblies, held under auspices, should be transferred to a giddy soldiery, in camps and provinces remote from the magistrates and laws." Several were of opinion, that the senate should take the matter into consideration; but it was judged more expedient to defer any notice of it until after the departure of the messengers who brought the letter from Marcius. It was agreed, that an answer should be sent to him, respecting provisions and clothing for the army, saying that the senate would take care of both those matters: but it was resolved that it should not be addressed to Lucius Marcius, *proprætor*, lest he should consider, as determined, a question which they had reserved for future discussion. After the couriers were dismissed, the first business proposed by the consuls, and which was unanimously agreed upon, was, that application should be made to the plebeian tribunes, to take the sense of the commons with all convenient speed, as to what person they would choose to be sent into Spain with a commission to command the army lately under Cneius Scipio. The tribunes were advised with accordingly, and the question was published for consideration: but people's thoughts were wholly engrossed by a contest on another subject: Caius Sempronius Blaesus, having instituted a prosecution against Cneius Fulvius, on account of the loss of the army in Apulia, inveighed against him continually in public harangues; affirming that "although many commanders had, through rashness and unskilfulness, brought their armies into situations of extreme danger, yet never had any one,

except Cneius Fulvius, corrupted his legions with every kind of vice before he exposed them to destruction: so that it might be said, with truth, that their ruin was effected before they had even seen an enemy; and that they were vanquished, not by Hannibal, but by their own commander. No elector could too carefully scrutinize the character of the person to whom he was entrusting an army. What a difference between this man and Tiberius Sempronius! The latter, though the army committed to him consisted of slaves, yet, by proper discipline and wise regulations, had quickly improved them to such a degree, that, in the field of battle, not one of them evinced by his conduct either his condition or his birth; and they became a safeguard to the allies, a terror to the enemy. They snatched, as it were, out of Hannibal's grasp, and restored to the Roman people, the cities of Cumæ, Beneventum, and several others; whereas Cneius Fulvius, having received an army of Roman citizens, honourably born and liberally educated, had debauched them by all the low vices of slaves, and sunk them into such a state of degeneracy, that they were insolent and turbulent among the allies, spiritless and dastardly among foes; and so far from withstanding the attack of the Carthaginians, they withstood not even their shout. Nor, indeed was it wonderful that the soldiers did not stand their ground in battle, when their commander was the first who fled. For his part, he rather wondered that any of them had fallen in their posts, and that they did not, one and all, accompany Cneius Fulvius in his panic and flight. Caius Flaminius, Lucius Paullus, Lucius Postumius, Cneius and Publius Scipio, had chosen rather to fall in fight, than to abandon their troops in a desperate situation. But Cneius Fulvius was almost the only messenger who brought to Rome the news of his army being cut off. It was contrary," he said, "to every rule of honour and equity, that the troops engaged at Cannæ, because they fled out of the field, should be transported into Sicily, and prohibited from returning thence before the termination of the war in Italy, and that a decree, to the same purport, should have been lately passed in the case of the legions under the command of Cneius Fulvius, while Cneius Fulvius himself, after running away from a battle brought on by his own temerity, should escape all punishment; that he should

spend his old age where he had spent his youth, in the stews and brothels, while his soldiers, who were no otherwise culpable than in resembling their commander, were cast out in a manner, into exile, condemned to a service of ignominy. So unequal was the dispensation of liberty at Rome to the rich and to the poor; to the man who had arrived at honours, and to those who still continued in obscurity."

III. Fulvius endeavoured to transfer the guilt from himself to the soldiers; asserting, that "in consequence of their insisting violently on fighting, they were led out to the field, not on the same day on which they desired it, because it was then evening, but on the day following, when both the time and the ground were favourable to them; but that they were so overawed, either by the reputation or the strength of the enemy, that they did not make a stand. That, in the hurry of the general flight, he was carried away by the crowd, as had been the case of Varro, at the battle of Cannæ, and of many other generals. And how could he, by this single resistance, serve the cause of the commonwealth; unless, indeed, his death were considered as a remedy for the public misfortunes? He had not been brought into any dangerous situation by want of provisions, or by want of caution; neither was he, in consequence of marching unguardedly, surprised by an ambuscade, but defeated by open force, by dint of arms, in a fair engagement; nor had he the power of determining the degree of courage to be exerted either by his own men, or by the enemy: every man's own disposition supplied either courage or cowardice." The matter came twice to a hearing, and, at both times, the penalty was laid at a fine. At the third hearing, witnesses were produced; and, besides his being loaded with charges of the most scandalous nature, great numbers deposed on oath, that the prætor was the first who showed any symptoms of fear, and began the flight; and that the soldiers, being abandoned by him, and supposing that the general's fears were not without grounds, fled likewise; on which, the anger of the people was inflamed to such a pitch, that the whole assembly cried out that the prosecution ought to be capital. On this point a new contest arose: for, as the tribune had, on two former occasions, prosecuted the offence as finable, and at a third, proposed to prosecute it as ca-

pital, an appeal was made to the tribunes of the commons. They declared, that "they could not debar their colleague from prosecuting, as, by the practice of former times, he had a right to do, either on the written laws, or the general practice, until he should obtain judgment, either of capital punishment, or a fine, against the defendant a private person." Then Sempronius gave notice, that he demanded judgment of treason against Cneius Fulvius; and he made a requisition to the city prætor, Caius Calpurnius, to appoint a day for the assembly. The accused then rested his hopes on another expedient, the procuring at his trial the support of his brother, Quintus Fulvius, who, at this time, stood high in the public esteem, both on account of the merit of his past services, and the expectation of his speedily reducing Capua. But Fulvius having sent a petition to this purpose, couched in terms calculated to excite compassion, as in a case where a brother's life was concerned, and the senate answering, that his quitting Capua would be injurious to the public interest, Cneius Fulvius, at the approach of the day appointed for the assembly, withdrew into exile to Tarquinii. The commons passed an order confirming his banishment as legal.

IV. In the mean time, the grand operations of the campaign were directed against Capua, where, however, the siege was carried on, rather by a close blockade than by vigorous assaults. This caused so great a famine, that the populace and the slaves could no longer endure it, and yet there was no way of sending messengers to Hannibal, the approaches were all so strictly guarded. At length a Numidian was found, who, taking a letter, engaged to make his way with it; and, going out by night, he passed through the middle of the Roman camp. This encouraged the Campanians to try, while they had any remains of vigour, what might be done by sallies from all sides of the town. In many engagements which followed, their cavalry were generally successful, their infantry worsted: but the besiegers were not nearly so much pleased by the advantages which they had gained, as mortified at being overcome, in any particular, by an enemy besieged, and on the point of being taken. At last the Romans adopted a method of supplying by art their deficiency in strength. Out of all the legions were selected young men, who, from the power and lightness of their bodies, possessed



the greatest agility: to these were given bucklers, shorter than those of the cavalry, and to each seven javelins four feet long, pointed with iron, in the same manner as the missile javelins now used by the light infantry. The cavalry, each taking one of these behind him on his horse, taught them, by frequent exercise, so to ride and dismount quickly, when the signal was given. As soon as, from daily practice, they seemed to perform this with sufficient expertness, they were led out into a plain, between the camp and the walls, against the cavalry of the Campanians, who stood there in order of battle. When they came within a weapon's cast, these light footmen dismounted, and, forming in a moment, instead of cavalry, a line of infantry, ran forward against the enemy's horse; and, as they advanced, discharged their javelins one after another, with great fury; by the vast number of which, thrown against men and horses indiscriminately, very many were wounded. But the novelty and unexpectedness of such a proceeding caused still greater fright; and, while they were in this disorder, the cavalry made their charge, and drove them back even to their gates with great slaughter. Henceforward the Romans had the superiority in the field in respect to both horse and foot. It was then made an established regulation, that in all the legions there should be light infantry of this sort, who are called *velites*. We are told, that the person who advised the mixing of footmen with the cavalry was Quintus Navius, a centurion; and that he was, on that account, highly honoured by the general.

V. While affairs at Capua were in this state, Hannibal's judgment was long suspended between his wishes, on one hand, to acquire possession of the citadel of Tarentum, and, on the other, to retain Capua. At length, however, he determined in favour of the latter; because on that object he saw that the attention of all men, both friends and enemies, was fixed; as the fate of that city would demonstrate what kind of consequences were to be expected from revolting from the Romans. Leaving, therefore, in Bruttium, the greatest part of his baggage, and all his heavier armed troops, and selecting such of the infantry and cavalry as were best qualified for an expeditious march, he took the route to Campania. Notwithstanding he went with much speed, yet he was followed by thirty-three elephants. In a retired valley behind Mount Tifata, which over-

hangs Capua, he halted; and having, at his coming, taken the fort of Galatia, from which he dislodged the garrison by force, he prepared to act against the besiegers. He sent forward to the besieged information of the time when he intended to assault the Roman camp, in order that they might be in readiness, and pour out at once from all the gates. This gave the besiegers a most violent alarm: for, while he carried on his attack on one side, all the Campanians, both horse and foot, and with them the Carthaginian garrison, commanded by Bostar and Hanno, sallied out on the other. In this dangerous situation the Romans, lest by running together to one part they should leave any other unguarded, divided their forces in this manner: Appius Claudius was opposed to the Campanians; Fulvius to Hannibal; Caius Nero, prætor, with the cavalry of the sixth legion, took post on the road leading to Suessula, and Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the cavalry of the confederates, on the side opposite the river Volturnus. The fight began with the usual shouting and tumult. But, besides the other noises of men, horses, and weapons, the multitude of Campanians, unable to bear arms, being spread along the walls, raised so loud a shout, accompanied with the clangour of brazen instruments, such as is commonly made in the dead of night on occasion of eclipses of the moon, that it drew the attention even of the combatants. Appius easily repulsed the Campanians from the rampart. Hannibal and his Carthaginians, a more powerful force, pressed hard on Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way to the enemy, and, on its being broken, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants pushed through to the very rampart. It had made an effectual breach in the Roman line; but while flattered, on the one hand, with the hope of forcing into the camp, it was threatened on the other with being cut off from the main body of the army. When Fulvius saw the dastardly behaviour of the legion, and the danger of the camp, he exhorted Quintus Navius, and the other principal centurions, to fall on that cohort that was fighting close to the rampart, and to cut it in pieces; he observed to them, that "the juncture was critical in the last degree; that these men must either be allowed a passage—and then they would break into the camp with less labour than they had exerted in forcing their way through a thick line of troops,—or they must

be despatched at the foot of the rampart. This would not be a matter of much contest; they were few in number, and shut out from their friends, and the very breach, which, while the Romans were dispirited, was seen in their line, would, if they faced about upon the foe, prove the means of inclosing and attacking them on all sides at once."

Navius, on hearing these words of the general, took from the standard-bearer, the standard of the second company of spearmen, and advanced with it against the enemy, threatening to throw it into the midst of them if the soldiers did not instantly follow him, and take a share in the fight. His person was very large, and the standard, raised aloft, attracted the eyes of all.

When he came up to the front of the Spaniards, showers of javelins were poured on him from all sides, almost the whole body directing their attacks against him alone; but neither the multitude of the enemies, nor the force of their weapons, could repel the onset of this single combatant.

VI. At the same time, Marcus Atilius, a lieutenant-general, caused the standard of the first company of principes belonging to the same legion to be brought forward against the enemy. The officers commanding in the camp, Lucius Porcius Licinus and Titus Popilius, lieutenants-general, fought with vigour in defence of their trenches, and killed on the very rampart some elephants in the act of attempting to cross it. The bodies of these filling up the ditch, as by a mound or a bridge, afforded a passage to the assailants, and a desperate slaughter was made here, fighting on the bodies of the dead elephants. On the other side of the camp, the Campanians and the Carthaginian garrison had been repulsed, and the fight was now maintained close to the gate of Capua, which opens toward the city of Vulturum. The Romans were hindered from forcing their way in, not so much by the arms of the soldiers, as by the ballistæ and scorpions with which the gate was furnished; and which, by the missile weapons they threw, kept the assailants at a great distance. The ardour of the Romans was, besides, checked by their commander, Appius Claudius, being wounded; for while he was encouraging his men in the van, he received a thrust from a javelin in the upper part of his breast below the left shoulder. Nevertheless a vast number of the enemy was killed before the gate, and the rest were driven

in disorder into the city. When Hannibal saw that the Spanish cohort was slain to a man, and that the Romans maintained the defence of their camp with the utmost degree of vigour, he gave over the assault, and began to retreat; making his line of infantry face about, and the cavalry cover their rear against any attack. The legions were ardently intent on pursuing the enemy; but Flaccus ordered a retreat to be sounded, supposing that enough had been done to make the Campanian, and Hannibal himself, sensible, how little able he was to protect them. Some who have written accounts of this battle inform us, that there were slain on that day, of Hannibal's army, eight thousand men, and three thousand of the Campanians; and that fifteen standards were taken from the Carthaginians, eighteen from the Campanians. In other accounts I find that the importance of the battle was not by any means so great, and that there was more of alarm in the case, than of fighting; that a party of Numidians and Spaniards, with some elephants, having, by surprise, broken into the Roman camp, the elephants going through the middle of it overthrew the tents with great noise, so that the beasts of burden broke their collars and ran about frightened; that to increase the disorder a stratagem was used, Hannibal sending in some persons who could speak the Latin language, of whom he had many, giving orders, in the name of the consuls, that, as the camp was lost, every man should fly, as he was able, to the nearest mountains; but that the imposition was quickly detected, and its progress stopped by a great slaughter of the enemy, and that the elephants were driven out of the camp with firebrands. This battle, in whatsoever manner begun and ended, was the last that was fought previous to the surrender of Capua. The *medixtuticus*, or chief magistrate of the Campanians, for this year, was Seppius Lesius, a man of obscure birth and small property. There is a story, that, at a former time, when his mother was, in his behalf, (he being under age,) expiating a prodigy which happened in the family, the aruspex answered her, that the supreme power at Capua would come to that boy: on which, knowing no circumstance that could countenance such an expectation, she replied, "What you say supposes the affairs of the Campanians in a truly desperate state, when the supreme magistracy is to come to my son." This ex-



pression, meant in *devison* of a true prediction, proved itself true in the event; for the people being distressed by the sword and by famine, and destitute of every kind of hope, those who were entitled by birth to expect the posts of honour, declining to accept them, Lesius, who exclaimed that Capua was deserted and betrayed by the nobility, obtained the post of supreme magistrate, and was the last Campanian who held it.

VII. Hannibal, seeing that he could neither bring the enemy to another engagement, nor force a passage through their camp into Capua, and fearing, lest the new consuls might cut off his supplies of provisions, determined to drop a design in which he had no prospect of success, and to remove from the place. To what quarter he should next direct his route was then to be resolved; and, while he was earnestly deliberating on this head, he felt his mind strongly impelled to make an attempt on Rome itself, the grand source of the war: a measure always ardently wished for, and the omission of which, on the favourable occasion after the battle of Cannæ, was generally censured by others, and not defended by himself. He thought that he need not despair of gaining possession of some part of the city during the panic and tumult which his unexpected approach would occasion; and that when Rome should be in danger, either both the commanders, or at least one of them, would leave Capua; and that, should they divide their forces, this, by weakening both, would afford either him or the Campanians a chance of acting with success. One consideration made him uneasy, that, on his departure, the Capuans might perhaps immediately surrender. He therefore, by rewards, engaged a Numidian, who was of a disposition to undertake any thing for pay, to be the bearer of a letter to the people, and, going into the Roman camp in character of a deserter, to pass out privately on the other side to Capua. This letter was full of encouragements to hold out: "his departure," he told them, "would prove the means of their safety, as it would draw away the Roman generals and armies from before Capua to the defence of Rome." He exhorted them "not to let their spirits sink; for by patient resolution, for a few days, they would free themselves entirely from the siege." He then ordered all the vessels on the river Vulturnus to be seized, and brought up to a fort which he had before erected for the security of

his camp. As soon as he was informed that a sufficient number of these had been procured to carry over his troops, he led them down by night to the river, provided with victuals for ten days, and, before morning, they gained the other side.

VIII. That this step was intended, Fulvius Flaccus had discovered, from deserters, before it was put in execution; and had apprised the senate of it by a letter sent to Rome, where men's minds were variously affected by the intelligence. At a meeting of the senate, which was immediately convened on this alarming emergency, Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina, recommended, that all concern about Capua, with every other matter, should be laid aside, and all the generals and armies called home, from every part of Italy, for the defence of the capital. Fabius Maximus represented it as utterly disgraceful to retire from Capua, and to let their fears be excited, and their motions directed, by every nod and menace of Hannibal. "Was it credible," he said, "that he, who after gaining the victory of Cannæ had not dared to approach the city, should now, after being repulsed from Capua, conceive an expectation of taking Rome? His purpose in coming was not to attack Rome, but to raise the siege of Capua. As to Rome, Jupiter and the rest of the gods, witnesses of the treaties broken by Hannibal, would, with the troops then in the city, defend it." These opposite opinions were both rejected, and that of Publius Valerius Flaccus, which pointed out a middle course, was adopted. He advised, that due attention should be paid to both the affairs in question, and that a letter should be sent to the generals commanding at Capua, informing them of the force then in that city, mentioning that "they themselves knew what number of troops Hannibal brought with him, and how many were necessary for carrying on the siege of Capua;" and directing, that "if one of the generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, and at the same time, the siege be properly carried on by the remaining troops, and the other general; then, that Claudius and Fulvius should settle between themselves which should conduct the siege of Capua, and which should come home to defend their native city in any attack." A decree of the senate, to this effect, having been passed and carried to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, whose part it was to go to Rome, his colleague being in-

disposed in consequence of his wound, having selected out of the three armies fifteen thousand foot and one thousand horse, conveyed them over the Vulturnus. Having learned with certainty that Hannibal intended to go by the Latine road, he despatched couriers before him to the corporate towns on and near the Appian road, Setia, Cora, and Lanuvium, with orders that the people of those places should not only have provisions prepared for their use, but also bring them down to the road from the lands which lay out of the way; and that they should draw together bodies of soldiers into their towns, that every man might stand forth in defence of his own state.

IX. Hannibal, after passing the Vulturnus, encamped for that day at a small distance from the river. On the day following, he passed by Cales, and came into the Sidicinian territory, where he halted one day to lay it waste; and then marched along the Latine way through the territories of Suessa, Allifæ, and Casinum. Under the walls of Casinum he remained encamped two days, ravaging the country round. Proceeding thence by Interamna and Aquinum, he came into the Fregellan region, to the river Liris, where he found the bridge broken down by the people with design to check his progress. On the other hand, Fulvius had met a delay at the Vulturnus, for Hannibal had burned the ships, and he found great difficulty, in a place where timber was exceedingly scarce, to procure rafts for transporting his army. But this being at length effected, the rest of his march was easy and expeditious; for, not only in the towns, but on both sides of the road, he was accommodated with plenty of provisions; while the soldiers cheerfully exhorted each other to quicken their pace, in the consideration that they were going to defend their native city. At Rome, a messenger from Fregella, who had, without stopping, travelled a day and a night, caused a most violent alarm; which, being augmented by people running up and down, and adding groundless circumstances to what they had heard, put the whole city into a tumultuous ferment. The lamentations of the women were not only heard from the private houses; but the matrons in all quarters, rushing out into the public streets, ran to all the temples, where they swept the altars with their dishevelled hair, fell on their knees, and with hands raised up towards the heavens and the gods, prayed that they would rescue the city

of Rome from the attempts of its enemies, and preserve from hostile violence the Roman mothers, and their little children. The senate remained assembled at the forum, that the magistrates there might, on any occasion, consult them readily. Some accepted commands of parties, and repaired to the several posts to execute their duties; others offered their services wherever they might be requisite. Guards were posted in the citadel, in the capitol, on the walls, on the outside of the city, and likewise on the Alban mount, and in the fort of *Æsula*. In the midst of this confusion, news arrived that Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, had set out with an army from Capua; and lest his authority should be diminished by his coming into the city,<sup>1</sup> the senate passed a decree that Quintus Fulvius should have equal power with the consuls. Hannibal, after ravaging the lands of Fregella with particular severity, in resentment for the breaking down the bridges, came through the territories of Frusino, Ferentium, and Anagnia, into that of Lavici; thence pursuing his route through Algidum to Tusculum, where, being refused admittance into the town, he marched towards the right, to Gabii, and bringing down his army from thence into the lands of the Pupinian tribe, pitched his camp eight miles from Rome. In proportion as he came nearer to the city, the greater was the number of its fugitives slain by the Numidians, who advanced before him; and very many prisoners, of all ranks and ages, were taken.

X. During this general commotion, Fulvius Flaccus, with his army, entered Rome through the Capuan gate, and proceeded along the middle of the city, and through the Carinæ, to the Esquilæ; where, passing out, he pitched his tents between the Esquiline and Colline gates. The plebeian *ædiles* brought thither provisions for the troops: the consuls and senate came into the camp, and there held their consultations on the measures requisite in the present state of affairs. It was then resolved, that the consuls should encamp before the Colline and Esquiline gates; that Caius Calpurnius, city prætor, should command in the capitol and citadel; and that the senate

<sup>1</sup> He would have lost all authority on coming into the city; for, within the walls, a proconsul had no jurisdiction. Whenever therefore a proconsul obtained a triumph or an ovation, it was necessary to procure an order of the people, investing him with the authority of a magistrate during that day.



should be kept assembled, in full numbers, in the forum, as sudden exigencies might probably require their consideration. Meanwhile Hannibal moved his camp forward to the river Anio, three miles from the city, and posting there his troops, he himself, with two thousand horsemen, proceeded from the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules, riding about, and taking as near a view as he could of the fortifications and situation of the city. Flaccus, ashamed of his being suffered to do this, and so much at his ease, sent out a party of cavalry against him, with orders to make those of the enemy retire into their camp. When the fight began, the consuls ordered a body of Numidian deserters, who were then on the Aventine (to the number of twelve hundred), to march across the middle of the city to the Esquilæ, judging that none would be better qualified to act among the hollows, and garden walls, and tombs, and inclosed roads in that quarter. Some persons, seeing from the capitol and citadel these men filing off on horseback, on the brow of the Publician hill, cried out, that the Aventine was taken; and this incident caused such confusion and terror, that, if the Carthaginian camp had not been just at the outside of the walls, the whole multitude would, in their consternation, have rushed out there. As it was, they ran back into the houses, and up to the roofs, from whence they poured down stones and weapons on their own soldiers passing the streets, whom they took for enemies. Nor could the commotion be suppressed, or the mistake rectified, so thronged were the streets with crowds of peasants and cattle, which the sudden alarm had driven into the city. The party of Numidian cavalry were successful against the enemy, and drove them away. As it was necessary to suppress in various different places the many disturbances which were continually arising on every slight occasion, a decree was passed, that all who had been dictators, consuls, or censors, should have the authority of magistrates, until the foe should retire from the walls. By this means a great many tumults, which were raised without foundation, during the remainder of that day, and the following night, were entirely crushed.

XI. Next day, Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew up his forces in order of battle; nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline the challenge. When the armies on both sides stood nearly marshalled for the decision of a contest of such

magnitude, where the city of Rome was to be the prize of the conqueror, a prodigious shower of rain, mixed with hail, so grievously annoyed both parties, that, scarcely able to hold their arms, they retired to their respective camps, not moved, in the slightest degree, by any fear of their adversaries. On the next day, likewise, when the armies were formed on the same ground the same kind of storm separated them; and as soon as they had retired, the weather became wonderfully serene and calm. This was considered by the Carthaginians as portentous; and, we are told, that Hannibal was heard to say that "sometimes the will, sometimes the power of taking the city of Rome, was denied him." His hopes were also damped by two other incidents; one of some weight, the other trivial. The more important was, that, while he lay with his army under the walls of the city of Rome, he understood that a reinforcement of soldiers for Spain had marched out, with standards borne before them. The one of less importance was, and which he learned from a prisoner, that, at this very time, the ground whereon his camp stood, happened to be sold, and the price was not in the least lowered on that account. It appeared to him so great an insult, that a purchaser should be found at Rome for that ground which he actually held and possessed by right of conquest, that he immediately called a crier, and ordered him to set up to sale the silversmiths' shops, which at that time stood round the Roman forum. Discouraged by all these circumstances, he moved his camp to the river Tufia, six miles from the city, and proceeded thence to the grove of Feronia, where was a temple at that time, much celebrated for its riches; the Capenatians and other neighbouring states being accustomed to bring hither the first fruits of their lands, and other offerings, according to their abilities, by which means it was decorated with abundance of gold and silver: of all these offerings the temple was then despoiled. After Hannibal's departure, large heaps of brass were found in it, the soldiers having, through remorse for this impious proceeding, thrown in pieces of uncoined metal. That this temple was pillaged, all writers agree. But Cælius asserts, that Hannibal, in his march towards Rome, turned aside thither from Eretum; and he traces his route through Amiternum, Cutilii, and Reate, alleging, that, from Campania, he came into Samnium, thence into Pelignia;

then, passing near the town of Sulmo, proceeded into the territory of the Marrucinians, thence through the lands of Alba into Marsia, and so on to Amiternum, and the village of Foruli. Nor is this diversity of opinion owing to people's having lost, within so short a period, a distinct remembrance of the traces of so great an army: for, that he went in that track, is certain; the only matter in doubt is, whether he took this route in advancing towards Rome, or in his return thence to Campania.

XII. But Hannibal showed not such obstinate perseverance in his endeavours to raise the siege of Capua, as the Romans did in pushing it forward: for, from Lucania, he hastened away into Bruttium, and all the way to the very strait and the city of Rhegium, with such speed, that in consequence of his sudden arrival he was very near taking that place by surprise. Capua, though the vigour of the siege had not in the meantime been at all relaxed, yet felt the return of Flaccus; and it was matter of great wonder to the besieged, that Hannibal had not come back at the same time. But, in discoursing with some of the besiegers, they soon learned, that they were left to themselves and abandoned; and that the Carthaginians considered the hope of maintaining possession of Capua as desperate. This afflicting intelligence was followed by an edict of the proconsul, published by direction of the senate, and spread among the enemy, that "any native of Campania who should come over before a certain day should be indemnified for all that was past." But not one embraced the offer, though they were not restrained by fidelity to their associates, so much as by their fears, because at the time of their revolting they had committed crimes too enormous, as they supposed, to be forgiven. However, though none of them were led to desert by a regard to private interest, yet neither was any proper care taken to promote the interest of the public. The nobility had renounced all public business, and could not be compelled to meet in the senate; and he who was in the office of chief magistrate, was a man who had not, from thence, derived any honour on himself, but had, from his own worthlessness, stripped the office of its weight and authority. Not one of the nobles even appeared in the forum, or in any public place; but kept themselves shut up in their houses, in daily expectation of the downfall of their city, and the ruin of their country,

together with their own destruction. The administration of all business had devolved on Bostar and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian garrison, the chief object of whose concern was, their own danger, not that of their allies. These men wrote to Hannibal in terms not only free, but harsh, charging him, that "besides surrendering Capua into the hands of the enemy, he had abandoned them and their garrison to the hazard of all kinds of torture: that he had gone off to Bruttium as if on purpose to get out of the way, lest the city should be taken in his sight. This was not like the conduct of the Romans, whom not even an attack on the city of Rome could draw away from the siege of Capua: so much more steady were Romans in enmity than Carthaginians in friendship." They told him, that "if he would return to Capua, and bring his whole force thither, both they and the Campanians would be ready to sally forth to his assistance. They had not crossed the Alps for the purpose of waging war with the people of Rhegium, or of Tarentum; wherever the Roman legions were, there ought likewise to be the Carthaginian armies. In this manner success had been obtained at Cannæ; in this manner at the Thrasimenus; by uniting, by keeping their camp close to that of the enemy, by making trial of fortune." Having written a letter to this effect, they gave it to some Numidians, who had before promised their service for a reward agreed on. After these had come into the camp to Flaccus as deserters, intending to watch for an opportunity of proceeding thence, (the famine which had raged so long in Capua affording any one a colourable pretence for deserting,) a Campanian woman, who had been mistress to one of these, came unexpectedly into the camp, and informed the Roman general that the Numidians had come over with a treacherous design, and were carrying a letter to Hannibal; and that of this she was ready to convict one of them, who had disclosed the matter to her. On being brought to an examination, he at first maintained firmly that he did not know the woman; but afterwards, yielding reluctantly to the force of truth, on seeing that the racks were called for and brought out, he confessed the fact. The letter was produced, and a farther discovery made of a matter not hitherto mentioned, that several other Numidians under the appearance of deserters, were strolling about in the Roman



camp. These, in number about seventy, were apprehended, and, together with the late deserters, beaten with rods; their hands were then cut off, and they were driven back to Capua.

XIII. The sight of a punishment so grievous quite broke the spirits of the Campanians. The populace, crowding about the senate-house, compelled Lesius to call a meeting of the senate, and openly threatened the nobles, who, for a long time past, had absented themselves from public assemblies, that, if they did not attend the meeting, they would go round to each of their houses, and drag them out by force. The fear of this procured the magistrate a full senate. At this meeting, while the rest proposed sending ambassadors to the Roman generals, Vibius Virius, who had been the principal promoter of the revolt from the Romans, on being asked his opinion, said, that "Those who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace, and a surrender, did not consider either what they themselves would do, if they had the Romans in their power, or what they must expect to suffer from them. What!" said he, "do you imagine that your surrender now will be of the same kind with that, whereby, in order to obtain support against the Samnites, we delivered ourselves and all belonging to us into the hands of the Romans? Have you already forgotten at what season and in what circumstances, we revolted from the Romans? Have you already forgotten how, at the time of this revolt, we put to death with indignity and torture, their garrison, which might have been dismissed? How often and with what bitter animosity, we have sallied out against them, since they began the siege; and even attacked their camp? That we invited Hannibal, in hopes of crushing them; and that we lately sent him hence to attack the city of Rome? Recollect, on the other hand, the instances of their animosity against us; that you may, from thence, be able to estimate what room there is for hope. When there was a foreign enemy in Italy, and that enemy was Hannibal; when war blazed in every quarter, they, neglecting every other concern, neglecting Hannibal himself, sent both their consuls with two consular armies to attack Capua. These two years they have kept us shut up, surrounded with trenches, and consuming us by famine; although they themselves, together with us, undergo the extremest dangers, and the severest labours;

often losing many at their rampart and trenches, and, at last, being nearly beaten out of their camp. But I will not enlarge upon these matters. To endure toils and hardships in attacking an enemy's city, is no new thing; it is usual. What I am going to mention, affords a proof of resentment and implacable hatred: Hannibal, with a powerful army of horse and foot, assaulted their camp, and got possession of a part of it. The greatness of their danger did not, in the least, dispose them to drop the siege. Crossing the Vulturnus, he laid waste the territory of Cales with fire: such a severe calamity of their allies called them not away. He ordered his troops to march in hostile array to the city of Rome itself: this storm, ready to burst on their heads, they likewise slighted. Passing the Anio, he encamped within three miles of Rome, and at last advanced to the very walls and gates, showing a determination to deprive them of their city, unless they quitted Capua. They did not quit it. Wild beasts, inflamed with blind fury and rage, you may draw away to the assistance of their young, if you go up to their dens and cubs. As to the Romans, not the blockade of Rome, nor their wives and children, whose lamentations might almost be heard even here, not their altars, their houses, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors profaned and violated, could draw them away from Capua; so keen are their wishes to bring us to punishment, so eager their thirst for our blood. And, perhaps, not without reason; for we, on our parts, would have done the same, had fortune given us the power. Wherefore, since the immortal gods have determined otherwise, and though I ought not to decline death; yet while I am free, while I am master of myself, I can, by a death both honourable and easy, avoid the tortures and indignities which the enemy hopes to inflict on me. Never will I see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius puffed up with the insolence of victory; nor will I be dragged in chains through the city of Rome, as a spectacle in their triumph, that I may afterwards, either in a dungeon or tied to a stake, have my back mangled with stripes, and submit my neck to a Roman axe; never will I see my native city demolished, and reduced to ashes, nor the Campanian matrons and virgins dragged to violation. Alba, from whence they themselves sprung, they rased from the foundation, that no monument of

their extraction or origin might exist. Can I believe that they will spare Capua, against which they are more violently incensed than against Carthage? Whosoever of you, then, are disposed to yield to destiny, before they become spectators of so many scenes of such horrid kinds, for these a banquet is prepared and ready, this day, at my house. When you shall have indulged plentifully in food and wine, the same cup that will be given to me shall go round. That cup will save our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from the sight and hearing of all the cruelties and indignities that await the conquered. There will be persons in readiness to throw our lifeless bodies on a large pile kindled in the court-yard of the house. This way alone conducts us to death with honour and freedom. Our enemies themselves will admire our courage, and Hannibal will be convinced, that the allies, whom he deserted and betrayed, were men of determined valour."

XIV. More approved of the proposal contained in this speech of Vibius, than had resolution to adopt it. The greater part of the senate, conceiving hopes that the clemency of the Roman people, often experienced in former disputes, might be extended even to their case, after passing a decree for that purpose, sent ambassadors to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators followed Vibius Virius to his house; where, after feasting with him, and, as far as they could, banishing from their minds, by wine, all feeling of the impending evil, they every one took the poison. They then broke up the meeting, gave their hands, took the last embrace, condoling with one another on their own fall, and that of their country. Some remained there, in order to be burned together on one pile, and the rest retired to their several houses. Their veins were filled by the victuals and wine; which circumstance retarded the efficacy of the poison in hastening death, so that most of them lingered through that whole night, and part of the next day; however, they all expired before the gates were opened to the enemy. On the day following, the gate of Jupiter, which was opposite to the Roman camp, was opened by order of the pro-consul, and through it marched in one legion, and two confederate squadrons, under the command of Caius Fulvius, lieutenant-general. His first care was, to have all the arms and weapons in the city brought to him; then, plac-

ing guards at all the gates, to prevent any one going or being conveyed out, he secured the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Campanian senators to go into the camp to the Roman generals. On their arrival there, they were all immediately thrown into chains, and ordered to furnish the quaestors with an account of what gold and silver they possessed. The gold amounted to seventy pounds weight, the silver to three thousand two hundred. Of the senators, twenty-five were sent to Cales, and twenty-eight to Teanum, to be kept in custody. These were the persons who appeared to have been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the revolt from the Romans.

XV. With respect to the punishment of the Campanian senate, Fulvius and Claudius could by no means agree. Claudius was inclined to favour their suit for pardon; the opinion of Fulvius was more severe. Appius, therefore, proposed, that the entire determination of that matter should be removed to Rome; observing, that it was highly reasonable that the senate should have an opportunity of enquiring, whether they had brought any of the Latine confederates, or of the municipal towns, to take part in their designs, and whether they had been assisted by them in the war. Fulvius insisted, that "it would be to the last degree improper, that faithful allies should have their minds disturbed by dubious imputations, and be subjected to informers, who never scruple either what they say or do. Any inquiry of that kind, therefore, he was resolved to suppress and stifle." After this conversation they parted; and Appius made no doubt that his colleague, though he spoke in this determined manner, would yet, in a case of such importance, wait for letters from Rome. But Fulvius, apprehensive that his intention might be frustrated by that very means, dismissed the officers attending at his pavilion, and ordered the military tribunes and prefects of the allies to give notice to two thousand chosen horsemen, to be in readiness at the third trumpet. With this body of horse he set out in the night for Teanum, and entering the gate at the first light, proceeded straight to the forum. The arrival of the horsemen having caused immediately a concourse of people, he ordered the Sidicinan magistrate to be summoned, and commanded him to bring forth the Campanians whom he had in his custody. Accordingly they were all brought forth, beaten with rods, and beheaded. From thence, he



rode away at full speed to Cales; where, when he had taken his seat on the tribunal, and the lictors were binding the Campanians to the stakes, a courier arriving in haste from Rome, delivered him a letter from Caius Calpurnius, the prætor, and a decree of the senate in their favour. A murmur immediately spread from the tribunal through the whole assembly, that the case of the Campanians was reserved for the cognizance of the senate. Fulvius, suspecting this to be so, when he received the letter, thrust it unopened into his bosom, and commanded the crier to order the lictor to proceed in his duty according to law. Thus those also who were at Cales suffered punishment. He then read the letter and the decree, when it could not obstruct the business already finished, and which had been hurried on lest it might be obstructed. When Fulvius was rising from his seat, Taurea Jubellius, a Campanian, making his way through the middle of the city and of the crowd, called on him by name. Fulvius, wondering what his business with him might be, resumed his seat; on which the other said, "Order me also to be put to death, that you may boast of having killed a braver man than yourself." Fulvius said, that "the man had certainly lost his reason," and observed besides, that "if he were inclined to comply with his desire, he was now restrained by a decree of the senate." Jubellius on this exclaimed: "Since, after seeing my country reduced to captivity, after losing my friends and relations, after having killed, with my own hand, my wife and children, to prevent their suffering any indignity, I am denied even the means of dying in the same manner with these my countrymen; let me seek from my own resolution a deliverance from this detested life;" and then stabbing himself through the breast, with a sword which he had concealed under his garment, he fell lifeless at the general's feet.

XVI. Because not only the whole business relative to the punishment of the Campanians, but, also, most of the other transactions, on that quarter, were conducted agreeably to the single judgment of Flaccus, some writers affirm, that Appius Claudius died before the surrender of Capua. They say, too, that this same Taurea neither came voluntarily to Cales, nor died by his own hand; but that, while he was, among the rest, tied to a stake, and because the expressions which he loudly vociferated could not be well heard, amidst the noise of the

crowd, Flaccus had ordered silence to be made, and that then Taurea uttered the words before-mentioned: that "he, a man of consummate valour, was to be put to death by one his inferior in courage!" that, on his saying this, the crier, by order of the proconsul, pronounced aloud this order, "Lictor, apply the rods to the man of valour, and on him first execute the law." Some writers assert also, that he read the decree of the senate before he beheaded the prisoners; but because there was an expression annexed, that "if he judged proper, he should refer the business entire to the senate," he interpreted this as giving him authority to determine what he judged most conducive to the public good. From Cales he returned to Capua, and received the submission of Atella and Calatia. In these towns also, the persons who had been in the management of affairs, were punished. Upon the whole, eighty of the principal members of the senate were put to death, and about three hundred Campanian nobles were thrown into prison. The rest, being sent into several of the cities of the Latine confederates to be kept in custody, perished by various means. The whole remaining multitude of Campanian citizens were ordered to be sold. How to dispose of the town and its territory remained to be considered: and here, many were of opinion, that a city, so hostile in disposition, so near the Roman borders, and so formidably powerful, ought to be demolished. However, the consideration of immediate utility prevailed; and, on account of the soil, which was well known to be endued with a fertility qualifying it for every kind of cultivation, and beyond any other in Italy, the city was preserved, to be a kind of settlement of husbandmen. For the purpose of peopling the same, all those of its former inhabitants, who had not become citizens, together with the freedmen, dealers, and tradesmen, were ordered to remain; the land and public buildings became the property of the Roman people. It was, however, determined, that Capua should have no other privilege of a city, than the being inhabited; no system of civil polity, no assembly of a senate or commons, no magistrates. For it was supposed that a multitude, without a public council, without a ruling head, participating in no common rights, would be incapable of forming designs in concert. It was further ordained, that the administration of justice should be conducted by a præfect, to be sent yearly from

Rome. In this manner were the affairs of Capua adjusted, with a policy in every particular commendable. Severe and speedy punishment was inflicted on the most guilty; the populace were dispersed beyond all hope of return; but no passionate resentment was vented, in fire and devastation, on the unoffending houses and walls. There was impressed on the minds of all the allies, an advantageous opinion of Roman clemency in the sparing of this very celebrated and opulent city, the demolition of which would have deeply afflicted, not only all Campania, but every state in its neighbourhood. This conduct extorted also from the enemy a full acknowledgment of the power of the Romans to punish faithless allies; while they were convinced how utterly inadequate the ability of Hannibal was to afford them the protection engaged for.

XVII. The attention of the senate being no longer necessary to the business of Capua, they decreed to Claudius Nero six thousand foot and three hundred horse, to be chosen by himself out of those two legions which he had commanded at that place; with a like number of foot, and eight hundred horse of the confederate Latines. This army he embarked at Puteoli, and carried over to Spain. When the fleet arrived at Tarraco, he disembarked the troops, hauled the ships on shore, and, to augment his numbers, armed the marines; then, marching to the river Iberus, and receiving the forces then with Titus Fonteius and Lucius Marcus, he proceeded towards the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, was at this time encamped in Ausetania, at a place called the Black Stones, between the towns of Illeturge and Metissa—a valley surrounded by hills and woods, the entrances to which were seized by Nero. In order to extricate himself, Hasdrubal sent a messenger with the wand of peace, engaging that, if he were allowed to depart, he would entirely evacuate Spain. This proposal the Roman received with joy. The Carthaginians then requested, that a conference might be held in order to settle, in writing, the rules to be observed respecting the surrender of the citadels of the several towns, and the appointment of a day whereon the garrisons were to be withdrawn, removing, without obstruction, every thing that belonged to them. This request being complied with, Hasdrubal gave orders, that as soon as it should begin to grow dark, the part of his army least calculated for

expeditious movements should get out of the defile as they were able: particular care, however, was taken that great numbers should not leave it at once, because a few were more likely both to pass in silence, and unobserved by the enemy, and also to make their way through the narrow and difficult paths. Next day the commanders of it met; but the whole of it was purposely wasted by Hasdrubal in speaking and writing abundance of things perfectly immaterial; and, consequently, the conference was postponed to the next. He thus gained the space of the following night also, to send out more of his troops, and even the next day did not conclude the business. In this manner several days were passed in openly debating on the conditions, and the nights in privately sending off the Carthaginians; so that, when the greater part of his troops had got clear, his sincerity decreasing along with his fears, he refused to abide by what he himself had proposed. And now, almost the whole of the infantry had made their way out of the defile, when, at the dawn of day, a thick fog overspread both that and all the adjacent plains; which Hasdrubal perceiving, sent to Nero to defer the conference until the next morning, alleging, that this was a day on which the Carthaginians were prohibited by their religion from transacting any serious business. Even this raised no suspicion of deceit. Hasdrubal, having obtained the indulgence he had demanded, instantly quitted the camp with his cavalry and elephants; and, without causing any alarm, gained a place of safety. About the fourth hour, the fog being dispersed by the sun, the day cleared up, and showed to the Roman's the enemy's deserted camp. Then, at last, Nero became acquainted with Carthaginian perfidy, and was so provoked at having thus been duped, that he set out directly in pursuit of the retreating enemy, determined to bring him to an engagement; but the other eluded all his endeavours. Some skirmishes however took place between the rear of the Carthaginians and the advanced guard of the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile those Spanish states, which, after the late disaster, had abandoned the cause of the Romans, did not return to their alliance, but no others had lately deserted them. At Rome, since the recovery of Capua, the senate and people gave not more earnest attention to the affairs of Italy, than to those of Spain; they therefore determined to augment



the army there, and to send a general to command it. But it was not so easy to agree on the person to be sent, as it was to perceive that extraordinary care ought to be employed in the choice of one to be commissioned to such a charge, in which two most eminent commanders had fallen within the space of thirty days, and where he was to supply the place of the two. Some named one, some another, until the resolution was at last adopted of leaving it to the people in assembly, to elect a proconsul for Spain; and the consuls accordingly proclaimed a day for the election. It had been expected, at first, that those who believed themselves qualified for such an important command, would become candidates; and the failure of this expectation renewed the affliction of the public, for the severe blow which they had sustained, and for the generals whom they had lost. Under this dejection of mind, almost incapable of forming a judgment on the state of things, the people, nevertheless, on the day of election, repaired to the field of Mars, where they fixed their eyes on the magistrates, watching the countenances of the several men of the greatest eminence, who only cast looks of perplexity one on another. And now, every one began with added sorrow to remark, that their affairs were hopeless, and the cause of the public so desperate that no one dared to accept the command in Spain; when, on a sudden, Publius Cornelius Scipio, a son of Publius, who was killed in Spain, being then about the age of twenty-four, went up to an eminence, from whence he could be seen, and declared himself a candidate. The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly turned on him, and universal acclamations testified hopes and presages of prosperity and success to his commission. Orders were given, that they should immediately proceed to give their suffrages, when not only every century, without exception, but every individual, voted, that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain. When the business was finished, and the vehemence and ardour of their emotions had subsided, a sudden silence ensued; and they now began to reflect on the strange manner in which they had acted, governing themselves rather by partial inclination, than by judgment. His early age was the principal cause of their uneasiness: while some at the same time conceived terrible apprehensions from the fortune attending his house, and even from his name. The two families he

belonged to were then in mourning; and he was to set out for a province where he must carry on his operations between the tombs of his father and of his uncle.

XIX. When he perceived that, after going through the business with such alacrity of zeal, the people were yet impressed with solicitude and anxiety, he summoned an assembly; and there enlarged on the subject of his years, on the command entrusted to him, and the war to be carried on; and this he did with such magnanimity and elevation of sentiment, as to rekindle and renew the ardour which had subsided, and to fill the people with greater confidence than either the faith reposed in any human professions, or than reason, judging from the most promising state of affairs, usually supplies. For Scipio was deserving of admiration, not only for real virtues, but also for a certain judicious method of displaying them to advantage, to which he had been trained from his youth. He generally represented any matter, which he wished to carry with the multitude, as recommended either by a vision in the night, or by an admonition impressed on his mind by the gods; whether owing to the influence of some kind of superstition in him, or with the design of bringing men to execute his orders and schemes without hesitation, as if they were directed by the responses of an oracle. To prepare their minds for this, he never transacted any business, public or private (from the very moment of assuming the manly gown), without first going to the capitol, walking into the temple, and sitting there for some time; generally alone and in some retired spot. This custom, which was observed by him through the whole course of his life, made several people give credit to a notion which was then propagated either by his own contrivance or by some unknown author, that he was of divine extraction; like to the fable formerly told of Alexander the Great. The fiction went, that he was begotten by a huge serpent; in which form the prodigy, it was said, had been very often seen in his mother's chamber, and on people's coming in, glided away suddenly and disappeared. These miraculous stories he himself never discouraged, but rather artfully countenanced, neither contradicting any thing of the kind, nor absolutely affirming it. Many other remarkable incidents in respect of this youth (some real, and others fictitious,) had procured for him a degree of admiration

surpassing what was due to any human being ; and these were the motives which then induced the public to entrust him, at so unripe an age, with the conduct of so momentous a business as that to which he had aspired. To the remains of the whole army, still in Spain, and the forces carried thither from Puteoli with Claudius Nero, were added ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse ; and Marcus Junius Silanus, proprætor, was sent with him, to assist in the management of affairs. Thus setting sail from Ostia, on the Tiber, with a fleet of thirty ships, which were all quinqueremes, and coasting along the shore of the Tuscan sea, the Alps, and the Gallic gulf ; and then doubling the promontory of Pyrene, he disembarked his forces at Emporium, a city of Greeks, who came originally from Phocæa. Thence, having ordered the fleet to follow, he marched by land to Tarraco, and there held a convention of all the allies ; for, on the news of his arrival, embassies had poured in from every state in the province. Here he ordered the ships to be laid up on shore, after sending back four triremes of the Massilians, which had, out of respect, accompanied him from home. He then applied himself to giving answers to the embassies of the several states, whose minds had been held in suspense by the succession of so many various events ; and this he performed with much dignity of spirit, resulting from a thorough confidence in his own abilities ; but at the same time, not one presumptuous word fell from him, and, in every thing which he said, there appeared at once the greatest elevation of sentiment, and the greatest candour.

XX. Leaving Tarraco, he visited the several states of the allies, and the winter-quarters of the army. Here he bestowed much praise on the soldiers, for having, after all their sufferings, in two such dreadful disasters succeeding one another, still retained possession of the province, not allowing the enemy to derive any advantage from their success, but excluding them entirely from the country on the hither side of the Iberus, and honourably securing the safety of the allies. Marcus he kept near himself, and treated with him upon terms so highly honourable as plainly demonstrated, that he feared nothing less, than that any one might eclipse his own glory. Silanus then succeeded in the room of Nero ; and the troops lately arrived went into winter-quarters. Scipio having,

without loss of time, repaired to the places where his presence was requisite, and finished the business there to be done, returned to Tarraco. The enemy were, by this time, possessed with an opinion of Scipio not inferior to that entertained by his own countrymen and the allies ; and they felt, moreover, a kind of foreboding of what was to come, which (the less able they were to account for apprehensions of which no cause appeared) impressed the greater dread upon their minds. They had gone into winter quarters in different parts of the country : Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, at Gades, on the ocean ; Mago in the inland parts, the greatest part of his troops being stationed above the pass of Castulo ; and Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, in the neighbourhood of Saguntum, on the banks of the Iberus. Towards the end of that summer wherein Capua was taken, and Scipio came into Spain, a Carthaginian fleet, which was called over from Sicily to Tarentum to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison in the citadel, shut up, indeed, every access to it by sea ; but, by lying there too long, caused a greater scarcity among their friends than among the enemy : for the quantity of corn that could be brought into the town along the coasts, which were kept in awe, and through the ports, which were kept open by the power of the Carthaginian fleet, was not equal to the consumption of the fleet itself, crowded as it was with a mixed multitude of people of every description ; and while the garrison of the citadel, being few in number, could support themselves out of the magazines previously formed without any importation, all that could be brought in was too little to answer the demands of the Tarentines and the fleet. At last the fleet was sent away, which gave greater satisfaction than its coming had done, but produced very little relief to the scarcity ; for when the naval force was removed, no more corn could be brought in.

XXI. Towards the close of this summer, Marcus Marcellus having returned to Rome from his province of Sicily, the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona, to give him audience. Here, after expatiating on the services which he had performed, and complaining in mild terms, not more on his own account than on that of his soldiers, that though he had completed all the business of the province, he had not been allowed to bring home the army, he request-



ed permission to enter the city in triumph. This occasioned a long debate, wherein it was urged on one side, that, after they had in his absence decreed a supplication and a thanksgiving to the immortal gods in his behalf, and for services happily accomplished, the refusing him a triumph when he appeared to demand it, would imply an inconsistency; and, on the other, that, as they had decreed that he should give up the command of the army to a successor (which kind of decree was never passed, unless when war still subsisted in the province), there would be no less inconsistency in voting him a triumph, as if the war were concluded, and while the troops, who could best testify whether he merited that honour or not, were in a distant country. The matter was at length compromised, with a decree that he should enter the city in ovation. The plebeian tribunes, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people the issuing of an order, that Marcus Marcellus should enjoy the authority of a general during the day on which he should pass through Rome in ovation. On the day preceding that of his entrance, he triumphed on the Alban mount; and, in his ovation, had great abundance of spoils borne before him into the city. Together with a model, representing the captured city of Syracuse, were carried in procession the catapultas, balistas, and every other kind of engine used in war. Likewise, the valuable ornaments collected by their kings, at vast expense, during a long continuance of peace; abundance of wrought silver and brass, furniture of various kinds, precious garments, and a great number of remarkably fine statues, with which kind of ornaments Syracuse had abounded as much as any of the Grecian cities. Eight elephants were also led in his train, as an emblem of his victory over the Carthaginians; and what formed not the least attractive part of the show, he was preceded by Sosis the Syracusan, and Mericus the Spaniard, with crowns of gold on their heads; the former of whom had guided the Romans into Syracuse by night, the other had delivered the island and its garrison into their hands. To both of these the freedom of the state was granted, and to each five hundred acres of land. The portion intended for Sosis was ordered to be given to him in the territory of Syracuse, out of the estates which had belonged either to the kings or to the enemies of the Roman people, with any house that he should choose of those which

had belonged to persons punished according to the laws of war. Mericus, and the Spaniards who came over with him, were to have a city and lands allotted to them, in some of those parts of Sicily which had revolted from the Romans: and Marcus Cornelius was commissioned to assign these to them wherever he should judge proper. Four hundred acres of land in the same country were decreed to Belligenes, by whose persuasions Mericus had been prevailed on to secede from the Carthaginians over to the Romans. After the departure of Marcellus from Sicily, a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand foot and three thousand Numidian horse, who were soon joined by the Murgantians, and their revolt was followed by that of Hybla, and several other cities of less note. The Numidians, headed by Mutines, making excursions through every part of the island, wasted with fire and sword the lands of those who were in alliance with Rome. Besides these untoward circumstances, the Roman troops, being incensed partly because they had not been carried home with their commander, and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, became very remiss in their duty, and wanted rather a leader than inclination for a mutiny. In the midst of these difficulties, the prætor, Marcus Cornelius, by sometimes soothing, sometimes reproving the soldiers, brought them to a calmer temper, and also reduced to submission all the states which had revolted; out of which he assigned Murgantia to those Spaniards who were entitled to a city and lands by the senate's decree.

XXII. As both the consuls were employed in the one province of Apulia, and as the danger to be apprehended from Hannibal and the Carthaginians was not diminished, they were ordered to cast lots for Apulia and Macedonia as their provinces. Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and he succeeded in the room of Lævinus. Fulvius was called to Rome to preside at the elections; and, holding an assembly, the younger Veturius century, being the first to vote, named Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Titus Otacilius, consuls. Manlius being present, a crowd gathered around him to offer their congratulations, there being no doubt of the concurrence of the people. Surrounded as he was by a vast multitude, he went up to the consul's tribunal, requesting permission to say a few words, and that the century which had voted might be called back. After the assembly had

waited some time with impatience, to know what he intended to require, he excused himself from accepting the office, on account of the weakness of his eyes, observing, that "it would be shameless presumption in a pilot, or a general, who was obliged to transact his own proper business by the help of other people's eyes, to expect that the lives and fortunes of men should be committed to his charge. Wherefore, he requested the consul to order the younger Veturian century to be called back to vote anew, and to recollect, while they were electing consuls, the war that subsisted in Italy, with the present exigencies of the commonwealth; and that people's ears were scarcely yet relieved from the noise and tumult raised by the enemy, when a few months ago they lay close to the walls of Rome." Here he was interrupted by the century, who one and all cried out that they would not alter their vote. Torquatus then replied, "Should I become consul, neither shall I be able to endure your behaviour, nor you my government: go back, then, and vote again, and consider that there is a Carthaginian war subsisting in Italy, and that the leader of your enemies is Hannibal." The century then, moved by the authority of the man, and the murmurs of admiration expressed by all around, besought Titus to summon the elder Veturian century, as they wished to confer with persons older than themselves, and to be directed by them in their choice of consuls. The elder Veturian century was accordingly summoned, and time was allowed for the others to confer with them, apart from the crowd, in the inclosure of the voters. The elders said, that there were three proper objects for their consideration, two of whom had already passed through a full course of public honours, Quintus Fabius, and Marcus Marcellus; that if they had a particular wish to elect a consul, yet untried, against the Carthaginians, there was Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had conducted the war against king Philip, both on land and sea, with extraordinary success. They accordingly consulted together respecting those three, and the elders being dismissed, the younger century proceeded to vote. They named as consuls Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose character then shone in full splendour, in consequence of his glorious conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius, both absent;—and were followed by all the rest of the centuries. Men may ridicule the admirers of ancient times, but I

shall ever remain persuaded, that even though there should exist a republic of philosophers, such as speculative men are fond of forming in imagination, but which never was known, yet there could not be produced either a nobility of more solid judgment, and of more unambitious tempers, nor a populace guided by sounder moral principles, than were these of whom I speak. That a century of young men should wish to consult their elders on the choice of a person to whom they were to entrust the government by their vote, appears indeed at present scarcely credible; but it is because, in the fashion of this age, even sons slight and disregard the counsel of their parents.

XXIII. They then proceeded to the election of prætors, and Publius Manlius Volso, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, Caius Lætorius, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, were chosen. It happened that, just as the elections were finished, an account arrived that Titus Otacilius, whom the people would probably have appointed consul, in his absence, together with Titus Manlius, if the course of the election had not been interrupted, had died in Sicily. The games of Apollo had been celebrated the year before, and, on the proposal of the prætor Calpurnius, that they should be performed this year also, a decree was made by the senate that they should be celebrated annually for ever. This year several prodigies were seen and reported. At the temple of Concord, a statue of victory, which stood on the summit of the roof, being struck by lightning, and shaken at its base, fell and struck among the ensigns of the goddess which were on the pediment. From Anagnia and Fregella reports were brought, that a wall and some gates were by the like means thrown down; that, in the forum of Sudertum, streams of blood ran for a whole day; that a shower of stones fell at Eretum, and that at Reate a mule had produced a foal. These prodigies were expiated with the greater victims; the people were ordered to perform a supplication, of one day's continuance, to avert the wrath of the gods, and the nine days' festival was solemnized. Several of the public priests died this year, and new ones were appointed in their places. In the room of Marcus Æmilius Numida, decemvir of religious affairs, was substituted Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; in the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, pontiff, Caius Livius; and in the room of Spurius Carvilius Maximus,



angur, Marcus Servilius. Because Titus Otacilius Crassus, who was a pontiff, died after the conclusion of the year, there was no nomination of any person to his place. Caius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, because he had committed some irregularity in the distribution of the entrails, resigned the office.

XXIV. About this time Marcus Valerius Lævinus, after having first sounded the dispositions of the principal men in secret conferences, came with some light ships to a council of the Ætolians, which had been previously summoned for this purpose. Here, to convince them of the flourishing state of the affairs of Italy and Sicily, he expatiated in high terms on the reduction of Capua, and of Syracuse, adding, that "the Romans inherited, even from their earliest ancestors, a constant disposition to study the interest of their allies; some of whom they had admitted into their state to equal privileges with themselves, and others were supported by them in such situations, that they chose rather to be allies, than fellow-citizens. That the Ætolians would be held by them in the higher degree of estimation, on account that they would be the first, of all the nations separated from them by the sea, who united with them in friendship. That Philip and the Macedonians were troublesome neighbours; but that he had already broken their strength and spirits, and was determined to reduce them so low, that they should not only evacuate those cities, of which they had forcibly deprived the Ætolians, but should find Macedonia itself an uneasy residence. As to the Acarnanians, whose dismemberment from their body gave the Ætolians much concern, he engaged to replace them under the former charter of obedience to their authority and jurisdiction." These assertions and promises of the Roman general, Scopas, who was then prætor of the nation, and Dorimachus, a principal man among the Ætolians, confirmed by their own authority; and therefore, with the less reserve, and greater assurance of gaining belief, extolled the power and exalted reputation of the Roman people. However, that which had the greatest influence was the hope of recovering Acarnania. The particulars were accordingly reduced to writing, on which they were to join in a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and a clause was added, that "if it was agreeable to their own wish, the Eleans and Lacedæmonians should be in-

cluded on the same terms of friendship, and also Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilædus." Attalus was king of Asia, the others of Thrace and Illyria. The terms of the treaty were, that "the Ætolians should immediately commence war against Philip on land: that the Romans should assist them with not less than twenty ships of five banks of oars: that, of all the cities that should be taken as far as Corcyra, beginning from Ætolia, the buildings of every description, together with the lands thereunto belonging, should be the property of the Ætolians; all other booty of what kind soever to be given up to the Romans: that the Romans should use their endeavours to secure to the Ætolians the possession of Acarnania: that, if the Ætolians should make peace with Philip, an article should be inserted in the treaty, declaring it valid, only on condition that Philip should refrain from committing hostilities on the Romans, their allies, or any under their dominion: in like manner, if the Roman people should form an alliance with the king, that they should take care not to allow him a right of making war on the Ætolians and their allies." Such was the purport of the negotiation entered into by the above-named powers, two copies of which were made two years after, and deposited, one by the Romans, in the capitol, and the other by the Ætolians, at Olympia, that these consecrated records might bear evidence of its contents. This delay arose from the Ætolian ambassadors having been too long detained at Rome, which however was no impediment to the business of the war; for the Ætolians immediately commenced hostilities against Philip, while Lævinus attacked Zacynthus, a small island near the coast of Ætolia, which has one city of the same name with itself. This, excepting the citadel, he reduced by storm, and taking from the Acarnanians Æniadæ and Nasus, put them into the hands of the Ætolians. Judging that Philip was now sufficiently embroiled in war with his neighbours to prevent his thinking of Italy, the Carthaginians, and his compact with Hannibal, he retired to Corcyra.

XXV. Philip received the account of the defection of the Ætolians at Pella, where he had fixed his residence for the winter. As he was to move his army into Greece in the beginning of the next spring, he determined to strike terror into the Illyrians, and the cities in that quarter, in return for the alarms which they

had caused to him, so that they should leave Macedonia unmolested during his absence; accordingly, he undertook a sudden expedition against the territories of Oricum and Apollonia. The Apollonians who came out to meet him he compelled to fly with dismay into their city; then, after ravaging the frontiers of Illyricum, he pursued his route with the same degree of expedition into Pelagonia, where he took Sintia, a town belonging to the Dardanians, and which would have afforded them a passage into Macedonia. Having finished this business with all possible speed, he turned his thoughts to the war which he had to maintain against the Ætolians and the Romans in conjunction, and marched down through Pelagonia, Lynceus, and Bottiaea into Thessaly, in hopes that many of these states might be prevailed upon to join him in support of the war with the Ætolians. Leaving therefore, at the narrow entrance of Thessaly, one of his generals, named Perseus, with four thousand soldiers, to secure the pass against the Ætolians, he went himself at the head of his army, before he should be engaged by more important business, into Macedonia, and thence into Thrace and Medica. This nation had been accustomed, whenever they saw the king employed in a foreign war, and the kingdom left unguarded, to make incursions into Macedonia: he therefore set about wasting the country about Phragandæ, and laid siege to the city of Jamphorina, the capital and principal fortress of Medica. Scopas, when he learned that the king had gone into Thrace, and was employed in carrying on war there, armed all the young men of the Ætolians, and prepared to carry hostilities into Acarnania. This nation, conscious of their inability to oppose him, seeing too that the cities of Æniadæ and Nasus were already lost, and that they were besides threatened with an invasion by the Romans, formed a plan of action dictated by passion rather than by prudence. Their wives, children, and all persons above the age of sixty years, they sent way into the neighbouring states of Epirus: while all from fifteen to sixty bound themselves to each other by an oath, to march against the enemy, and not to return home unless victorious; framing a dreadful execration on such of their countrymen as should receive into their city or house, or admit to their table or fire-side, any one who had given way to the foe, or quitted his post in battle. They addressed also a most solemn

obtestation, of the same purport, to the states with whom they had an intercourse; beseeching, at the same time, the Epirotes to inter in one common tomb such of their men as should fall in battle, and to fix this epitaph over their graves: **HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING IN DEFENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS.** With minds highly inflamed by these and such like means, they encamped in the extreme border of their country, on the side where they expected the enemy; and by the despatches which they sent to Philip, representing the great danger that threatened them, obliged him to drop the prosecution of the designs in which he was engaged, although Jamphorina had already capitulated, and all his affairs were in a prosperous train. The enterprise intended by the Ætolians was postponed, first on their hearing of the association entered into by the Acarnanians; and, afterwards, on the news of Philip's approach, which made them even draw back into the interior parts of their own country. Philip, however, though he had hastened by long marches to prevent the Acarnanians being overwhelmed, yet did not advance farther than Dios, whence, on hearing that the Ætolians had retired from Acarnania, he also removed to Pella.

XXVI. Early in the spring Lævinus set sail from Corcyra, and, doubling the cape of Leucate, came to Naupactum, whence he sent notice, that he was proceeding to Anticyra, in order that Scopas and the Ætolians might be there to join him. Anticyra stands in Locris, on the left hand on entering the Corinthian gulf, and the march thither by land is short, as is the passage by sea, from Naupactum. In about three days after this, the siege of that town was commenced by the combined forces; but the attack on the side next the sea was the more difficult to be withstood, because there were on board the fleet engines and machines of every sort; and, besides, the assailants were Romans. In a few days, therefore, the city capitulated, and was given up to the Ætolians. The spoil, according to compact, fell to the Romans. Here Lævinus received a letter, acquainting him that he had been declared consul in his absence, and that Publius Sulpicius was coming to succeed him in the command of the fleet. But he was seized by a tedious sickness, which



delayed his return to Rome longer than any one wished. Marcus Marcellus, entering on the consulship on the ides of March, [Y. R. 542. B. C. 210.] held, on the same day, a meeting of the senate, merely for form's sake, for he declared, that "he would introduce nothing respecting the state of the commonwealth, or the distribution of the provinces, in the absence of his colleague. That he understood that there were great numbers of Sicilians in the neighbourhood of the city, at the country houses of persons who wished to depreciate his character; and, so far was he from hindering an open publication of the charges fabricated and circulated by his enemies, that he would have given them instantly an opportunity of laying such charges before the senate, were it not that they pretended some kind of fear to speak of a consul in the absence of his colleague. That, however, when Lævinus arrived, he would certainly suffer no business to be transacted before the Sicilians were introduced to an audience of the senate. That Marcus Cornelius had made a kind of levy through all Sicily, for the purpose of sending to Rome the greater number of complaints against him; and that the same person, with a view to injure his reputation, had, by his letters, filled the city with false representations of war still subsisting in Sicily."

The consul's behaviour on that day made people conceive a good opinion of the moderation of his temper. He then adjourned the senate, and it was expected that there would be almost a total suspension of every kind of business until the return of the other consul. Want of employment, as usual, gave occasion to various murmurs amongst the populace; they made great complaint of "the length of the war; of the devastation of the country by Hannibal on all sides of the city; of Italy being exhausted by levies of men, and of the loss of armies happening almost every year; of consuls being now elected, who, both of them, had a passion for war; men too enterprising and daring, who, in a time of profound peace, were capable of exciting quarrels, and therefore there was the less reason to expect that, during the actual existence of hostilities, they would allow the public time to breathe."

XXVII. These discourses were interrupted by a fire which broke out near the forum, in the night preceding the festival of Minerva. Seven shops, where five were afterwards built, and the banking-houses, which are now called the New

Banks, were in flames in several places at once. Next, the private buildings were consumed (for the public halls were not then there), with the prison, called the Quarry, and the fish market, also the old palace of king Numa. With difficulty the temple of Vesta was saved, principally by the activity of thirteen slaves, who were afterwards purchased for the public, and discharged from servitude. The fire raged during a night and a day. There was no doubt of its being caused by human means, the flames blazing out at the same moment, and at considerable distances. The consul, therefore, by direction of the senate, published a proclamation, that whoever discovered the persons that had occasioned the same, such discoverer should receive as a reward, if a freeman, a sum of money, if a slave, his liberty. Induced by this, a slave, belonging to the Campanian family of the Calavii, by name Mannus, gave information, that "his masters, and five other young Campanian noblemen, whose parents had been beheaded by Quintus Fulvius, were the perpetrators of the deed, and that they would effect the like destruction in various places, if they were not put into confinement." On this they were taken into custody, as were also their slaves. At first, they spoke with scorn of the informer and his discovery: they said "he had run away from his masters, in consequence of having been chastised the day before with a whipping; and, in a fit of resentment and folly, had forged this charge, on the ground of an event merely accidental." But, when they were brought face to face with their accuser, and the instruments of their villany began to be examined by torture, in the middle of the forum, they all confessed their guilt; and the masters, and their slaves who were privy to the design, were punished as they deserved. The informer received his liberty and twenty thousand *asses*.<sup>1</sup> The consul Lævinus, as he passed by Capua, was surrounded by a multitude of the Campanians, who besought him, with tears, to give them permission to go to Rome, there to entreat the senate to suffer themselves to be moved, at length with compassion; and not to carry resentment so far as to their utter ruin, nor to let the whole race of Campanians be extirpated by Quintus Flaccus. Flaccus declared that "he had no personal quarrel whatsoever with the Campanians; a public and hostile en-

mity he certainly had, and should retain as long as he knew them to harbour the same sentiments towards the Roman people. There was not on earth," he said, "any race, or any state that bore a more inveterate hatred to the Roman name. The reason of his keeping them confined within the walls was, that when any of them contrived to get out, they roamed about the country like wild beasts, tearing and slaying whatever fell in their way. Some had fled to join Hannibal, others had gone to set Rome on fire, and the consul would find, in the half-burnt forum, the traces of Campanian villany. An attempt had been made even on the temple of Vesta, on the sacred fire, and the fatal pledge<sup>1</sup> of the Roman empire deposited in her shrine. For his part, he could by no means think it safe to allow the Campanians to enter the walls of Rome." Lævinus, however, ordered the Campanians to follow him thither; having first made them bind themselves by an oath to Flaccus, to return to Capua on the fifth day after receiving an answer from the senate. Surrounded by this train, and followed also by the Sicilians and Ætolians, who came out to meet him, he proceeded to Rome, bringing into the city, as accusers of two men, whose characters had been rendered illustrious by the conquest of two very celebrated cities, the parties whom they had vanquished in war. However both the consuls proposed, first, to the consideration of the senate, the state of the commonwealth, and the disposal of the provinces.

XXVIII. Lævinus then made a report of the state of Macedonia and Greece, of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, and Locrians; and of the services which he himself had performed there, on land and sea; acquainting them, that "Philip, who came with an army against the Ætolians, had been driven back by him into Macedonia, and had retired into the interior parts of his kingdom; and that the legion might be brought home from thence, the fleet being sufficient to prevent any attempt of the king upon Italy." This part of the business which respected himself, and the province where he

had commanded, he went through alone; the questions relative to the distribution of the provinces were put by both consuls jointly. The senate decreed, that "Italy, and the war with Hannibal, should be the province of one of the consuls; that the other should have the command of the fleet lately under that of Titus Otacilius; and, in conjunction with the prætor, Lucius Cincius, the government of Sicily." The two armies decreed to them were those then in Etruria and Gaul, consisting of four legions. The two city legions of the former year were ordered to be sent into Etruria; the two lately under the command of the consul Sulpicius into Gaul; and Gaul, with these legions, to be governed by such person as the consul who had the province of Italy should appoint. Caius Calpurnius, being continued in command for a year after the expiration of his prætorship, was sent into Etruria. Capua was appointed the province of Quintus Fulvius, whose command was also prolonged for a year. An order was made, that the numbers both of the native and allied troops should be reduced, so that out of two legions should be formed one, containing five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and that those men should be discharged who had served the greatest number of campaigns; but that, in each legion of the allies, there should be left seven thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that, in discharging the old soldiers, the same rule should be observed respecting the length of their services.

With regard to Cneius Fulvius, consul of the last year, no alteration was made, either in his province Apulia, or in the army under his command; only he was continued another year in authority. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was ordered to disband his whole force, excepting the marines: as was Marcus Cornelius, as soon as the consul should arrive in the province. To the prætor, Lucius Cincius, for the defence of Sicily, were assigned the troops of Cannæ, equivalent to two legions. To the prætor, Publius Manlius Volso, were allotted, for the service of Sardinia, the same number of legions which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in the same province the year before. The consuls were ordered to raise legions for the city, but not to oblige any man to enlist who had served in the armies of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius, and the number of Roman legions to be employed during that year was fixed at twenty-one.

XXIX. When the senate had passed these

<sup>1</sup> This was the famous Palladium, said to have been brought by Æneas from Troy, and preserved, with most religious care, in the temple of Vesta. What it was, (so sacredly was it kept from the public eye,) no one ever certainly knew; supposing it, however, to have resembled the one stolen by Diomedes and Ulysses, as mentioned by Sinon in the Æneid, then it must have been an image of Minerva, armed.



decrees, the consuls cast lots for the provinces. Sicily, and the fleet, fell to Marcellus; Italy, with the war against Hannibal, to Lævinus. This decision, as if Syracuse were now a second time taken, struck the Sicilians, who stood within sight of the consuls, waiting till the lots were drawn, with such dismay, that their bitter lamentations, and mournful expressions of grief, attracted the eyes of all present, and afforded afterwards much matter of discourse. For they went round to each of the senators, dressed in mourning, and affirming, that "they were resolved to abandon, not only each his native state, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should come thither again as governor. Formerly, when they had deserved no harsh treatment at his hands, he had been implacable in his resentment towards them; to what lengths then, might not his anger now carry him, when he knew that they had come to Rome with complaints against him? Better would it be for that island to be buried under the fires of Ætna, or sunk in the sea, than to be delivered over as it were to execution at the will of an enemy." These complaints of the Sicilians, after being at first carried about to the houses of the nobility, and canvassed in frequent conversations, which took rise either from compassion to the Sicilians, or ill-will to Marcellus, made their way even into the senate. A requisition was there made to the consuls, that the senate should be consulted on an exchange of provinces. To this Marcellus answered, that "though the Sicilians had been already heard by the senate, his opinion might still be different; but in order that no one should be able to say that these people were curbed by fear, or restrained from uttering their complaints with freedom against a man to whose power they were soon to be subject; in the present state of things, if his colleague had no objection, he was ready to change his province." He warmly intreated them "not to prejudice the depending cause by the interposition of any decree. For since it would be unjust to give his colleague his choice of a province without putting it to the lot, how much greater would be the injustice, nay, the indignity, if that which he had obtained by lot were transferred to the other?" Accordingly the senate, after declaring what was their wish, without passing a decree, adjourned, and the consuls between themselves, made an exchange of provinces. Thus did fate, impending over Marcellus, drag him, as it

were, within the sphere of Hannibal; that he who had been the first Roman commander who ravished from that general a large portion of his glory, by defeating him in battle, might be the last who contributed, by his fall, to the aggrandisement of the same man's reputation; and this at a time when the events of the war, in general, were particularly favourable to the side of the Romans.

XXX. When the provinces were exchanged, the Sicilians were introduced into the senate, where they expatiated, in many words, on the unalterable attachment of king Hiero to the Roman people, assuming merit from thence to themselves and their nation. "As to the tyrants, Hieronymus, and, after him, Hippocrates and Epicydes, they themselves had ever detested them," they said, "for many reasons, but particularly for taking part with Hannibal against the Romans. For this cause Hieronymus was put to death by the principal young men of the nation, authorised, in a manner, by the public voice. Seventy of their youths, of the highest distinction, had conspired, on the same account, to kill Hippocrates and Epicydes, but were disappointed of the support which they expected from Marcellus, by a delay in the bringing up of his army to Syracuse at the time agreed on; so that their design being discovered, they were all put to death by the tyrants. Even the tyrannical usurpation of Hippocrates and Epicydes owed its beginning to the cruelty practised by Marcellus in the sacking of Leontini. The principal Syracusans, alarmed at this, never ceased afterwards imploring Marcellus, and promising to deliver the city into his hands, at any time that he chose to appoint: but his wish was to take it by assault. Finding, however, after every effort which could be made on land or sea, that this was impracticable, he chose to depend on Sosis, a brazier, and Mericus, a Spaniard, for putting him in possession of Syracuse, rather than on the first men of the city, who had so often, to no purpose, voluntarily made the same offer; in order, no doubt, that he might have the more plausible excuse for plundering and massacring the oldest allies of the Roman people. If the defection to Hannibal had been the act, not of Hieronymus, but of the senate and people of Syracuse; if the body of the Syracusans, and not their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who held them in subservience to their will, had shut the gates

against Marcellus; if they had waged war against the Roman people with the animosity of Carthaginians, to what greater length could Marcellus have carried hostilities than he did; unless he were to demolish the city? He certainly left nothing at Syracuse except the walls and empty houses, while the temples were broken open and pillaged, and from which the ornaments of the gods, and even the gods themselves, had been carried away. Many were stripped of their whole possessions, so as not to have remaining, from the wreck of their fortunes, even the naked soil, out of which they might support themselves and their families. Wherefore they besought the conscript fathers to order restoration to be made to the owners, if not of all their property, at least of such part of it as could be found and claimed on proof." When they had uttered their complaints in this manner, and were ordered by Lævinus to withdraw from the senate house, that the members might deliberate on the subject of their demands; "No," said Marcellus, "let them stay, that I may answer in their hearing, since, conscript fathers, such are the terms on which we serve in your wars, that the parties, whom we conquer by our arms, are to become our prosecutors, and two cities, taken this year, are to prosecute their captors, Capua, Fulvius, and Syracuse, Marcellus."

XXXI. The deputies being brought back into the senate-house, the consul then said; "Conscript fathers, I am not so unmindful of the majesty of the Roman people, and of the high office with which I am invested, as that I should, while bearing the dignity of a consul, appear as a defendant to answer charges made by Greeks, if the subject of the present inquiry were merely respecting misconduct on my part. But the question is, not what I have done, but rather what those men deserved at my hands. For, if they were not our enemies, I should be equally blameable for injuring Syracuse now, as when Hiero was alive. But, if they renounced our alliance, attacked our ambassadors with violence and arms, shut the gates of their city, and called in an army of Carthaginians to defend it against us; who can think it unreasonable that men who committed hostilities should have suffered them in turn? I rejected the offers of the principal Syracusans to give me possession of the city, it is true; I chose rather to confide, in a case so important, solely in Sosis, and the Spaniard Mericus.

You are not the meanest of the Syracusans, since you object meanness to others. Now, is there one among you, who ever promised to open the gates to me, or to admit my armed troops into the city? You execrate and abhor those who did; and do not, even here, abstain from reviling them; so far is it from being fact, that yourselves would have done the same. The low condition of the persons employed, which these men make a matter of reproach, shows, conscript fathers, how ready I was to listen to the offers of any man who was willing to exert himself in the service of our state. Before I commenced the siege of Syracuse, I tried to effect a restoration of tranquillity, at one time by sending ambassadors, at another time, by going myself to treat on the subject; and, afterwards, when they neither scrupled to offer violence to my ambassadors, nor would give any answer to myself in a personal interview with their leaders at the gates, I then, after surmounting many difficulties on land and sea, at length took Syracuse by force of arms. Of the consequences which befell them on the capture of their city, they might with more propriety complain to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and to their companions in defeat, than to the senate of the nation which conquered them. Conscript fathers, if I had intended to deny that Syracuse was plundered, I would never have decorated the city of Rome with its spoils. As to what I, in capacity of a conqueror, either took from individuals, or bestowed on any, I am fully confident that I acted, in those respects, agreeably both to the laws of war and to the deserts of each. That you ratify these proceedings, conscript fathers, concerns the interest of the republic more than that of mine. My duty has been discharged with honour; but it is of importance to the commonwealth that you do not, by rescinding my acts, render other commanders in future remiss. And now, conscript fathers, as you have heard both the Sicilians and me face to face, we will retire together from your house, that the senators may, in my absence, deliberate with the greater freedom." The Sicilians were accordingly dismissed, and he went away to the capitol to enlist soldiers.

XXXII. The other consul then required the determination of the fathers respecting the demands of the Sicilians; on which a long and warm debate ensued. A great part of the senate, adopting an opinion introduced by Titus



Manlius Torquatus, declared, that "in their judgment the war ought to have been waged against the tyrants, who were equal enemies to the Syracusans and to the Roman people; that the city ought to have been recovered by treaty, not taken by force; and, when recovered, should have been re-established in freedom under its ancient laws, and not subjected to the calamities of war, after having been long harassed under a wretched slavery. In the contests between the tyrants and the Roman general, the prize proposed to the conqueror had been utterly destroyed, a city of the greatest beauty and fame, formerly the granary and treasury of the Roman people; one by whose generosity and munificence the republic had, on many occasions of difficulty, and lately, in the present Carthaginian war, been assisted, honoured, and adorned. If king Hiero, that most faithful friend to the interests of the Roman empire, were to rise from the shades, with what face could either Syracuse or Rome be shown to him? When, after beholding his native city in its plundered and half-demolished state, he should, on coming into Rome, see, at the entrance of it, almost in the very gates, the spoils of his own country?" Although these, and many such warm expressions, tending to disparage the character of Marcellus, and excite compassion for the Sicilians, were uttered by the members, yet the senate, through their regard for Marcellus, pursued a milder course in forming their decree; the purport of which was, that "all acts done by him in his administration of the war, and after his final success therein, should be deemed valid. In respect of the time to come, the senate would take care of the concerns of Syracuse, and would give a charge to the consul Lævinus, to promote the prosperity of that city, as far as could be done without detriment to the commonwealth." Two senators were sent to the capitol to desire the consul to come back to the senate-house; and, the Sicilians also being called in, the decree was read. The deputies, after receiving assurances of kindness, were dismissed; and they then threw themselves at the feet of the consul Marcellus, beseeching him to pardon the expressions which they had used, for the purpose of procuring pity and relief of their misfortunes, and to receive them and the city of Syracuse into his protection and patronage. The consul returned a mild answer, and dismissed them.

XXXIII. The senate next gave audience

to the Campanians, who spoke in a more piteous strain, but had a more difficult cause to plead; for neither could they deny that they had deserved the punishments inflicted, nor were there tyrants in the case, on whom they could transfer the guilt. They only alleged, that they had suffered enough of punishment, in so many senators being taken off by poison, and so many by the executioner. That, "of their nobles, only a few remained alive, whom neither consciousness of crime had driven to acts of despair, nor the resentment of their conqueror condemned to death: who, in behalf of themselves and their families, prayed for liberty, and some portion of their property; being citizens of Rome, and most of them closely connected there in affinities and near relationships, in consequence of the frequent intermarriages which took place during a long series of years." They were then ordered to withdraw, and the senators were for some time in doubt whether Quintus Fulvius should not be called home from Capua, (for the other proconsul, Claudius, had died after the taking of the place,) in order that the matter might be discussed in the presence of the commander, as had been done in the case of Marcellus and the Sicilians. But afterwards, seeing in the house Marcus Atilius, and Flaccus's brother, Caius Fulvius, who had been lieutenant-generals under him; also Quintus Minucius, and Lucius Veturius Philo, who had held the same commission under Claudius,—men who had been present at every transaction; and being unwilling either to recall Fulvius from Capua, or to delay the Campanians by an adjournment, they desired to hear the sentiments of Marcus Atilius Regulus, whom they deemed superior in judgment to any of the rest who had been at Capua; and he spoke to this effect: "I recollect attending the consuls, in council, after the reduction of Capua, when inquiry was made whether any of the Campanians had deserved well of our state; when it was discovered that two women had done so, Vestia Oppia, a native of Atilla, resident in Capua, and Fancula Cluvia, formerly a courtesan; the former having daily offered sacrifice for the safety and success of the Roman people, the latter having secretly conveyed food to the starving prisoners. But it was at the same time found, that the disposition of all the rest of the Campanians towards us was precisely that of the Carthaginians; yet those beheaded by Fulvius were not the most

criminal among them, but the most eminent in rank. How the senate can determine on the case of the Campanians, who are Roman citizens, without an order of the people, I do not see. This rule was observed by our ancestors, in respect of the revolted Satricans, and measures were taken that Marcus Antistius, plebeian tribune, should first propose, and the commons pass, an order empowering the senate to decide finally in the affair of that people. My opinion therefore is, that application be made to the tribunes of the commons, that one or more of them may propose to the people an order authorising us to determine concerning the Campanians." By direction of the senate, Lucius Atilius, a plebeian tribune, made the proposition accordingly in these words: "Concerning all the Campanians, Atellans, Calatians, Sabatians, who have surrendered themselves to Fulvius, proconsul, and submitted to the power and dominion of the Roman people; also concerning whatsoever they may have given up, whether land, city, divine or human property; with respect to all these things, I ask you, Roman citizens, what you choose should be done?" The commons passed this order:—"Whatsoever the senate, being first sworn, or the majority of its members, then present, may determine, that we will and order."

XXXIV. In pursuance of this order of the people, the senate took the business into consideration; and, in the first place, restored to Oppia and Cluvia their liberty and effects, with directions, that "if they wished to ask any other reward from the senate, they should come to Rome." Separate decrees were passed respecting the several families of the Campanians, all of which it would be useless to enumerate. The properties of some were ordered to be confiscated; themselves, their wives, and children to be sold, excepting such of their daughters as had been placed in marriage before they came into the power of the Roman people. Others were ordered to be kept in close confinement, and their cases to be considered at a future time. They also made distinct estimates of the possessions of others, in order to determine whether they should be forfeited or not. They voted, that all the cattle seized, except the horses; all the slaves, except grown-up males; and every thing which did not appertain to the soil, should be restored to the owners. They ordered, that all the Campanians, Atel-

lans, Calatians, and Sabatians, exclusive of those who, themselves or their parents, were then among the enemy, should be free; with the restriction, that none of them should be capable of becoming a Roman citizen, or a Latine confederate; and that none of those who had been in Capua while the gates were shut, should remain beyond a certain day in the city or territory thereof. They voted, that a place of habitation should be assigned to those people beyond the Tiber, and not contiguous to it: that such as had neither been in Capua during the war, nor in any Campanian city which had revolted from the Roman people, should be removed to the other side of the river Liris, next to Rome; and those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal came to Capua, to the hither side of the Vulturnus: that none of them should have land or house nearer to the sea than fifteen miles: that, as to those who should be transplanted to the farther side of the Tiber, neither themselves nor their posterity should purchase or possess property in any other place than in the Veientian, Sutrian, or Nepetian territories; nor should any possess a greater extent of ground than fifty acres: that the property of all the senators, and of those who had held public employments at Capua, Atella, or Calatia, should be sold at Capua; but that the men of free condition, who according to the order passed were likewise to be set up to sale, should be sent to Rome. The images and brazen statues, which were said to have been taken from the enemy, whether they were sacred or private property, they left to the disposal of the college of pontiffs. They then dismissed the Campanians, whose distress and affliction were increased by these determinations beyond what they had felt at their coming to Rome, and who exclaimed no longer against Fulvius's cruelty towards them, but against the rigorous severity of the gods, and their own accursed fortune.

XXXV. After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, a levy of troops was made; and, as soon as that was finished, the business of procuring a supply of rowers for the fleet came under consideration. As there was neither a sufficiency of men for this purpose, nor any money, at that time, in the treasury to purchase or pay them, the consuls published an edict, that private persons should, as on former occasions, in proportion to their fortunes and stations, supply rowers with pay and subseist-



ence for thirty days. This edict caused such loud murmurs and such ill-humour among the people, that a leader, rather than matter, was wanting to produce an open insurrection. It was said, that "the consuls, after they had done with the Sicilians and Campanians, had taken the Roman commons in hand, to harass and ruin them: that, after being exhausted by paying taxes for so many years, they had nothing left but land, and that naked and waste. Their houses the enemy had burned; the slaves, who ought to till the ground, the state had taken away, sometimes purchasing them for soldiers at a trifling price, at others ordering them to serve as rowers. If any one had a little silver or brass, he was obliged to part with it to pay rowers and the yearly duties. As to themselves, no authority, no force, could compel them to give what they had not. The consuls might sell their goods, and vent their cruelty on their persons, which were all that remained: nor had they any thing wherewith they could even redeem or save themselves from such treatment." These discontented expressions were uttered not in private, but openly in the forum, and in the presence of the consuls themselves, by immense multitudes that stood around them; nor were the consuls able, either by reproof or consolation, to pacify them. It was at length determined to give them three days, to consider of these matters; and this time they themselves employed in procuring information, and contriving the best mode of proceeding. On the following day, they held a meeting of the senate on the subject of a supply of rowers, and after using many arguments to show that the remonstrances of the commons were but reasonable, they changed the tenor of their discourse so far as to say, that "this burthen, whether reasonable or unreasonable, must be imposed on the private citizens. How could the fleets be otherwise manned, as there was no money in the treasury; and, without fleets, how could Sicily be kept in obedience, Philip be kept out of Italy, or the coasts of Italy protected?"

XXXVI. In circumstances of such extreme perplexity deliberation was of little avail, and a kind of torpor possessed men's faculties, until the consul *Levinus* addressed them thus: "As the magistrates in point of dignity precede the senate, and the senate the people, so ought they to take the lead in undergoing every thing burthensome and difficult. When you wish to enjoin any task on inferiors; if you impose the

same duty on yourself and your connections, you will find those inferiors the more ready to obey. Nor is an expense deemed heavy, when people see those of the highest ranks take on themselves more than their proportion of it. Do we wish, then, that the Roman people should have a fleet, and the means of equipping it? That private citizens should, without murmuring, supply rowers? Let us enforce the edict first on ourselves. Let us, senators, lodge to-morrow in the public treasury all our gold, silver, and coined brass; each reserving of the gold, rings for himself, his wife, and children, and a bulla for his son; and he who has a wife and daughters, an ounce weight for each, out of the silver; and for those who have sat in a curule chair, let them have the ornaments of a horse, and a pound weight of silver, that they may not be without a salt-cellar and a dish to be used in the worship of the gods. To the other senators, only a pound of silver and five thousand *asses*<sup>1</sup> of brass coin should be allowed, that is, for every father of a family. All the rest of our gold, silver, and coined brass, let us at once convey to the receivers of the public money, before we pass any decree, that our voluntary contribution, and the ardour of our zeal in aiding the republic, may excite a spirit of emulation in the equestrian order first, and then in the people in general. This is the only equitable way which my colleague and myself, after much conversation on the subject, have been able to discover; adopt it, then, and may the gods be propitious to you. The safety of the commonweath effectually ensures the safety of private property; if you abandon the interest of the republic, you will in vain attempt to preserve your own." This scheme was received with warm and unanimous approbation, insomuch that the thanks of the body were returned to the consuls. The senate was then adjourned, and all the members immediately hastened to bring in their gold, silver, and brass to the treasury, and this with such ardour of emulation, that while each pressed to have his name among the first in the public registers, the commissioners were not able to receive, nor the clerks to enter, the contributions. The zeal and unanimity displayed by the senate were copied by the equestrian order, and, after them, by the commons. Thus, without any edict, without any authoritative act of magis-

<sup>1</sup> 16*l.* 2*æ.* 11*d.*

tracy, the state was provided with a sufficient supply of rowers, and also with a fund for their support; and every preparation for the campaign being finished, the consuls set out for their respective provinces.

XXXVII. At no period of the war did both the Romans and the Carthaginians feel a greater vicissitude of hopes and fears; such an intermixture of events, of opposite natures, taking place alike on both sides. For on that of the Romans, with regard to the provinces, the misfortunes in Spain on the one hand, and the successes in Sicily on the other, produced a mixture of sorrow and rejoicing; and in Italy, as the loss of Tarentum was injurious and grievous, so the citadel and garrison being preserved, beyond expectation, was matter of joy: while in like manner, the sudden terror and panic, caused by the investiture and attack of the city of Rome, were in a few days converted into triumph by the reduction of Capua. Affairs beyond sea were, also, balanced in a kind of counterpoise. Philip became their enemy at a juncture very far from seasonable; but then they acquired new allies in the Ætolians, and in Attalus, king of Asia; fortune thus early pledging her promise, as it were, to the Romans, for the empire of the east. On the side of the Carthaginians, likewise, the loss of Capua was counterbalanced by the acquisition of Tarentum; and, as they valued themselves highly on the honour of having advanced to the walls of the city of Rome without opposition, so they were grieved at the failure of their design, and felt ashamed at being slighted to such a degree, as that, while they lay under the walls of Rome, a Roman army should have marched out, from another quarter of the city, for Spain. With regard also to Spain itself, as they thought they had good reason to hope, that, in consequence of the destruction of two renowned generals and powerful armies, the war there would be at an end, and the Romans expelled the country, so their mortification was the greater in proportion, on finding that Lucius Marcius, a leader who owed his post to the irregular voice of the multitude, had rendered their victory insignificant and fruitless. Thus, Fortune holding the scales even, every thing on both sides hung in suspense, and the parties retained their hopes unabated, and their fears unallayed, just as if they were now first commencing the war.

XXXVIII. One circumstance, above all,

filled Hannibal's mind with the most painful reflections; it was, that in consequence of the Romans having prosecuted the siege of Capua with so much more determined resolution than he had exerted for its relief, many of the states of Italy had conceived sentiments very unfavourable to his cause. He found it impossible to maintain his authority over all of these by force, unless he were to break down his army into a great number of small detachments, which would very ill suit his condition at the time; nor could he leave the fidelity of allies open to the solicitations of hope, or the threatenings of fear. Wherefore, as his mind had from nature a strong bias to avarice and cruelty, he determined to plunder the places which he could not keep, and so leave them to the enemy in a state of desolation. This scheme, so dishonourable in its purpose, proved equally so in its consequences: for it alienated from him the affections not only of the persons so greatly aggrieved, but likewise of all the rest; this specimen of his character extending its influence far beyond the numbers involved in the calamity. The Roman consul at the same time was not remiss in making trials of the disposition of every city where any prospect of success appeared. In Salapia there were two leading men, Dasius and Blasius: the former was a friend to Hannibal; the latter, as far as he could with safety, favoured the interest of the Romans, and, by means of secret emissaries, had given Marcellus hopes of having the place betrayed to him; but this was a measure, which, without the concurrence of Dasius, could not be effected. After long and anxious deliberation, and then, rather from want of a more promising plan, than hope of succeeding, he opened the proposition to Dasius. But he, being both averse from the design, and glad also of an opportunity of injuring his competitor for power, disclosed the affair to Hannibal, who summoned them both before him; and, while he was employed on his tribunal in despatching some other business, intending presently to attend to that of Blasius, the accuser and accused both standing together in a spot cleared for them by the people, Blasius began to urge Dasius on the subject of surrendering the town. On which the latter, as if the matter now proved itself, exclaimed, that the other was attempting to seduce him to treachery, even in Hannibal's immediate presence. To Hannibal, and to those who were present, the



more audacious the fact charged on Blasius was, the less credible it appeared. They knew that there was an emulation and hatred subsisting between the two, and supposed that an imputation of this kind was alleged, because, as from its nature, it could not be supported by the testimony of witnesses, it was the more likely to be false. The parties were therefore dismissed; but Blasius, notwithstanding what had passed, never desisted from this bold undertaking, until by incessant teasing on the same subject, and proving how advantageous such a measure would be to themselves and their country, he extorted the other's consent that Salapia, and the Carthaginian garrison, which consisted of five hundred Numidians, should be delivered up to Marcellus. This, however, could not be effected without considerable bloodshed; for these Numidians were much the bravest body of cavalry in the whole Carthaginian army, and this was an occurrence which it was impossible for them to foresee. But though they could not, in the city, make use of their horses, yet, on the tumult arising, they hastily took arms, and attempted to make their way out; when, finding an escape impracticable, they sold their lives dear, fighting to the last; nor did more than fifty of their whole number fall alive into the hands of the Salapians. The loss of this body of cavalry was a much severer blow to Hannibal than that of the place, for thenceforward the Carthaginians were never superior in cavalry, which they had, hitherto, always been.

XXXIX. At this time the scarcity in the citadel of Tarentum became almost intolerable. Marcus Livius, commander of the Roman garrison there, relied entirely, for supplies, on Sicily; and to secure to these a safe passage along the coast of Italy, a fleet of twenty ships had been stationed at Rhegium. The charge of the fleet and provisions was intrusted to Decius Quintius, a man of obscure birth, but who, by many brave actions, had acquired a large share of military fame. At first, he had only five ships, the largest of which were two triremes, given him by Marcellus; afterwards, when he was known to have behaved, on many occasions, with much spirit and bravery, he received a reinforcement of three quinqueremes; at last, he himself, by exacting from the confederate states of Rhegium, Velia, and Paestum, the ships due by treaty, had made up a fleet of twenty sail, as above mentioned. Hav-

ing, with this fleet, set sail from Rhegium, he was met at Sacriportus, about fifteen miles from the city, by Democrates, with an equal number of Tarentine ships. The Roman was coming to the relief of the garrison, not supposing it probable that he should meet an enemy; from Croton and Sybaris, however, he had furnished his ships with their full complement of rowers, and besides, considering the size of his vessels, they were exceedingly well equipped and armed. It so happened, that, just when the Tarentine came in sight, the wind entirely died away, a circumstance which gave him full time to adjust the rigging, and put the rowers and soldiers in readiness for the battle that was to follow. They engaged with a degree of ardour seldom shown by complete fleets, because the objects for which they contended were of more importance than the fleets themselves. The Tarentines, having recovered their city from the Romans, at the end of almost one hundred years, struggled now to deliver the citadel also from subjection; knowing that if, by the exertions of their fleet, they should take from the enemy the dominion of the sea, they would be thereby effectually excluded from even a distant hope of provisions: the Romans, on the other hand, laboured, by retaining possession of the citadel, to show the world, that the loss of the city was owing, not to the strength or valour of assailants, but to artifice and treachery. The signal, then, being given on both sides, they charged each other with the beaks of their vessels, and none, during the conflict, either drew back his own ship, or suffered his adversary to get clear of him, but held it by throwing in an iron grapple; and thus the engagement became so close, that they fought, not only with missile weapons, but with swords, and almost hand to hand. The prows, being lashed together, remained unmoved, while the sterns were turned round by the force of their adversaries' oars. The ships were crowded so close together, and within so narrow a place, that scarcely any weapon fell without effect into the sea. They pressed front against front, like lines of land forces, and the combatants could pass from one ship to another. But there was one conflict remarkable above the rest, between two which engaged in the van: in the Roman ship was Quintius himself; in the Tarentine, Nico, surnamed Perco, who bitterly hated, and was hated, by the Romans, not only in consequence of the public quarrel,

but also of personal resentment, for he was one of that faction which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. This man, while Quintius was encouraging his men, and, at the same time, fighting, and off his guard, darted a spear through his body, and he fell headlong, with his armour, into the sea: then the victorious Tarentine boldly leaped into the ship, where the loss of the commander had thrown all into confusion, and they quickly retired before him. The forepart of the ship was now in possession of the Tarentines, while the Romans, in a compact body, with difficulty defended the poop; when another trireme of the enemy suddenly appeared at the stern, and the Roman ship, thus inclosed between the two, was taken. The rest, on seeing this, were struck with dismay, and fled in different directions. Some were sunk in the deep, and others, being run aground by the rowers, soon became a prey to the Thurians and Metapontines. Of the store-ships, which followed with the provisions, a few fell into the enemy's hands; the remainder stood away into the main, and escaped by shifting their sails with every change of the wind. In the mean time, the fortune of affairs at Tarentum was not at all the same: for a party, amounting to four thousand men, having gone out to forage, spreading themselves up and down the country, Livius, the commander of the Roman garrison, who carefully watched every opportunity of acting to advantage, sent out, from the citadel, Caius Persius, an active and brave officer, with two thousand soldiers. He fell upon the enemy while they were scattered widely, and in small parties; and, after continuing for a long time to cut them off, drove the small remainder of this large detachment to the city, where they were admitted through the gates half opened, lest the Romans should enter along with them, and become masters of it. Thus the affairs of Tarentum were equally balanced, the Romans being victorious on land, the Tarentines by sea. Both were disappointed alike in their hopes of provisions, even after they had actually come within their sight.

XL. About this time, after a great part of the year had elapsed, and he had been long wished for by both the old and new allies, the consul Lævinus arrived in Sicily, where he judged that the first and most material business to be done, was the regulating the affairs of Syracuse, which had not yet been reduced into

order in the short space since the late pacification. He then led his legions to Agrigentum, which was the only place still in arms, and held by a strong garrison of Carthaginians; and here fortune favoured his enterprise. The Carthaginians were commanded by Hanno, but placed their whole dependence on Mutines and the Numidians. The latter, making frequent excursions through every part of Sicily, carried off spoil from the allies of the Romans, and neither force nor art could shut him out from Agrigentum, nor hinder him from sallying forth whenever he thought proper. The high reputation which he thus acquired, as it obscured the fame of the commander-in-chief, excited his envy; so that even success, because obtained by his means, afforded but little pleasure to Hanno, who at last took from him his commission, and gave it to his own son; thinking that, by divesting him of the command, he should deprive him of his popularity among the Numidians. But the effect was widely different, for, by this discovery of his jealousy, he increased their attachment to Mutines, who did not tamely submit to the indignity of this undeserved ill-treatment, but quickly despatched secret emissaries to Lævinus, to treat about the surrender of the town. Through these, mutual assurances were given, and the method of accomplishing the business concerted; and then the Numidians, dislodging or killing the guards, seized a gate which opened towards the sea, and received a party of Romans sent thither for the purpose. When these were already marching into the heart of the city and the forum, with much noise and tumult, Hanno, thinking that it was nothing more than such a disturbance and secession of the Numidians as had happened before, came out to quell the mutiny: but observing, at a distance, that the number was greater than that of those forces, and hearing the Roman shout, with which he was not unacquainted, he resolved, before he came within reach of their weapons, to betake himself to flight. Getting out of the town at an opposite gate, he took Epicyles with him, and came with a small number to the sea side. There they luckily found a bark, and abandoning to the enemy the island of Sicily, about which a contest had been maintained through so many years, passed over to Africa. The rest of the Carthaginians and Sicilians attempted to fly with blind precipitation, but the gates being closed, they were cut to pieces. Læ-



vinus, on gaining possession of the town, scourged and beheaded those who had been in the management of the affairs of Agrigentum : the rest he sold, together with the spoil, and remitted all the money to Rome. Accounts of the sufferings of the Agrigentines spreading through all Sicily, produced at once a general revolution in favour of the Romans. In a short time, twenty towns were betrayed to them, six taken by storm, and forty put themselves under their protection by voluntary surrender. To the leading men in these states the consul dispensed rewards and punishments according to the merits and demerits of each ; and having compelled the Sicilians at length to lay aside arms, and turn their thoughts to agriculture, that the island might, from its fertile soil, not only afford plenty of subsistence to the inhabitants, but, as it had done, on many occasions formerly, contribute supplies of provisions to Rome, and even to all Italy, he left Sicily, carrying with him a large multitude from Agathyrna. This was a motley rabble, four thousand in number, composed of vagabonds of every description, exiles and bankrupts, the greater part guilty of capital crimes, who, even when they lived in their native countries under the government of laws, and afterwards, when a similarity of condition, arising from various causes, had drawn them together to Agathyrna, always supported themselves by robberies and rapines. Such men as these, so likely to excite new disturbances, the consul thought it unsafe to leave behind, in an island which had but just then obtained rest from intestine wars, and where the people were but beginning to unite in the terms of concord established by the late pacification : besides, they might prove useful to the people of Rhegium, who wanted a band trained to robberies, for the purpose of ravaging the territories of Bruttium. Thus, so far as concerned Sicily, this year put an end to hostilities.

XXI. In Spain, Publius Scipio, as soon as the spring appeared, launched his ships ; summoned to Tarraco, by an edict, the auxiliary troops of the allies, and then directed the fleets and transports to proceed to the mouth of the river Iberus. This place he also appointed for the meeting of the legions whom he ordered out of winter quarters ; and he himself, attended by five thousand men of the allied troops, set out from Tarraco to join the army. When he arrived at the camp, thinking it proper to

say something encouraging to the soldiers, particularly those who had been longest in the province, and had survived so many and so great disasters, he called them together, and addressed them in this manner : " Never has there been a new commander, except myself, who could with justice and propriety, give thanks to his soldiers before he had employed them. Fortune laid me under obligations to you ere I saw your camp, or knew my province ; first because you showed such dutiful respect to my father and uncle, during their lives, and since their deaths ; and next, because, when the possession of the province had been lost by a dreadful calamity, you recovered it by your bravery, and have preserved it entire for the Roman people, and for me who succeed to the command. But as, through the bounty of the gods, the design of our present proceedings is not to maintain our own footing in Spain, but to deprive the Carthaginians of all footing in it ; not to stand on the bank of the Iberus, and hinder the enemy from passing it, but to pass over ourselves, and carry the war to the other side, I fear lest, to some of you, the undertaking may seem too great and too bold, considering the remembrance of our late misfortunes, and my early time of life. There is no person living, from whose memory the defeats in Spain can less be obliterated than from mine ; for there my father and uncle lost their lives within the space of thirty days ; so that funerals in our family followed one another in quick succession. But while the disaster which bereft our house of parents, and left me almost the only surviving member of it, depresses my mind with grief, still the fortune of our nation, and its courageous spirit, forbid me to despair of the public welfare. It is the lot assigned to us, by some kind of fatality, that, in all important wars, we should pass through defeat to victory. Omitting instances in ancient times, the case of Porsena, the Gauls, and the Samnites, I shall begin with the Punic wars. In the last, how many fleets, how many generals, how many armies, were lost ? Need I mention the like events during the present war ? At all the defeats I was either present in person, or lamented more deeply than any other, those from which I was absent. The Trebia, the Thrasimenus, Cannæ, what are they but monuments of Roman consuls and armies slain ? Then the defection of Italy of the greater part of Sicily, of Sar-

dinia; the extreme terror and affright, when Hannibal's camp was pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and that victorious commander was seen at our very gates. But amidst this general ruin of affairs, the courage of the Roman people alone stood unshaken and immoveable. This, when all our hopes lay prostrate on the ground, raised and supported them. And, first of all, you soldiers, under the conduct and auspices of my father, withstood Hasdrubal, when, after the defeat at Cannæ, he was on his way to the Alps and to Italy; where, if he had effected a junction with his brother, the Roman name would not now have been in existence: but the successes obtained here have counterbalanced the losses sustained in other places. At present, through the good favour of the gods, affairs in Italy and Sicily are in a prosperous train, daily improving, and wearing a more favourable aspect. In Sicily, Syracuse and Agrigentum have been taken; the enemy entirely expelled the island, and the province restored to the dominion of the Roman people. In Italy, Arpi has been recovered, Capua taken; Hannibal, after a disorderly flight, through his whole route from the city of Rome, has been obliged to retreat into the remotest corner of Bruttium, where he prays to the gods for nothing more than that he may be permitted to withdraw in safety, and quit the land of his enemy. Could there then, soldiers, be a greater inconsistency, than that, when disasters were thus crowded one upon another, and the gods themselves seemed, in a manner, to take part with Hannibal, you, with my parents, (for I will mention both under the same revered name,) supported here the tottering fortune of the Roman people; and that now when, in other quarters, every event is prosperous and joyful, you should let your courage sink? As to the events which have lately happened, I wish they had passed without giving me more cause of mourning than they have given you. Now, however, the immortal gods, the guardians of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries with the resolution of ordering the command to be given to me, by their auguries and auspices, and by visions in the night, portend all prosperity and joy. My own mind, likewise, which has hitherto been my surest prophet, presages that Spain is to be ours; that the whole Carthaginian race will soon be banished hence, and spread themselves over the

lands and seas in their ignominious flight. What my mind prognosticates from its own feelings, the same is suggested by reason, and supported by arguments of no delusive nature. Their allies, disgusted by their ill treatment, send ambassadors to implore our protection; their three commanders having quarrelled to such a degree as almost to come to open hostilities, have divided their army into three parts, and drawn these asunder into countries the most remote from each other. The same fortune now impends over them which formerly crushed us; for they are deserted by their confederates, as we were formerly by the Celtiberians; and they have divided their forces, which was the cause of destruction to my father and uncle. Intestine discord will hinder them from acting together again; nor will they, separately, be able to resist us. Only do you, soldiers, preserve your attachment to the name of Scipio, to the offspring of your own commanders; a branch, as it were, shooting forth from the trunks which have been felled. You, veteran soldiers, lead your new commander, and your young associates, over the Iberus; lead us into those lands where you have often marked your route with many deeds of valour. Trust me, you shall soon find, that the resemblance which you suppose you see in me to my father and uncle, is not confined to figure, countenance, and features; but that I inherit no small portion of their capacity, their honour, and their courage; these you shall find so faithfully copied from the original, that every man of you shall say, that his own commander, Scipio, has either returned to life, or has been born again."

XLII. Having, by this discourse, animated the courage of his men, and leaving three thousand foot and three hundred horse, under Marcus Silanus, for the defence of the province, he marched the rest of his forces, which amounted to twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, over the Iberus. Although many now advised, that, as the Carthaginian armies were separated at so great distances, he should attack the one that lay nearest; yet, apprehending that such a step would probably make them all reunite, and that he should not, alone, be able to cope with the three armies, he determined, for the present, to employ his forces in an attack on New Carthage, a city which possessed great wealth of its own, and was besides, at that time, filled with the enemy's magazines of every kind for the use of the



war; there were lodged their arms, their money, and their hostages from all the states of Spain. It was, also, most conveniently situated for a passage into Africa, having a harbour sufficiently capacious for any fleet whatever, and, there is reason to think, the only one in all that tract of the Spanish coast which joins our sea. No one in the whole army knew the destination of its march except Caius Lælius. He was sent round with the fleet, and ordered so to regulate the sailing of it, that the army should come within view, and the ships enter the harbour at the same point of time. On the seventh day after leaving the Iberus, the fleet and army arrived, as had been concerted at Carthage; the camp was pitched on the northern side of the city, and a rampart was thrown up on the rear of it, the front being secured by the nature of the ground. The situation of Carthage is this: about the middle of the coast of Spain is a bay, which is open to the south-west wind more than to any other, and stretches inland two thousand five hundred paces, spreading in breadth to an extent somewhat greater. In the mouth of this bay lies a small island, which breaks the force of the sea, and renders the harbour secure from all winds except the south-west: from the bottom of the bay there runs out a peninsula, consisting of high land, on which the city is built, and this is surrounded on the east and south by the sea; on the west it is inclosed by a morass, which spreads a little way towards the north, and whose depth is variable according as the sea overflows or ebbs. The city is connected with the continent by an isthmus, about two hundred and fifty paces broad; on which, though a fortification would have cost but little labour, the Roman general did not raise any, choosing either to mortify the enemy by this display of confidence, or as he would often have occasion to advance to the walls to have a retreat open.

XLIII. When he had completed his works in those parts which required defence, he drew up the ships in the harbour in order of battle, with intent to dispirit the enemy with the sight of a marine force also to be employed against the town; then going round the fleet in a boat, he charged the commanders to keep the night-watches with great care, because an enemy, when he is first besieged, is apt to make every effort in every quarter. He then went back to the camp, and wishing to explain to the sol-

diers his reason for preferring this plan of opening the campaign with the siege of a town, and by exhortations to inspire them with hopes of reducing it, he called them to an assembly, and spoke to this effect: "Soldiers, if any man among you shall suppose that you have been brought hither for the sole purpose of attacking a single city, he will judge merely from the work in which you are employed, without taking into calculation the advantages to accrue from it. For you will, in fact, attack the walls of one city: but, in that one city, you will capture all Spain. Here are the hostages of all her illustrious kings and states; and, as soon as these shall be in your power, they will instantly deliver up to our disposal every thing which is now under subjection to the Carthaginians. Here is deposited the enemy's treasure, without which they cannot proceed in the war, having mercenary troops to maintain; and which, at the same time, will be most serviceable to us, as the means of conciliating the friendship of the barbarians. Here are their engines, arms, accoutrements, and all their warlike stores, which, while they answer our purposes, will leave the enemy destitute. Besides, we shall gain possession of a city of distinguished beauty and opulence, and highly convenient to us on account of its excellent harbour, by means of which we can have constant supplies, both from sea and land, of every thing requisite for the maintenance of the war. And while we acquire to ourselves these great advantages, we shall at the same time strip the enemy of much greater. This is their grand fortress; this is their granary, their treasury, their armoury; this is the repository of all their wealth. Hence there is a direct passage into Africa; this is the only station for a fleet between the Pyrenees and Gades, and from hence Africa spreads its terror over all Spain. But as I perceive that you are arrayed and marshalled for action, let us pass on, and assault New Carthage with our whole strength, with confidence and courage." To this they all replied with a loud voice, "that they would do so;" and he immediately led them to the city, giving orders for the assault both by sea and land.

XLIV. On the other side Mago, the commander of the Carthaginians, when he saw the preparations for an assault going forward both on land and sea, disposed his forces in the following manner: opposite to the Roman camp

he drew up two thousand of the townsmen ; the citadel he garrisoned with five hundred soldiers, and five hundred others he placed on a high part of the city towards the east ; the rest of the troops he ordered to watch carefully every occurrence, and to hasten to whatever spot the shout, or sudden exigencies, might call them. Then, opening the gate, he sent out those whom he had formed in the street leading towards the Roman camp. The Romans, by direction of the general himself, drew back a little, that by being near their camp they might the more easily receive reinforcements during the engagement. At the beginning, both parties stood their ground, with little advantage on either side ; but after some time, the reinforcements continually sent from the camp not only drove back the enemy, but pressed them so close, while they fled in disorder, that had not a retreat been sounded, they would probably have rushed into the city intermixed with the fugitives. Nor was the consternation greater in the field than in every part of the city ; in many places the troops in a panic abandoned their posts and fled, and the walls were left defenceless, those who ought to guard them having leaped down wherever they found a way. Scipio, going up on an eminence called Mercury's Hill, observed this their state, on which he ordered all his men to be called out from the camp, to bring scaling-ladders, and advance to the assault. He himself, covered by the shields of three able young men, because weapons of all kinds were now cast from the place in vast numbers, came up close to the works, encouraged his men, and gave the necessary orders. But what contributed above all to inflame the courage of the soldiers, was his being thus an immediate spectator and witness of the bravery or cowardice of every one of them. They rushed forward, therefore, regardless of the enemy, or of the wounds inflicted by them ; nor could the walls, or the armed troops with which they were now lined, deter them from mounting with eager emulation. At the same time an assault commenced from the ships on that quarter of the town which is washed by the sea. But here, though a great alarm was raised, little effectual exertion could be made ; because while the men brought in the boats to the shore, while they hastily landed the soldiers and scaling-ladders, and while every one pressed forward to the land by the speediest way, through their own

hurry and impatience they obstructed one another.

XLV. In the meantime the Carthaginian general had again filled the walls with numerous troops, and great abundance of weapons, brought out from their immense magazines, lay in heaps ready for use. But neither men nor weapons, nor any thing else, proved such an effectual defence as the walls themselves : for they were of such a height, that few of the ladders could reach the summit, and the longer any of these were, the weaker they were in proportion : as those, then, who had mounted to the top, could not advance, and others nevertheless climbed up after them, the ladders were broken by their weight. In several cases, where the ladders stood upright, the men, on rising to so great a height, were seized with giddiness, and fell to the ground. While men and ladders were every where falling in this manner, and the enemy, from success, assumed more boldness and alacrity, the signal for retreat was given. This afforded hopes to the besieged, not only of present rest after such a laborious contest, but also of future safety ; as it made them imagine that their city was impregnable by scalade and assault, and that their works were so difficult to be surmounted, that they would always give time to their commanders to bring up forces to their relief. Scarcely had the noise of the first tumult subsided, when Scipio ordered other men who were fresh and unfatigued, to take the ladders from the weary and wounded, and to renew the assault with additional vigour. Being told at this juncture that the tide was ebbing, and having before learned from some fishermen of Tarraco, (who used to pass through the morass in light boats, and, when these ran aground, by wading,) that footmen might easily find a passage to the wall, he in person led five hundred soldiers thither. It was now about mid-day, and besides the water being naturally drawn off into the sea by the reflux of the tide, a brisk northerly wind arising, carried the water along, in the same direction with the tide, and had rendered it so shallow, that in some places it reached only to the navel, in others scarcely to the knees. This circumstance, discovered in reality by his own diligence and sagacity, Scipio attributed, as a prodigy, to the interposition of the gods, who, to give a passage to the Romans, changed the course of the sea, and removed morasses, opening ways never before



trodden by human foot. Impressing this on his men, he bade them follow Neptune, who acted as their guide, and make their way to the wall through the middle of the swamp.

XLVI. On the land part, the assailants had a most laborious task. The height of the walls was not the only obstruction that they met, for, as the enemy had the Romans below them, they could aim their blows against either of their sides as they came up; so that, while they were climbing, these were more endangered than the fronts of their bodies. But, in the other quarter, the five hundred found no difficulty either in crossing the morass, or mounting the rampart; for neither was that side strengthened by any work, being deemed sufficiently secure by the nature of the ground and the marsh, nor was there any party of soldiers or guard stationed at it, because all were intent on bringing succour to the place where the danger appeared. Entering the city, therefore, without opposition, they proceeded with the utmost speed to the gate, at which the whole contest was maintained; and so intent on this dispute were, not only the minds of all, but likewise the eyes and ears of the combatants, and of the people who looked on and encouraged them, that no one perceived that the enemy had entered the place, until their weapons came pouring on their backs, and they found themselves between the two forces. The garrison were so affrighted and confounded, that they were no longer capable of making a defence. The walls were seized by the Romans, who, both within and without, applied themselves to the breaking open the gate, and this being soon cut to pieces, so as to leave a clear passage, the troops marched in to the attack. By this time, great numbers had got in by scaling the walls, and these employed themselves everywhere in killing the townsmen. Those who had entered by the opening, composing a regular body, under their officers, and maintaining their ranks, proceeded through the heart of the city into the forum. Scipio, perceiving that the enemy fled hence by two different ways; some towards the hill, which lay eastward, and was defended by a garrison of five hundred men, others to the citadel, into which Mago himself had retired, with almost all the soldiers who had been beaten off from the walls, sent one half of his forces to storm the hill, and led himself the other half against the citadel. The hill was taken at the first attack. Mago attempted at

first to defend the citadel, but soon seeing every place filled with the enemy, and that no hope remained, surrendered himself, the citadel, and garrison. Until the citadel was surrendered, the soldiers had continued to put the townsmen to the sword in every quarter, nor did they spare any adult who fell in their way; but then, on a signal given, they desisted from shedding blood, and, being now completely victorious, they turned themselves to the collecting of the plunder, the quantity of which, of all sorts, was immense.

XLVII. The males of free condition taken prisoners amounted to ten thousand; of these, such as were citizens of New Carthage he discharged, and restored to them the city, and all their effects, which the war had not consumed. There were two thousand artisans, whom he adjudged to be the public property of the Roman people, giving them hopes of speedily regaining their liberty, provided they worked industriously in the service of the army. Of the rest of the multitude, all the younger inhabitants, and the able-bodied slaves, he sent to fill up the numbers of rowers in his fleet, which he augmented with eight ships captured here. Besides all these, were found the hostages of the Spanish states, who were treated with as much care and attention as if they had been the children of allies. The quantity of military stores taken was exceedingly great; catapultas, of the larger size, one hundred and twenty, of the smaller, two hundred and eighty-one; ballistas, large, twenty-three, small, fifty-two; of scorpions, large and small, and of arms and missile weapons, a vast number; military standards, seventy-four. Of gold and silver also, a prodigious mass was brought in to the general: there were two hundred and seventy-six golden bowls, every one of them almost of a pound weight; of silver, wrought and coined, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight, and of silver utensils a prodigious number. All these articles were weighed and reckoned to the quaestor Caius Flaminus; besides forty thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred and seventy thousand of barley. One hundred and thirteen store-ships were boarded and taken in the harbour, several of them with their cargoes, consisting of corn and arms: likewise brass, iron, canvass, hemp, and other materials proper for equipping a fleet: so that, among such vast stores of every thing useful in war, Carthage itself was the least valuable acquisition.

XLVIII. Scipio, ordering Caius Lælius, with the marines, to guard the city, led back the legions into their camp. As the soldiers were much fatigued by having gone through, in one day, every different kind of fight; for they had engaged the enemy in the field, had undergone great labour and danger in storming the city, and, after it was taken, had fought on disadvantageous ground with those who had taken refuge in the citadel; he directed them to employ the remainder of that day in taking refreshment and rest. On the day following, having called together both the land and the naval forces, he began with returning praise and thanks to the immortal gods, who had "not only, in the space of one day, given him possession of the most opulent city in all Spain, but had previously amassed in it the greatest part of the wealth of that country, and of Africa also, so that no resources were now left to the enemy, while he and his army had a superfluity of all things." He then highly commended the courageous behaviour of the soldiers, observing, that "neither the force sent out against them, nor the height of the walls, nor the unexplored fords of the morass, nor a fort seated on a steep hill, nor the citadel, though most strongly fortified, had deterred them from surmounting and breaking through every obstacle. Wherefore, though he owed every acknowledgment to them all, nevertheless the person who first mounted the wall was entitled to the peculiar honour of a mural crown;" and he desired that he who thought himself deserving of that present should claim it. Two claimants appeared, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, one of the marines: but the warmth with which they themselves supported their pretensions was far inferior to the eager zeal which each excited in his favour among the corps to which he belonged. Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, favoured the marines, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus the legionaries. This contention threatening at length to end in a mutiny, Scipio published notice, that he would appoint three delegates, who, after examining the merits of the case, and hearing witnesses, should determine which had made his way first into the town. Accordingly, he named Caius Lælius and Marcus Sempronius advocates for the contending parties, with Publius Cornelius Claudinus, a person uninterested in the cause,

as umpire: and ordered these three delegates to sit and determine in it. But the dispute was now maintained with greater violence than ever, in consequence of those men of high rank, who had acted not as advocates, but as moderators in the case, being thus excluded. Wherefore Caius Lælius, quitting the court, went up to the tribunal to Scipio, and told him, that "the proceedings of parties surpassed all bounds of temperance and moderation, inso-much that they hardly refrained from blows. But, though no violence should ensue, never theless such conduct afforded an ill example; as, in this case, the honour due to merit was sought by one or other through the means of fraud and falsehood. On this side stood the legionary soldiers, on that the marines, both ready to swear, by all the gods, rather what they wished than what they knew to be true; and to involve in the crime of perjury not only themselves in their own persons, but the military standards and eagles, and the sacred word of a soldier:" he added, that "he brought him this information at the desire of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius." Scipio highly approving of Lælius's conduct, summoned a general assembly, and there pronounced judgment, that "having received sufficient proof that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius gained the top of the wall at the same time, in acknowledgment of their bravery he bestowed mural crowns on both. He then bestowed gifts on the rest, in proportion to their courage and merit: above all, he honoured Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, with every encomium of the highest kind that could have been paid to himself, and presented him, besides, with a golden crown and thirty oxen.

XLIX. He then ordered the hostages of the Spanish states to be called. What the number of these was, I will not presume to affirm; for I find, in some writers, that they were about three hundred, in others seven hundred and twenty-five. Authors differ as much in respect of other particulars: the Carthaginian garrison, one writer says, amounted to ten thousand men; another to seven, another to no more than two thousand. In some accounts ten thousand prisoners are said to have been taken, in others above twenty-five thousand. I should set down the scorpions, great and small, that were taken, at sixty, if I were to follow the Greek historian Silenus;



if Valerius Antias, at six thousand greater, and thirteen thousand smaller; so contradictory are the several accounts. Nay, they do not even agree as to the commanding officer. The greater number affirm that Caius Lælius had charge of the fleet, while there are some who assign it to Marcus Junius Silanus. Valerius Antias tells us, that it was Armes who commanded the Carthaginian garrison, and who surrendered to the Romans; other writers assert that it was Mago. They vary in the number of the ships taken, in the weight of the gold and silver, and of the money brought into the public treasury. If we are not to remain in a state of doubt, but must believe some or other of their accounts, those which hold the mean, between the highest and the lowest, are most likely to be true. Scipio, however, when the hostages were called before him, first desired them not to be dispirited; for "they had come into the power of the Roman people, whose wish it always was to bind all to them by kindness, rather than by fear; and to have foreign nations united to them in good faith and amicable alliance, and not in a state of oppression and gloomy servitude." He then took an account of the prisoners, distinguishing the number belonging to the several states, to each of which he sent expresses, desiring them to come and receive their respective hostages: some of whom, however, as their ambassadors happened to be present, he restored on the spot; ordering the quæstor, Caius Flaminius, to take care that the rest should be kindly treated. There now came forward from among the crowd of hostages, a woman far advanced in years, the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, the chieftain of the Illergetians: she threw herself at the general's feet, and with tears besought him to give the guards more strict injunctions respecting the care and treatment to be shown to the women. Scipio assuring her that they should not want any kind of accommodation, she replied, "Those are not matters about which we are much solicitous: for what accommodation can be considered as insufficient for persons in our situation? Anxiety of a very different kind rends my heart, when I consider the age of these young persons; for as to myself, I am now beyond any danger of those injuries to which our sex is liable." On each side of her stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, and

several others of equal distinction, by all of whom she was revered as a parent. Scipio answered,—“Out of regard to myself, and out of regard to the Roman discipline, I should take care that no right, any where deemed sacred, should suffer violation from us. In the present case, the virtue and merit of women of such distinction as you are, who, in the midst of misfortunes, forget not the delicacy of character becoming the most respectable of your sex, demand from me an extraordinary degree of attention.” He then gave them in charge to a person on whose strict regularity of conduct he could entirely rely, and gave him a particular charge that they should be treated with all the respect and decency due to the wives and mothers of guests.

L. The soldiers afterwards brought to him, as a prisoner, a damsel of such exquisite beauty, that she attracted the eyes of all. Scipio, on making inquiries concerning her country and parents, discovered, among other particulars, that she was betrothed to a young prince of the Celtiberians, named Allucius. He therefore immediately summoned from home her parents, and affianced husband; and when the latter arrived, having, in the meantime, heard that he was most passionately enamoured of his intended bride, he addressed his discourse to him more particularly than to the lady's parents: “A young man myself,” said he, “I address myself to a young man, that there may be the less reserve in our conversation on this occasion. When your mistress, being taken by our soldiers, was brought to me, and I was told of the very great affection you have for her, which indeed her beauty made me readily believe, I considered that, in my own case, if my thoughts were not totally engrossed by the affairs of the public, and I were at liberty to indulge the pleasurable pursuits adapted to my time of life, especially in a lawful and honourable love, I should wish that my affection for my intended bride, though warm even to a degree of extravagance, should yet be viewed with an indulgent eye; and I therefore resolved, in your case, where no tie of duty confines me, to do all in my power in favour of your passion. Your beloved, while in my care, has been treated with as respectful an attention as she could have met with, had she been in the house of your father and mother-in-law, her own parents. She has been preserved in perfect safety, that I might be able to present

her to you, her purity unspotted, a gift worthy of me to bestow, and of you to receive. The only return I require for a present of such value, is, that you be a friend to the Roman people; and that, if you believe me to be a man of worth, such as these nations have heretofore known my father and my uncle, you be assured that there are, in the Roman state, great numbers of men like themselves; and that no nation at this day on earth can be named, which you ought less to choose as an enemy to you and yours, or whose friendship you ought more ardently to desire." The youth, overwhelmed at once with joy and diffidence, and holding Scipio's right hand invoked all the gods to recompense, on his behalf, such exalted goodness; since his own ability was utterly disproportioned, either to his own wishes, or his benefactor's generosity. Scipio then accosted, in friendly terms, the parents and relations of the young woman, who, having brought with them a very large weight of gold to purchase her liberty, on her being restored to them without ransom, earnestly besought him to accept it from them, assuring him, that they should deem themselves as much obliged by his compliance, as by the restoration of their child in safety. Unwilling to reject such pressing solicitations, he ordered it to be laid at his feet; then, calling Allucius to him, he said, "Besides the dowry which you are to receive from your father-in-law, you must take also this marriage-present from me," bidding him carry away the gold, and keep it to himself. Overjoyed by these honours and presents, the young man was dismissed to his home, where he filled the ears of his countrymen with the well-merited praises of Scipio. "A god-like youth," he said, "had come among them; subduing all, not by the power of his arms only, but by his goodness and magnanimity." Full of such sentiments, he made a levy among his dependents, and, within a few days, returned to Scipio with one thousand four hundred chosen horsemen.

L. Scipio kept Lælius with him to assist with his advice in disposing of the prisoners, hostages, and booty; and when all these matters were properly adjusted, he gave him a quinquereme, and, ordering him to take on board Mago and fifteen senators of Old Carthage, who had been made prisoners at the same time, sent him to Rome with the news of his

success. The few days which he had resolved to pass at Carthage he employed in exercising both his land and naval forces. On the first day, the legions made excursions, and evolutions under arms, through a space of four miles; on the second, he ordered them to review and scour their arms before their respective tents; on the third, forming opposite parties, they engaged each other, in a manner representing a regular battle, but with blunted weapons, and throwing the like kind of darts. On the fourth they were allowed to rest, and, on the fifth the rowings commenced again. This regular succession of labour and rest, they kept up as long as they remained at Carthage. In calm weather, the rowers and marines pushing out to sea, made trial in mock sea-fights, of the activity of their ships. Such was their employment on the outside of the walls, and these exercises on land and sea qualified both their minds and bodies for real action. Within, all parts of the city resounded with warlike preparations, workmen of every kind being collected together in a public arsenal. The general attended to every particular with equal care: at one time he was busy in the fleet and dock-yard; at another, he headed the legions in their excursions; again, he employed his time in overseeing the works, which were carried on, with great diligence and emulation, by a multitude of workmen in the arsenals, armory, and dock-yards, and great numbers of necessary articles finished every day. Having thus set on foot these preparations, repaired the breaches in the walls, and established posts for the guard of the city, he set out for Tarraco, and, on his way thither, received as he went along a great number of embassies. Some of these he answered on the road, and dismissed; others he adjourned to Tarraco, where he had appointed a general meeting of all the allies both new and old. Accordingly, this meeting was attended by almost every state on the hither side of the Iberus, and also by many from the farther Spain. The Carthaginian generals, at first, carefully suppressed the intelligence of Carthage being taken; afterwards, when that event became too notorious to be any longer concealed or dissembled, they affected to speak of it with little concern. They said that "by an unexpected attack, and the efforts of one day, one city in Spain had been surprised and taken in a manner by stealth: that an inexpect-



rienced youth, elated by the acquisition of a prize of but little consequence, had by his immoderate joy, imposed on it the appearance of an important victory; but as soon as he should hear that three generals, and three armies of his enemies, all flushed with victory, were marching towards him, he would quickly be struck with the recollection of the deaths which had happened in his family." Such was their language in public, while they themselves were fully sensible how great a diminution their strength had suffered in every particular by the loss of Carthage.

## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK XXVII.

Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, defeated by Hannibal, and slain : the consul, Claudius Marcellus, engages him, with better success. Hannibal, raising his camp, retires ; Marcellus pursues, and forces him to an engagement. They fight twice : in the first battle Hannibal gains the advantage ; in the second, Marcellus. Tarentum betrayed to Fabius Maximus, the consul. Scipio engages with Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, at Bætula, in Spain, and defeats him. Among other prisoners, a youth of royal race, and exquisite beauty, is taken ; Scipio sets him free, and sends him, enriched with magnificent presents, to his uncle Masinissa. Marcellus and Quintus Crispinus, consuls, drawn into an ambuscade by Hannibal : Marcellus is slain ; Crispinus escapes. Operations by Publius Sulpicius, prætor, against Philip and the Achæans. A census held : the number of citizens found to amount to one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight : from which it appears how great a loss they had sustained by the number of unsuccessful battles they had of late been engaged in. Hasdrubal, who had crossed the Alps with a reinforcement for Hannibal, defeated by the consuls Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, and slain ; with him fell fifty-six thousand men.

I. SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy, the consul Marcellus, after regaining possession of Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands, took, by storm, Maronea and Meles, cities belonging to the Samnites. He made prisoners three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, left in garrison ; the booty, which was considerable, was given up to the soldiers : here were found, also, two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat, and one hundred and ten thousand of barley. But the joy occasioned hereby was much less than the grief felt for an overthrow a few days after, near the city of Herdonea. Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, lay there encamped, in hopes of recovering that city, which, after the defeat at Cannæ, had revolted from the Romans ; but his post was neither strong by nature, nor secured by proper guards. The negligence natural to that commander's disposition was increased by perceiving that the inhabitants, as soon as they heard that Hannibal, after the loss of Salapia, had withdrawn from that part of the country into Bruttium, began to waver in their attachment to the Carthaginians. Intelligence of all these particulars was conveyed to Hannibal by private messen-

gers from Herdonea ; and, while it made him anxious to preserve an allied city, at the same time inspired hopes of attacking the enemy unprepared. With his troops, therefore, lightly equipped for expedition, he hastened to Herdonea by such long marches, that he almost anticipated the report of his approach ; and, to strike the greater terror, he advanced in order of battle. The Roman commander, fully equal to him in boldness, but inferior in judgment and strength, hastily led out his forces, and engaged him. The fifth legion, and the left wing of allied infantry, commenced the fight with vigour. But Hannibal gave directions to his cavalry, that, as soon as the lines of infantry should have their thoughts and eyes entirely occupied on the contest between themselves, they should ride round ; that one half of them should fall on the enemy's camp, and the other on the rear of their troops that were engaged. With a sneer on the name of Fulvius, he assured them, that, as he had utterly defeated him in the same country two years before, the present battle would have a similar issue. Nor was this expectation ill-grounded : for, after many of the Romans had fallen, in the close conflict between the



lines of infantry (the companies and battalions nevertheless still maintaining their ground,) the tumult raised by the cavalry in the rear, and the enemy's shout from the camp, which was heard at the same time, put to flight the sixth legion, which, being posted in the second line, was thrown into disorder by the Numidians; as were afterwards the fifth, and those in the van. Some fled in hurry and confusion, the rest were surrounded and slain; among whom fell Cneius Fulvius himself, with eleven military tribunes. How many thousands of the Romans and allies were slain in that battle, who can positively affirm, when I find in some historians thirteen thousand, in others not more than seven? The conqueror possessed himself of the camp and the spoil. Having discovered that Herdonea was disposed to revolt to the Romans, and would not continue faithful to him after his departure, he removed the inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurium, and burned the city to the ground. The leaders of the party who were found to have held secret conference with Fulvius, he put to death. The Romans who escaped the slaughter of this disastrous day, fled, half-armed, by different roads into Samnium, to the consul Marcellus.

II. Marcellus, not too much dismayed by so great a disaster, wrote to Rome to the senate an account of the general and army being lost at Herdonea; adding, that notwithstanding this misfortune, "he, who had quelled the haughty spirit of Hannibal, when his confidence was at the highest, in consequence of his victory at Cannæ, was now going against him, with the same degree of resolution, and would take effectual care that his present joy and exultation should be short." At Rome, as people's grief for the past was great, so were their fears of the future. The consul, passing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched his camp at Numistro, on level ground, within view of Hannibal, who was posted on a hill. He gave, besides, another proof of confidence in his own strength, for he was the first to offer battle. Nor did Hannibal, on seeing the standards advance through the gates, decline the challenge. However, they drew up their forces in such a manner, that the right wing of the Carthaginians stretched up the hill, and the left wing of the Romans was brought close to the town. From the third hour, the action had lasted until night, and the fatigue of fighting for such a length of time had overpowered the foremost

lines, consisting, on the side of the Romans, of the first legion and the right wing of allies; on Hannibal's side, of the Spanish infantry, Balearic slingers, and the elephants, which, at the beginning of the engagement, had been brought into the field. And now the fight flagged for a considerable time, neither party having gained any advantage, when the third legion advanced into the place of the first, and the left wing of the allies into that of the right; on the side of the enemy, likewise, the wearied were relieved by fresh troops. On this, both parties being in full spirits and vigour, instead of the former languid efforts, a furious conflict at once arose; but night separated the combatants before the victory could be decided. Next morning, the Romans stood, in order of battle, from sunrise, during a great part of the day, and none of the enemy coming out to face them, gathered the spoils at their leisure, and collecting the bodies of their slain into one spot, burned them on a funeral pile. In the following night, Hannibal decamped in silence, and marched off towards Apulia; but, as soon as day-light discovered the enemy's flight, Marcellus, leaving his wounded at Numistro, with a small garrison, the command of which he gave to Lucius Furius Purpureo, a military tribune, set out immediately in close pursuit, and overtook him at Venusia. Here, during several days, many skirmishes happened between parties sallying from the outposts, in which infantry and cavalry were intermixed, and which produced more noise and tumult than real advantage to either side; but which, in general, terminated in favour of the Romans. From thence the two armies marched through Apulia without any engagement of consequence; for Hannibal, seeking opportunities for stratagems, removed always by night, Marcellus never following but in clear day-light, and after having carefully examined the country through which he was to pass.

III. Meanwhile, as Flaccus was spending much time at Capua, in selling the property of the nobility, and setting to farm the forfeited estates, all of which he let for a rent of corn, he was furnished with a fresh occasion for practising severity on the Campanians; for he received certain information of a wicked scheme, of an extraordinary nature, which had for some time been hatching in secret. Having removed the soldiers out of the houses, for two reasons, first, because he chose that the houses

of the city should be held along with the lands ; and next, because he feared lest excessive luxury might enervate his army, as it had that of Hannibal, he had made them build huts for themselves, in the military manner, near the gates and walls. Now most of these were formed of hurdles or boards, some of reeds interwoven, and all of them covered with straw, as if purposely intended for combustion. One hundred and seventy Campanians, at the head of whom were two brothers, of the name of Blossius, had conspired to set fire to all these, at one hour of the night. But the design was discovered by some slaves belonging to the Blossii, whereupon, the gates being instantly shut by order of the proconsul, and the soldiers having, on the signal being given, assembled under arms, all who were concerned in the conspiracy were seized, and after undergoing a severe examination by torture, condemned and put to death. The informers were rewarded with their freedom, and ten thousand *asses* each. The Nucerians and Acerrans, having complained that they had no place of habitation, as Acerra was partly burned, and Nuceria demolished, Fulvius sent them to Rome to the senate. Permission was granted to the Acerrans to rebuild what had been thus destroyed ; and the Nucerians, agreeably to their own choice, were transplanted to Atella, the inhabitants of the latter being ordered to remove to Calatia. Among the multiplicity of important affairs, (some prosperous, others adverse,) which occupied the thoughts of the public, even the citadel of Tarentum was not forgotten : Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius being commissioned for the purpose, went into Etruria to purchase corn, which was to be conveyed to Tarentum ; and, together with the corn, were sent thither, as a reinforcement to the garrison, one thousand men out of the city troops, consisting of equal numbers of Romans and allies.

IV. The summer was now nearly elapsed, and the time of the consular election drew nigh : but a letter received from Marcellus, affirming that it would be injurious to the public interest, if he were to depart a step from Hannibal, who was retreating before him, while he, by a close pursuit, distressed him materially, threw the senate into some perplexity, as they were unwilling either to call home the consul, at a time when he was most actively employed

against the enemy, or to let the year pass without consuls. It was judged most advisable, though the other consul Valerius was abroad, that he should rather be recalled, and even from Sicily. Accordingly, in pursuance of an order of the senate, a letter was sent to him by Lucius Manlius, prætor of the city, and, together with it, that of the consul Marcellus, that from them he might perceive the reason, which induced the senate to recall him from his province, rather than his colleague. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from king Syphax, with a recital of all the successful battles which he had fought against the Carthaginians, and assurances that " their king entertained not a more inveterate enmity to any nation than to the Carthaginian, nor a more warm friendship for any than for the Roman ; " adding, that " he had before sent embassies into Spain, to the Roman generals, Cneius and Publius Cornelius ; and that he now wished to seek, as it were, at the fountain head, the friendship of the Romans." The senate not only answered his ambassadors with kindness, but sent others in return, charged with presents to the king ; these were Lucius Genucius, Publius Poetelius, and Publius Popilius. The presents which they carried were, a purple gown and vest, an ivory chair, and a golden bowl of five pounds weight. They received orders also to proceed to visit other chieftains of Africa, carrying with them donatives of gowns with purple borders, and golden bowls weighing three pounds each. To Alexandria, also, were sent Marcus Atilius, and Manius Acilius, in embassy to king Ptolemy Philopater and queen Cleopatra, to revive and renew the former treaty of friendship ; bearing with them a purple gown and vest, with an ivory chair, for the king ; an embroidered gown and a purple robe for the queen. During this summer, many prodigies were reported from the neighbouring cities and country : that at Tusculum, a lamb was yeaned with its udder full of milk ; and that the temple of Jupiter was struck on the roof by lightning, and almost entirely stripped of its covering ; that at Anagnia, about the same time, the ground before one of the gates was fired, and without the aid of any combustible matter continued burning a day and a night ; that at Compitum, in the district of Anagnia, the birds forsook their nests on the trees in the grove of Diana ; that near the mouth of the harbour of Tarracini, snakes of



wonderful size were seen in the sea, and sporting like fishes; that at Tarquinii, a pig was littered which had a human face; and that, in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia, four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These evil omens were expiated with victims of the greater kind, in conformity to the order of the pontiffs; and a supplication was ordered to be performed at all the shrines, one day at Rome, and another in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia.

V. The consul Marcus Valerius, on receipt of the letters by which he was summoned home, gave up the command of the province and the army to the prætor Cincius; sent Marcus Valerius Messala, commander of the fleet, with half of the ships to Africa, to plunder the country, and, at the same time, to gain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the Carthaginians: then he set out himself with ten ships, and arriving at Rome, after a prosperous voyage, immediately convened the senate. Here he recited the services which he had performed; that "after hostilities had been carried on in Sicily, and many severe losses sustained on land and sea during almost sixty years, he had brought the war to a final termination. That there was not one Carthaginian in Sicily, nor one Sicilian, of those who had been compelled by fear to fly and live abroad, who was not then at home; that all had been reinstated in the possession of their own cities and estates, and were employed in ploughing and sowing; that the land, after having been long deserted, was at length filled again with inhabitants, and in a condition both to afford plenty to its occupiers, and the most certain supplies of provisions to the Roman people either in peace or war." After this, Mutines, and such others as had deserved well of the Roman people, were introduced to the senate; who, to fulfil the engagements of the consul, bestowed rewards on them all. Mutines was even made a Roman citizen, an order for that purpose being proposed to the commons by a plebeian tribune, in pursuance of directions from the senate. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Valerius Messala, with fifty ships, arriving on the coast of Africa before day, made an unexpected descent on the lands of Utica, which he ravaged to a great extent; and, after taking many prisoners, and other booty of every kind, reembarked, set sail for Sicily, and returned to Lilybæum, on the thirteenth day after he had

left it. On examining the prisoners, the following particulars were discovered, and all, in order, communicated by letter to the consul Lævinus, that he might know the real state of affairs in Africa. That "there were at Carthage five thousand Numidians, commanded by Massinissa, son of Gala, a young man of a very enterprising spirit; and that people were employed in all parts of Africa, in hiring other troops, which were to be sent to Spain, to Hasdrubal, in order that, with the most numerous army which he could muster, and with all possible expedition, he might pass over into Italy and join Hannibal. That on this measure the Carthaginians placed all their hopes of success. That, besides this, they were fitting out a very great fleet for the recovery of Sicily, and that the prisoners believed it would sail thither in a very short time." When the letter containing this information was read, it made so great an impression on the senate, that they all concurred in opinion, that the consul ought not to wait for the elections, but to nominate a dictator to hold them, and return without delay to his province. This plan was obstructed by a dispute which arose; for the consul declared that he would nominate dictator Marcus Valerius Messala, who was then in Sicily commanding the fleet; but the senate insisted, that a dictator could not be nominated who was in any place out of the Roman territory, which extended not beyond the limits of Italy. Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, proposing the question hereupon, the senate decreed thus: "That the consul, before he left the city, should consult the people as to whom they wished to be appointed dictator, and should nominate to that office whomsoever they should order. That, if he refused this, the prætor should hold the meeting, and if he also were unwilling to do it, that then the tribunes should propose the question." Valerius declared, that he would not ask the judgment of the people on a matter properly belonging to his own jurisdiction, and he forbade it in the prætor; on which the plebeian tribunes proposed the question, and the commons ordered, that Quintus Fulvius, then at Capua, should be created dictator. But in the night preceding the day on which the assembly of the people was to be held, the consul went off privately to Sicily; and the senate, left thus unsupported, took the resolution of ordering a letter to be sent to Marcus Claudius, desiring him to give assist-

ance to the commonwealth, which his colleague had deserted, and to nominate the dictator fixed on by the people. Accordingly, Quintus Fulvius was nominated dictator by the consul Claudius; and, in compliance with the same order of the people, the dictator, Quintus Fulvius, named Publius Licinius Crassus, then chief pontiff, master of the horse.

VI. The dictator, on coming to Rome, sent Cneius Sempronius Blaesus, who had been a lieutenant-general under him at Capua, into the province of Etruria, to take the command of the army there, in the room of the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, whom he called away by letter, to command his own army at Capua. He appointed for the elections the earliest day on which they could be held; but a dispute arising between the dictator and the tribunes, they could not be finished on that day. The younger Galerian century having obtained by lot the privilege of voting first, named as consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius: and the centuries, voting in their course, would have followed them, had not two plebeian tribunes, Caius and Lucius Arennius, interposed. They asserted that "the re-electing of the same person to the supreme magistracy was not easily reconcileable to the principles of a republic; and much more pernicious would the precedent be, if the very person who presided at the election were himself to be chosen. If therefore the dictator admitted his own name in the list of candidates, they would protest against the election; but, if he received on the list any other except himself, they would give no obstruction to the business." The dictator maintained the propriety of the proceedings of the assembly, on the grounds of a vote of the senate, an order of the people, and several precedents. For "in the consulate of Cneius Servilius, when the other consul Caius Flaminius had fallen at the Thrasimene, the question was, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered that, so long as the war continued in Italy, it should be lawful for them to re-elect to the consulship, and that as often as they should see proper, any of those who had already held that office. As to precedents in point, he had one of ancient date, in the case of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who, while he was interrex, was, in the assembly where he himself presided, created consul, with Caius Junius Bubulcus; and a recent one, in the case of Quintus Fabius, who certainly

would never have suffered himself to be re-elected if it were inconsistent with the public good." After long dispute, maintained by these and such arguments, an agreement at last took place between the dictator and the tribunes to abide by the determination of the senate. The senators were of opinion, that the present state of the commonwealth was such as required that the administration of its affairs should be in the hands of experienced commanders, skilled in all the arts of war; and they therefore disapproved of any opposition to the proceedings of the assembly of election. The tribunes then acquiesced, and the election proceeded. Quintus Fabius Maximus a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus a fourth, were declared consuls. The following persons were then elected prætors: Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, Caius Arunculeius. As soon as the appointment of magistrates for the year was finished, Quintus Fulvius resigned the dictatorship. Towards the end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships, under the command of Hamilcar, sailed over to Sardinia, and committed great depredations in the district of Olbia. Afterwards, on the prætor, Publius Manlius Vulso, appearing there with an army, they proceeded to the other side of the island, and ravaged the lands of Caralita, from whence they returned with booty of all kinds to Africa. Several Roman priests died this year, and others were substituted in their places. Caius Servilius was made a pontiff, in the room of Titus Otacilius Crassus; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, an augur, in the room of Otacilius Crassus; and the same Tiberius Sempronius, a decemvir for directing religious rites, in the room of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Caius. Marcus Marcius, king in religious matters, and Marcus Æmilius Paupus, chief curio, died, but their places were not filled up during this year. Lucius Veturius Philo, and Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, were created censors for the year. Licinius Crassus had not, before this appointment, been either consul or prætor, but was advanced, at one step, from the ædileship to the censorship. However, these censors neither chose a senate, nor transacted any public business, being prevented by the death of Lucius Veturius, on which Licinius abdicated the office. The curule ædiles, Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius Varus, repeated the exhibition of the



Roman games once. The plebeian sediles, Quintus Catus and Lucius Porcius Licinius, out of the money accruing from fines, erected brazen statues in the temple of Ceres, and exhibited games with much magnificence and splendour, considering the circumstances of those times.

VII. At the end of the year, Caius Lælius, Scipio's lieutenant-general, on the thirty-fourth day after he set sail from Tarraco, arrived at Rome, and passing through the streets, with the train of prisoners whom he brought, attracted a vast concourse of people. Next day, being introduced to the senate, he delivered the advice with which he was charged, that Carthage, the metropolis of Spain, had been reduced in one day, several revolted cities brought back to obedience, and new alliances formed with others. From the prisoners, information was gained, corresponding, in general, with that contained in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messala. What gave the greatest uneasiness to the senate, was Hasdrubal's intended march into Italy, which was scarcely able to withstand Hannibal, and the force which he had already with him. Lælius also, coming out into the general assembly, gave a similar account. The senate, in consideration of the services performed by Publius Scipio, decreed a supplication for one day; and then ordered Caius Lælius to return with all expedition to Spain, with the ships which he had brought thence. On the authority of a great many historians, I have fixed the taking of Carthage in this year, although I am not ignorant that several have placed it in the year following; but it appeared to me very improbable, that Scipio should have passed a whole year in Spain without doing any thing. [Y. R. 543. B. C. 209.] The consulate of Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a fourth, commencing on the ides of March, a decree was passed on the same day, appointing Italy the province of both, but they were to command separately in different quarters; Fabius to conduct the operations of the war at Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and Bruttium. Marcus Claudius was continued in command for a year. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: Caius Hostilius Tibullus obtained the city jurisdiction; Lucius Veturius Philo, the foreign, with Gaul; Titus Quintius Crispinus, Capua; and Caius Arunculeius, Sardinia. The troops were distributed among

the provinces in this manner: to Fulvius, were decreed the two legions which Marcus Valerius Lævinus had in Sicily; to Quintus Fabius, those which Caius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the city troops were to replace those in Etruria, and Caius Calpurnius was to command the same province, with the army; Titus Quintius was to have the government of Capua, with the army which had served there under Quintus Fulvius; Lucius Veturius was to receive from Caius Lætorius, prætor, the province of Ariminum, with the army then on the spot; to Marcus Marcellus were assigned the legions with which he had in his consulate acted successfully; to Marcus Valerius, in conjunction with Lucius Cincius, (for they also were continued in command in Sicily,) the troops of Cannæ were given, with orders to complete their full complement out of the surviving soldiers of Cneius Fulvius's legions. These were collected together, and sent by the consuls into Sicily, being stigmatized by the same ignominious order under which the troops of Cannæ served, and those of the army of the prætor Cneius Fulvius, whom the senate, through resentment at the like cowardice, had formerly ordered thither. To Caius Arunculeius were assigned, for Sardinia, the same legions which had served in that province under Publius Manlius Vulso. Publius Sulpicius was continued in command for a year, to hold the province of Macedonia, and with the same legion and the same fleet which he then had. Thirty quinqueremes were ordered to be sent from Sicily to Tarentum, to Quintus Fabius the consul; and, with the rest of the fleet, Marcus Valerius Lævinus was either to sail over to Africa himself, to ravage the country, or to send thither Lucius Cincius, or Marcus Valerius Messala. With respect to Spain no change was made, only that Scipio and Silanus were continued in command, not for a year, but until they should be recalled by the senate. Such was the distribution made of the provinces, and of the commands of the armies for that year.

VIII. Among other business of more serious importance, the assembly, convened for the purpose of electing to the priesthood a chief curio, in the room of Marcus Æmilius, revived an old dispute; for the patricians insisted that Caius Mamilius Vitulus, the only plebeian candidate, ought not to be allowed to stand, because none but a patrician had ever held that office of the priesthood. The tribunes, being appealed to,

referred the business to the senate. The senate voted, that the people might act therein as they should think proper. Thus Caius Mamilius Vitulius was elected chief curio, being the first plebeian admitted into that office. Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, compelled Caius Valerius Flaccus, against his will, to be inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. Caius Laetorius was created decemvir for the performance of religious rites, in the room of Quintus Mucius Scevola deceased. I should willingly pass over in silence the reason of the flamen being forced into the office, labouring as he then did under a bad character, had he not afterwards acquired a very good one. Caius Flaccus had spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, and his vicious courses had drawn on him the displeasure of his own brother Lucius Flaccus, and of his other relations: and Publius Licinius was in hope of reclaiming him. Indeed, when his thoughts became engaged in the care of the sacrifices and religious performances, he quickly made such a complete alteration in his conduct, from what it had hitherto been, that, among all the young men of the time, no one was held in higher esteem, or more entirely approved by the principal patricians, by his own family, and by all. This universal good character inspiring him with a proper sense of his own worth, he asserted a privilege which had for many years been laid aside, on account of the unworthiness of former flamens, that of having a seat in the senate. On his coming into the senate-house, the prætor, Lucius Licinius, led him out; on which he appealed to the tribunes of the commons, alleging that he only claimed an ancient privilege of his priesthood, which was conferred on the office of flamen, together with the purple-bordered robe and the curule chair. The prætor argued that such a right depended not on the copies of annals, rendered obsolete by their antiquity, but on the customary practice of more recent times; and that in the memory of their fathers, and even grandfathers, no flamen of Jupiter had been allowed it. The tribunes thought it reasonable, that, as the right had been suffered to fall into disuse through the inattention of former flamens, the injury ensuing should affect only themselves, and not the office; and accordingly, without any opposition from the prætor himself, and with the universal approbation of the senate and commons, they introduced the flamen to a seat in the senate, though all men were of opinion that

his having attained his object, was owing to the strict integrity of his conduct rather than to any privilege of the priesthood. The consuls, before they departed for their provinces, raised two city legions, and such a number of soldiers as was necessary to make up the complement of the other armies. The force which hitherto had served in the city, the consul Fulvius gave to his brother Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with orders to march it into Etruria, and to bring home to Rome the legions then in that province. The other consul, Fabius, having collected the relicts of Fulvius's army, which amounted to three thousand three hundred and thirty-six men, ordered his son Quintus Maximus to conduct them into Sicily, to the proconsul Marcus Valerius, and to receive from him the two legions and thirty quinquereemes. The removal of these legions out of the island made no diminution, in respect either of strength or appearance, in the force stationed in that province. For, besides two veteran legions, completely recruited to their full complement, the proconsul had a great multitude of Numidian deserters, both horse and foot, and he also enlisted in his service those Sicilians who had served in the army of Epicydes, and that of the Carthaginians, men well experienced in war. By annexing a part of these foreign auxiliaries to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies; with one of which he ordered Lucius Cincius to guard that part of the island which was formerly the kingdom of Hiero; and, with the other, he himself took charge of the rest of it, separated formerly by the boundaries of the Roman and Carthaginian dominions. He likewise made division of the fleet, which consisted of seventy sail, in order that they might extend their protection of the coasts round the whole circumference of the island. Attended by the cavalry of Mutines, he went in person through every part of the province, to view the lands, observe what parts were cultivated, and what were not, commending or reproving the owners, accordingly. In consequence of his care in this particular, such an abundance of corn was produced, that, besides sending a quantity to Rome, he conveyed to Catana a sufficient supply for the army, which was to be employed during the summer at Tarentum.

IX. But the transportation of those soldiers into Sicily, the greater part of whom were La-



tines and allies, was very near proving the cause of formidable disturbances; so true it is, that the issues of great affairs often depend on trivial circumstances. For the Latines and allies, in their meetings, began to murmur, that "they had now for ten years been drained by levies and contributions. That generally every year, they suffered great losses in the war. Many were slain in the field, many were cut off by sickness; and that every one of their countrymen, enlisted as a soldier by the Romans, was more effectually lost to them, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians; because the latter was sent back, without ransom, to his country, whereas the other was ordered by the Romans out of Italy, into banishment indeed, rather than to military service. The troops of Cannæ were now growing old in that situation, having been in it nearly eight years, and would end their lives before the enemy, whose strength was at the present in a state particularly flourishing, would retire out of Italy. If veteran soldiers were not to return home, and still new ones to be enlisted, there would not, in a short time, be one of that description remaining. Wherefore it was become necessary, before they should be reduced to the last degree of desolation and want, to deny to the Romans that which particular circumstances alone would shortly render it impossible to grant. If that people saw the allies cordially uniting in such a measure, they certainly would think of making peace with the Carthaginians: otherwise, as long as Hannibal lived, Italy would never be free from war." Thus did they argue in their assemblies. The Roman colonies were, at this time, thirty in number; all of whom had ambassadors at Rome; and twelve of them presented a remonstrance to the consuls, stating that they had not the means of furnishing the supplies of men and money. These were Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, and Interamna. The consuls surprised at such an extraordinary declaration, and wishing to deter them from the meditated secession, to which end they supposed that censure and reproof would be more effectual than gentle measures, answered, that "the expressions which they had dared to use were such as the consuls could not prevail on themselves to repeat in the senate. For they contained not a refusal of military duty, but an open defection from the Roman people. They

advised them, therefore, to return home instantly to consult with their respective countrymen, as if no step had yet been taken; since their infamous design, though disclosed in words, had not proceeded to action; and to remind them that they were not natives of Campania, or of Tarentum, but of Rome. That from thence they derived their origin, and from thence were sent out into colonies, into lands taken from enemies, for the purpose of increasing population; and that, consequently, whatever duties children owe to parents, these they owed to the Romans, if they had any remains of natural affection, or any regard for their mother country. They desired them, therefore, to confer on the matter anew; for that, as to the measures which they had inconsiderately mentioned, their tendency was to betray the Roman empire, and to give up the conquest of it to Hannibal." Though the consuls, one after the other, reasoned with them in this manner for a long time, yet the ambassadors were not in the least moved, but replied, that "they had nothing new to represent to the senate at home, neither had that assembly grounds for new deliberation, when they neither had men to be enlisted, nor money to pay them." The consuls finding them inflexible laid the affair before the senate: and here it excited such serious apprehensions in every mind, that great numbers cried out, that "the ruin of the empire was at hand; that the other colonies would act in the same manner; so would the allies; that all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal."

X. The consuls endeavoured to console and encourage the senate, telling them, that "the other colonies would maintain their allegiance and duty as heretofore; and that even these which had swerved from their duty, if ambassadors were sent round among them instructed to apply reproofs, and not intreaties, would be impressed with respect for the sovereign authority." Having received power from the senate to act and manage as they should see most conducive to the public good, they began by sounding the dispositions of the other colonies; and then, summoning their ambassadors, demanded of them in public, whether they had their contingents of soldiers ready according to the regulation? To this Marcus Sextilius of Fregellæ, in behalf of the eighteen colonies, made answer, that "the soldiers were ready according to the regulation; that if a greater number should be

required, they would bring them ; and, that whatever else the Roman people should command or wish, they would perform with zeal and diligence. That they wanted not sufficiency of means, and had more than a sufficiency of inclination." On this the consuls, after premising that all the praises which themselves could bestow would be inadequate to their merits, unless they were joined by the thanks of the whole body of the senate in full assembly, desired them to accompany them into the senate-house. The senate complimented them by a decree conceived in the most honourable terms possible, and then charged the consuls to conduct them into an assembly of the people also, and there, among the many other important services which those colonies had performed to them and their ancestors, to make proper mention of this recent instance of their meritorious conduct towards the commonwealth. Even now, and after so many ages, their names should not be lost in silence, nor should they be defrauded of their due praise : they were these—Signia, Norba, Saticulum, Brundisium, Fregellæ, Luceria, Venusia, Adria, Firma, Ariminum ; on the coast of the other sea, Pontia, Pæstum, and Cosa ; and in the inland parts, Beneventum, Æsernia, Spoletum, Placentia, and Cremona. Supported by these, the Roman empire was enabled to stand ; and they received every mark of gratitude both in the senate, and in the assembly of the people. The former ordered, that no mention should be made of the other twelve dependencies, which had refused to furnish their quota for the war, and that the consuls should neither dismiss nor detain their ambassadors, nor hold any communication with them : such a tacit proof of displeasure was judged the most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people. While the consuls were busy in expediting the other necessary preparations for the campaign, it was resolved to draw out of the treasury the vicesimary gold, (that is to say, a fund formed of the twentieth part of the value of slaves enfranchised,) which was reserved for exigencies of the utmost necessity. There was drawn out accordingly, to the amount of four thousand pounds weight of gold. Of this were given to the consuls, to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, pro-consuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the prætor, to whom the lots had given the province of Gaul, five hundred pounds each ; and besides

this there were given, in particular charge, to the consul Fabius, one hundred pounds of gold to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder they employed in making contracts, with ready money, for clothing the army, who were then serving in Spain, with so much honour to themselves and to their commander.

XI It was also resolved, that, before the consuls set out from the city, they should expiate several prodigies which had happened. On the Alban mount, a statue of Jupiter, and a tree, standing near the temple ; at Ostia, a grove ; at Capua, a wall, and the temple of Fortune, and at Sinuessa, a wall and gate, were struck by lightning. Farther it was reported, that the Alban water flowed in a bloody stream ; that, at Rome, in the cell of the temple of Fors Fortuna, an image, which was in the crown of the goddess, fell from her head into her hands ; that an ox spoke at Privernum ; that a vulture, while the forum was crowded, flew down into one of the shops ; and that, at Sinuessa, an infant was born whose sex was doubtful, such as are commonly called in Greek (a language more manageable than ours, particularly in the compounding of words,) Androgynes ; that a shower of milk fell, and that a boy was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were expiated with the larger kinds of victims. Orders were given for a supplication to be performed at all the shrines, and prayers to be offered during one day, for the averting of misfortunes ; and a decree passed, that the prætor, Caius Hostilius, should vow and celebrate the games of Apollo, in like manner as they had of late years, been vowed and celebrated. At the same time, the consul Quintus Fulvius, held an assembly for the election of censors. The censors chosen were men who had never yet been consuls, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus. By direction of the senate the question was proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that these, by their censorial authority, should let to farm the lands of Campania. The choosing of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors about the nomination of the prince of it : the making the choice had fallen, by lot, to Sempronius ; but Cornelius alleged that he ought to observe the practice handed down from their ancestors, which was to appoint as prince, the person who in the list of cen-



sors stood the first of any then living, and this was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius maintained, that when the gods gave a person the lot of appointing, they gave him at the same time full freedom of choice: that he would act in this case agreeably to his own judgment, and would name to the honour contended for, Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove to be the first of the whole Roman state, even in Hannibal's opinion. After a long dispute, his colleague gave up the point, and Sempronius chose the consul, Quintus Fabius Maximus, prince of the senate. Then the list of the new senate was read, in which eight were left out, among whom was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, infamous for having, after the defeat at Cannæ, advised the abandonment of Italy. In their review of the equestrian order also, they censured every one concerned with him; but the number disgraced on that account was very small. From all the cavalry of the legions of Cannæ then in Sicily, and their number was great, their horses were taken away. To this they added another punishment in point of time, ordering that the campaigns which those men had served on horses given by the public, should not entitle them to release, but that they should serve during ten others on horses of their own. They also searched for, and discovered, a great number, who ought to be ranked in the cavalry, and all of these who had been seventeen years old at the beginning of the war, and had not served, they disfranchised. They then contracted for the repairs of the buildings round the forum, which had been destroyed by the fire, —seven shops, the shambles, and the royal palace.

XII. Having finished the necessary business at Rome, the consuls set out for the campaign. Fulvius, first, went forward to Capua; in a few days after, Fabius followed, and he earnestly intreated his colleague in person, and Marcellus by letter, to make the most vigorous efforts to keep Hannibal employed, while he should carry on the siege of Tarentum; observing that, when that city should be taken from the enemy, who was already repulsed in every quarter, and would then have no place where he could rest, or to which he could retreat for safety, he would not have even a pretence for staying longer in Italy. He likewise sent an express to Rhegium, to the commander of the body of troops, which the consul Lævinus had placed there, to act against the Bruttians, and which consisted of

eight thousand men, all accustomed to live by plunder, the greater part of whom had been brought out of Sicily from Agathyrna, as was mentioned above. To these were joined many natives of the country, who deserted from the Bruttians, equally daring, and under equal necessity to dare every thing. He ordered this band to be led, first, to ravage the lands of Bruttium, and afterwards to besiege the city of Caulon. These orders they executed, not only with diligence, but with avidity; and after plundering the country, and dispersing the inhabitants, attacked the city with their utmost vigour. Marcellus, incited by his colleague's letter, and also by an opinion which he had himself conceived, that he was the only Roman general able to cope with Hannibal, quitted his winter-quarters as soon as forage could be found, and met him at Canusium. The Carthaginian was, at this time, employed in endeavouring to entice the Canusians to a revolt, but on hearing of Marcellus's approach, he decamped and retired. The country was open, affording no cover for an ambuscade, for which reason he resolved to draw back into more woody tracts. Marcellus pressed close on his steps, encamped within view of him, and, as soon as the trenches were finished, drew out his legions and offered battle. Hannibal sent out single troops of cavalry, and the light spearmen from his infantry, to skirmish with the enemy, but did not think it advisable to risk the issue of a general engagement. He was, however, drawn into a contest of that sort which he wished to avoid: for although, by marching away in the night, he gained some ground of the enemy, yet Marcellus overtook him in an open country, and, as he was forming his camp, put a stop to his works, by attacking the workmen on all sides. In consequence of this, a pitched battle ensued, in which all the forces, on both sides, were engaged; but night coming on, they separated, without any advantage being gained on either side. They then hastily, before it grew dark, fortified their camps, at a very little distance from each other. Next day, as soon as light appeared, Marcellus led out his forces to the field, nor did Hannibal decline the contest, but in a long speech exhorted his men to "remember Thrasimenes and Cannæ, and to crush the presumption of the foe, who pressed so closely on their steps; not suffering them either to march or encamp in quiet, or even to breathe, or look about them. Every day, the

rising sun and the Roman army, appeared together on the plains. But if the enemy should once be compelled to quit the field, especially with some loss of blood, they would afterwards conduct their operations with less turbulence and violence." Irritated by such expressions, and at the same time vexed at being continually harassed, on quitting their camp they began the fight with great fury. The battle was maintained for more than two hours; then, on the Roman side, the right wing and the chosen band, called extraordinary, began to give ground; on observing which, Marcellus brought up the eighteenth legion to the front. But, while the others were retiring in confusion, and these advancing, with but little alacrity, into their place, the whole line was disordered and in a little time totally broken: at last, fearing the better of their shame, they fairly turned their backs. In this battle, and the flight which followed, there fell no less than two thousand seven hundred of the Romans and allies; among these four Roman centurions, and two military tribunes, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Fulvius. Four military standards were lost by the wing which first fled, and two by the legions which advanced in the place of the flying allies.

XIII. After the army had retired into the camp, Marcellus reprimanded them in terms so harsh and bitter, that they felt more from the discourse of their incensed commander, than from all they had suffered, in the unsuccessful fight, through the whole day. He said to them, "as matters have turned out, I praise and thank the immortal gods, that the victorious enemy did not assault our camp itself, while you were hurrying into the gates, and over the rampart, in such utter dismay. You would certainly have abandoned that, through the same panic that made you give up the battle. What fright is this? What terror, what forgetfulness both of your own character and that of your adversaries, has at once seized your minds? Surely they are the same enemies, in defeating and pursuing of whom you spent the whole of the last summer; who, for some days past, have fled before you night and day, while you pressed on their rear; whom, yesterday, you did not allow either to continue their march, or to form their camp. I say nothing of the advantages on which you ought to pride yourselves; but will mention what, of itself, ought to fill you with shame and remorse: yesterday you fought it

out to the end on equal terms. What alteration has last night, what has this day made. Have your forces been diminished; have theirs been augmented? I cannot persuade myself that I am speaking to my own army, or to Roman soldiers. The arms and appearances of the men are such as usual. But, if you had possessed the usual spirit, would the enemy have seen your backs? Would he have carried off a standard from any one company or cohort? Hitherto, he has boasted of putting our legions to the sword; you, this day, have been the first who have conferred on him the glory of putting a Roman army to flight." On this the troops, universally, besought him to pardon their behaviour of that day; and entreated him, whenever he pleased, to make another trial of the courage of his soldiers. "I will try you, soldiers," said he, "and to-morrow will lead you into the field; that in the character of conquerors, not of vanquished men, you may obtain the pardon which you desire." He then ordered, that the cohorts which had lost their standards should receive barley for their allowance, and the centurions of the companies whose standards had been lost, he deprived of their swords; commanding that all, both infantry and cavalry, should be ready under arms on the following day. The assembly was now dismissed, all acknowledging that the reproofs which they had received were not more severe than they deserved; for that no person in the Roman army had, that day, behaved like a man, except the general alone, to whom they ought to make atonement, either by their death or by a glorious victory. On the day following they attended according to orders, armed and accoutred. The general then commended them, and said, that "he would bring forward, into the first line, those who had fled first the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that he now gave notice, that it was incumbent on them to fight and to conquer, and to exert themselves vigorously, one and all, to prevent the news of yesterday's flight reaching Rome, before that of the present day's triumph." They were then ordered to refresh themselves with food, that, in case the fight should last longer than usual, they might have strength to go through it. After every thing had been said and done to rouse the courage of the soldiers, they marched out to the field.

XIV. When this was told to Hannibal, he said, "We have to deal with an enemy who



can neither bear good fortune nor bad: if he gets the better, he pursues the vanquished with presumption and vehemence; if he is worsted, he renews the contest with the victors." He then ordered the signal to be sounded, and led out his forces. Both parties fought now with much more vigour than the day before; the Carthaginians struggling to maintain the glory acquired yesterday, the Romans to remove their disgrace. On the side of the Romans, the left wing, and the cohorts which had lost their standards, fought in the front line; while the twentieth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Caius Claudius Nero, lieutenant-generals, commanded the wings; Marcellus himself took the charge of the centre, that he might animate the men by his presence, and be an immediate witness of their behaviour. On Hannibal's side, the front line was composed of the Spanish troops, who were the main strength of his army. When the fight had long continued doubtful, Hannibal ordered the elephants to be brought up to the van, hoping, by their means to occasion fear and disorder. At first, they broke the ranks, and by treading down some, and terrifying others, on either side, so as to put them to flight, made an opening in the line in one part: and the alarm would probably have spread farther, had not Caius Decimius Flavius, a military tribune, snatching the standard of the first band of spearmen, ordered that company to follow him. He then led them to the spot where the elephants were throwing all into confusion, with directions to discharge their javelins at them. Every weapon took place, for there was no difficulty in hitting, at a small distance, bodies of such huge bulk, especially as they were crowded close together. But though they were not all of them wounded, yet those, in whose flesh the javelins stuck, as they are creatures whose motions cannot be depended on, betaking themselves to flight, drove back even those that were unhurt. And now, not any particular company alone, but every soldier who could come up with the retreating elephants, with all his might hurled javelins at them. Thus attacked, the more violently did the animals rush upon their owners and made so much the greater carnage of them, than they had made of the enemy, as one of them, when frightened or hurt, is hurried on more forcibly than he could be driven by the manager sitting on his back. While the enemy's line was in

this great disorder, in consequence of those beasts breaking through it, the Romans made a brisk onset, and without much opposition from troops so scattered and confused, drove them off the ground. Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge them as they fled, and the pursuit did not cease, until they were driven, in consternation, into their camp: for besides other circumstances which caused terror and tumult, two elephants had fallen in the very entrance of the gate, so that the men were obliged to make their way over the trench and rampart. Here the slaughter of the enemy was the greatest. There were killed no less than eight thousand men, and five elephants. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of the two legions, about one thousand seven hundred were killed, and of the allies above one thousand three hundred. Great numbers, both of Romans and allies, were wounded. In the following night Hannibal decamped, and though Marcellus wished to pursue him, he was prevented by his wounded, which were in great number. Scouts, who were sent to observe his march, brought intelligence next day that Hannibal had taken the road towards Bruttium.

XV. About the same time, the Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volscians, surrendered themselves to the consul Quintus Fulvius, delivering up Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were mildly received by the consul with only a verbal reproof for their past errors. Hopes of similar gentle treatment were held out to the Bruttians also, through two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, of the most illustrious family of any in that nation, who came to request the same terms of capitulation which were granted to the Lucanians. The other consul, Quintus Fabius, took by assault, Manduria, a town in the territory of Salernum. Here he made four thousand prisoners, and gained much booty of other kinds. Proceeding thence to Tarentum, he pitched his camp at the very mouth of the harbour. Of the ships, which Livius had kept here for the purpose of protecting convoys, he loaded part with machines and implements fit for assailing walls; the rest he furnished with engines, stones, and missile weapons of every kind; the store-ships also, not confining himself to such only as were moved by oars, he fitted out in the same manner, in order that some might bring out the machines and ladders to the

walls, while the others, from their ships at some distance, should annoy with missile weapons, the men employed in defending them. These ships were thus fitted up and prepared, for the purpose of an attack on that side of the city which is washed by the open sea, which was now clear of the enemy; for the Carthaginian fleet had sailed over to Corcyra, at the time when Philip was preparing to attack the Ætoliens. Meanwhile, the party which carried on the siege of Caulon in Bruttium, hearing of Hannibal's approach, and fearful of being overpowered, retired to an eminence, which, though it secured them from an immediate attack, was destitute of every other convenience. In the prosecution of the siege of Tarentum, Fabius received very great assistance towards the accomplishment of that important business, from an incident trivial in appearance; the Tarentines had in the city a party of Bruttians, given to them by Hannibal, and the commander of this party was desperately in love with a young woman, whose brother was in the army of the consul Fabius. This man, being informed by a letter from his sister, of her new acquaintance with a stranger of so great wealth, and so highly honoured among his countrymen, conceived hopes that, by means of his sister, her lover might be brought into any scheme; and this project he communicated to the consul; his reasoning appeared not ill founded, and he was ordered to go as a deserter into Tarentum. Here being introduced by his sister to the notice of the commander, he began by artfully sounding his disposition, and having satisfied himself that his temper was as fickle as he could wish, by the aid of female blandishments he prevailed on him to betray the post, of which he commanded the guard. When both the method and the time for the execution of this design were settled, the soldier was let out of the town privately, through the intervals between the guards, and related to the consul what had been done, and what was further intended. At the first watch, Fabius, after giving proper directions to the troops in the citadel, and to those who had the guard of the harbour, went himself quite round the harbour, and sat down, in concealment, on the side of the city facing the east. The trumpets then began to sound at once, from the citadel, from the port, and from the ships which had been brought to the shore on the side next to the open sea. At

the same time a shout was raised, and a prodigious tumult purposely made, on every side where there was very little danger. Meanwhile the consul kept his men quiet and silent. Democrates, therefore, who had formerly commanded the fleet, and who happened now to command there, perceiving every thing near him quiet, while other parts resounded with tumult and shouting like that of a city stormed, fearful lest, while he hesitated, the consul might force a passage, and march in his troops, carried off his party to the citadel, because the most alarming noise proceeded from that quarter. Fabius, from the length of time, and likewise from the silence which prevailed, (for where, a little before, there was an uproar among the men rousing each other, and calling to arms, now not a word was heard,) imagined that the guard was withdrawn; he therefore ordered the ladders to be brought up to that part of the wall, where, according to the information of the contriver of the plot, the cohort of Bruttians held the guard. In this place, favoured and assisted by the Bruttians, the Romans first gained possession of the wall, over which they climbed into the city; and then the nearest gate was broken open, that the troops might march through in a body. These entering the town a little before day, raised a shout, and, without meeting anyone in arms, proceeded to the forum, having drawn on themselves the attention of the combatants in every quarter, whether at the citadel or the harbour.

XVI. At the entrance of the forum, a vigorous opposition was made, but it was not persevered in. A Tarentine was no match for a Roman, either in spirit, in arms, in warlike skill, nor yet in vigour or bodily strength. They only discharged their javelins, and then, scarcely waiting till the fight began, turned their backs; and as they were acquainted with the streets of the city, ran different ways to their own houses, or those of their friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell, fighting courageously. Philomenus, who had been the author of the plot for betraying the city to Hannibal, rode away from the fight at full speed; his horse was not long after seen, straying through the city without a rider, but his body was never found, and the general opinion was, that he fell from his horse into an open well. Carthalo, as he was coming to the consul unarmed, to remind him of their fathers being connected by an intercourse of hospitality,



was slain by a soldier who met him in the way. The rest were put to the sword without distinction, armed and unarmed, Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Many even of the Bruttians were killed, either through mistake, or through the inveterate hatred borne towards them by the Romans, or with design to discountenance the report of the place being betrayed, and that it might rather appear to have been taken by force of arms. After this carnage, the victors proceeded in several parties, to plunder the city. We are told that there were taken here thirty thousand persons in a state of servitude, a vast quantity of silver wrought and coined, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold, together with statues and pictures in such numbers, as almost to rival the decorations of Syracuse. But Fabius, with more greatness of mind than was shown by Marcellus, refrained from meddling with booty of that sort; and when his secretary asked him what he would have done with the statues of their gods, which were of gigantic size, and habited like warriors, he ordered him to "let the Tarentines keep their angry gods to themselves." Then the wall, which separated the citadel from the town, was demolished and rased. Amid these transactions, Hannibal, having made prisoners the party employed in the siege of Caulon, who capitulated, hearing of the siege of Tarentum, marched night and day with all expedition to relieve it: but while he was hastening thither, he received the news of its being taken. On this he observed, "the Romans, too, have their Hannibal; we have lost Tarentum through the same arts by which we acquired it." That he might not, however, seem to have turned back as in flight, he encamped on the spot where he had halted, about five miles from the city; and, after staying there a few days, retreated to Metapontum. From hence he sent to Tarentum two Metapontines, with letters from the principal men in that state to Fabius, to receive his promise of impunity for what was past, on condition of their delivering Metapontum and the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius, supposing the offer to be made with sincerity, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave letters in answer, which were delivered to Hannibal, who, overjoyed at the success of his stratagem, and at finding that even Fabius was not proof against artifice, formed an ambuscade at a small distance from Metapontum. As Fabius was taking the aus-

pices, previous to his departure from Tarentum, the birds repeatedly refused the favourable signs; also, when he consulted the gods by sacrifice, the aruspex warned him to beware of treachery and plots. As he did not come on the appointed day, the two Metapontines were sent back, to remove any scruple that retarded him, but being suddenly seized, and dreading an examination by torture, they disclosed the whole plot.

XVII. In Spain, in the beginning of the summer, there came over to Scipio, who had spent all the preceding winter in conciliating the affections of the barbarians, partly by presents, and partly by sending home their hostages and prisoners, a person named Edesco, a distinguished commander among the Spaniards. This man's wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but, besides this motive, he was also actuated by that almost unaccountable propension which had brought over all Spain from the Carthaginian interest to that of the Romans. Led by the same motive, Indibilis and Mandonius, unquestionably the two first men in Spain, with the whole body of their countrymen, deserted Hasdrubal, and withdrew to an eminence overlooking his camp, from whence along a continued ridge of hills, they could retire with safety to the Romans. When Hasdrubal saw the enemy's strength increasing by such large accessions, while his own was daily diminished, and would probably, unless by a bold effort he effected something, continue to decay, in the same manner as it had begun, he resolved to bring on a battle as soon as possible. Scipio was even more desirous of an engagement; as well because his hopes were strong, in consequence of the success which had hitherto attended his affairs, as because he wished to engage with a single general and his forces, rather than with all together, which he would perhaps be forced to do, were they to unite. However, should he be under a necessity of fighting more than one army at once, he had taken a judicious method to augment his strength: for, perceiving that there would be no employment for his marine, as the coast of Spain was entirely clear of any Carthaginian fleet, he hauled up the ships on land at Tarraco, and joined the marines to his land forces. As to arms for them, he had abundance, between those taken at Carthage, and those which had been afterwards made by the great number of work-

men whom he employed. With this force, Scipio, in the beginning of spring, by which time he was rejoined by Lælius, who had returned from Rome, and without whom he undertook no enterprise of any extraordinary moment, set out from Tarraco, and advanced towards the enemy. On his march, during which he found every place well affected, the allies showing him all respect, and escorting him as he passed through each of their states, he was met by Indibilis and Mandonius, with their armies. Indibilis spoke for both, not with the ignorance and temerity of a barbarian, but with a modest gravity, appearing rather to apologize for their changing sides, as a measure of necessity, than to boast of it, as if it had been greedily embraced on the first opportunity; for "he knew," he said, "that the term deserter was deemed dishonourable by a man's old associates, and held in suspicion by the new. Nor did he blame men for this manner of thinking; provided only, that the merits of the case, and not the mere name, were made the grounds of this double aversion." He then enumerated his services to the Carthaginian generals; and, on the other hand, their avarice, tyranny, and ill-treatment of every kind heaped on him and his countrymen. "For these reasons," he said, "his body only had, hitherto, been on their side; his mind had long been on that side where, he believed, that respect was paid to laws divine and human. To the gods themselves, people have recourse with supplications for redress, when they can no longer endure the violence and injustice of men. He entreated Scipio not to consider their conduct as deserving either punishment or reward; but to form his judgment on a trial of them from that day forward; and by that standard to estimate the recompense which they might hereafter be thought to deserve." The Roman answered that he would comply with their desire in every particular; and would not consider them in the light of deserters, because they had not thought themselves bound to adhere to such an alliance, when the other party scrupled not to violate every obligation divine and human. Then their wives and children, being brought into the assembly, were restored to them, and received with tears of joy. That day they were entertained in lodgings prepared for them; and, on the next, the terms of association were ratified, and they were dismissed to bring up their forces; afterwards they encamped in conjunction with the Romans, until

they conducted them to the spot where the enemy lay.

XVIII. The nearest army of the Carthaginians was that commanded by Hasdrubal, which lay near the city of Bæcula. In the front of this camp he had posted advanced guards of cavalry. On these, the Roman light infantry, the front rank, and those who composed the van guard, instantly, as they arrived, and without waiting to choose ground for a camp, made an attack, and with such apparent contempt, as plainly demonstrated what degree of spirit each party possessed. The cavalry were driven within their works, whither they fled in confusion, pressed almost to the very gates. The action of that day having only whetted their ardour for a contest, the Romans pitched their camp. Hasdrubal, during the night, drew back his army to a hill, the summit of which was spread out into a level plain; on the rear of the hill was a river, and on the front and on either side it was encircled by a kind of steep bank: at some distance below this, lay another plain, sloping downwards, the circumference of which was likewise bounded by another bank of equally difficult ascent. Into this lower plain, Hasdrubal, next day, on seeing the enemy's line formed in front of their camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry, and the light-armed Balearians and Africans. Scipio, riding round the companies and battalions, desired them to observe, that "the enemy, renouncing at once all hopes of being able to oppose them on plain ground, endeavoured to secure themselves on hills; waiting within sight, and confiding in the strength of their posts, not in their valour and their arms. But Roman soldiers had mounted the higher defences of Carthage. Neither hills, nor a citadel, nor the sea itself had stopped the progress of their arms. Those heights which the enemy had seized, would answer no other purpose than that of compelling them, in their flight, to leap down crags and precipices: but he would prevent their escaping, even in that way." Accordingly, he gave orders to two cohorts, that one of them should secure the entrance of the valley, through which the river ran; and that the other should block up the road, which led from the city into the country, across the declivity of the hill. He then put himself at the head of the light troops, which had, the day before, beaten the enemy's advanced guards, and led them against the light-armed forces posted on the brink of



the lower descent. For some time they proceeded over rough ground, without meeting any other obstacle than the difficulty of the way; afterwards, when they came within reach, vast quantities of weapons of every sort were poured down upon them; while, on their side, not only the soldiers, but a multitude of servants mixed among the troops, assailed the enemy with stones, which they found every where scattered, and which, in general, were of such a size as that they could be thrown by the hand. But, though the ascent was difficult, and they were almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet, through the skill which they had acquired by practice in climbing walls, and the obstinacy of their courage, the foremost gained the summit. When they got upon ground that was any way level, and where they could stand with firm footing, they soon beat back the enemy; who, though light and fit for skirmishing, and able enough to defend themselves at a distance, while an uncertain kind of fight was waged with missive weapons, yet, when the matter came to close fighting, were quite deficient in steadiness; so that they were driven with great slaughter into the line of troops posted on the higher eminence. On this, Scipio, ordering the conquerors to press forward against their centre, divided the rest of the forces with Lælius, whom he ordered to go round the hill to the right, until he should find a gentler ascent, while he himself, making a small circuit to the left, charged the enemy in flank. This, at once, threw their line into disorder, though they attempted to change the position of their wings, and to face about their ranks towards the several shouts, which assailed their ears from every quarter. During this confusion, Lælius also came up, and the enemy by retreating, through fear of being wounded from behind, broke their front line, and left an opening for the Roman centre, who never could have made their way up against ground so disadvantageous, had the ranks remained entire, and the elephants kept their posts in the front of the battalions. While numbers were slain in every quarter, Scipio, who with his left wing had charged the right of the enemy, continued the attack with the greatest fury against their naked flank. And now the Carthaginians had not even a passage open for flight; for the Roman detachments had taken possession of the roads both on the right and left; add to this, that their commander and principal officers,

in endeavouring to make their escape, filled up the gate of the camp, while the disorderly rout of the frightened elephants were as terrible to them as were the enemy. There were slain therefore not less than eight thousand men.

XIX. Hasdrubal had, before the battle, hastily sent off his treasure; and now, forwarding the elephants, he collected the flying troops, directing his course along the river Tagus, toward the Pyrenees. Scipio took possession of the Carthaginian camp, and having bestowed on the soldiers all the booty, except the persons of free condition, he found, on taking an account of the prisoners, ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Of these, he sent home all the Spaniards without ransom, the Africans he ordered the quæstor to sell. On this the multitude of Spaniards who stood around, both those who had formerly surrendered, and those taken the day before, unanimously saluted him by the title of king. But Scipio, ordering the crier to command silence, told them, that "to him the highest title was that of general, which his soldiers had conferred upon him. That the title of king, in other places highly respected, was, at Rome, deemed odious. They might, indeed, within their own breasts, judge of him as possessing the spirit of a king, if they deemed that the most honourable perfection in a human mind, but they must refrain from the application of the name." Even these barbarians were sensibly affected by the greatness of his mind, that could look down contemptuously on a title, which from the rest of mankind attracts wonder and admiration. He then distributed presents among the petty princes and chieftains of the Spaniards, desiring Indibilis to choose, out of the great number of horses taken, three hundred, such as he liked. While the quæstor, in pursuance of the general's order, was selling off the Africans, he observed among them a boy of extraordinary beauty; and, hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. Scipio, asking him, "who, and of what country he was; and why, at that early age, he had been found in a camp?" He told him, that "he was a Numidian, called by his countrymen Massiva; that being left an orphan, by the death of his father, he was educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala, king of Numidia. That he had come over into Spain with his uncle Masinissa, who had lately brought a body of cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians. That he had never before been

in a battle, having been prohibited by Masinissa on account of his youth ; but that, on the day of the engagement with the Romans, he had privately taken a horse and arms, and, unknown to his uncle, gone out into the field, whereby his horse falling he was thrown to the ground, and made a prisoner by the Romans." Scipio, ordering the boy to be taken care of, finished what business was to be done at the tribunal ; then, retiring into his pavilion, he called the youth, and asked him, whether he wished to return to Masinissa ? To which the other, his eyes suffused with tears of joy, replied, that above all things it was what he wished. He then gave as presents to him, a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a golden clasp, likewise a horse fully accoutred ; and, ordering a party of horsemen to escort him as far as he chose, sent him away.

XX. He then held a council, to settle a plan of operations ; when many advised him, without delay, to go in pursuit of Hasdrubal : but such a step he thought too hazardous, lest Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and Mago should unite their forces with those of that commander. Contenting himself, therefore, with sending some troops to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, he passed the remainder of the summer in receiving the submissions of the Spanish states. Not many days after the battle fought at Bœcula, when Scipio, on his return to Tarraco, had just got clear of the pass of Castulo, the two generals, from the Farther Spain, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and Mago, joined Hasdrubal—a reinforcement too late, the battle being lost ; but their coming was very seasonable in another respect, as it gave him the assistance of their counsel, respecting the measures to be taken for the farther prosecution of the war. On this occasion, when they compared accounts of the dispositions of the Spaniards in each of their several provinces, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, alone, made a favourable report ; giving his opinion, that the remote track of Spain, which lies on the ocean and about Gades, was, as yet, unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore sufficiently well affected to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal and Mago agreed in pronouncing, that "the affections of all, both in their public and private capacities, were attached to Scipio by the kind treatment which he gave them ; and that there would be no end

of desertions, until all the Spanish soldiers were either removed into the remotest parts of Spain, or carried away into Gaul. Therefore, though the Carthaginian senate had passed no order for the purpose, yet it was necessary that Hasdrubal should go into Italy, where the principal stress of the war lay, and where the final decision of it must be expected ; in order, at the same time, to carry away all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain, and out of the way of hearing the name of Scipio : that the Carthaginian army, being greatly reduced, as well by desertions as by the late unfortunate battle, should be filled up with Spanish recruits : that Mago, giving up his forces to Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, should go over in person to the Balearic islands, with a large sum of money, to hire auxiliaries : that Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, should, with the remainder, retire into Lusitania, and by no means come to an engagement with the Romans : that out of all their effective horsemen a body of three thousand cavalry should be made up for Masinissa, to make excursions through what they called Hither Spain, succour their allies, and carry depredations through the towns and lands of the enemy." Having determined on these measures, the commanders separated, to put their resolves in execution. Such were the transactions of this year in Spain. At Rome, the reputation of Scipio rose higher every day. The taking of Tarentum, though effected by artifice rather than by courage, yet gave some degree of glory to Fabius. The lustre of Fulvius's character began to fade. Marcellus was even spoken of with displeasure, because, besides the failure in his first battle, he had in the middle of summer, while Hannibal was carrying his excursions through various parts of Italy, drawn off his army to Venusia, to lodge them in houses. He had a bitter enemy in Caius Publius Bibulus, a plebeian tribune : this man, ever since the battle which proved unfortunate, had, in frequent harangues, represented Claudius in a dishonourable light, endeavouring to render him odious to the commons ; and he now proposed to deprive him of the command. The friends of Claudius nevertheless procured an order, that Marcellus, leaving at Venusia a lieutenant-general, should come home to Rome, to clear himself of those charges, on which his enemies founded the resolutions which they proposed ; and that, during his absence, no step should be taken towards divesting him of the



command. It so happened that Marcellus came to Rome, to rescue his character from disgrace, and the consul Quintus Fulvius to hold the elections, at the same time.

XXI. The business respecting Marcellus's commission was debated in the Flaminian circus, amidst a vast concourse of plebeians, and people of all ranks. The tribune of the commons brought forward heavy charges, not only against Marcellus, but against the whole body of the nobles. "To their treacherous and dilatory conduct," he said, "it was owing, that Hannibal now held possession of Italy, as his province, for the tenth year, and passed more of his life there than in Carthage. The Roman people now enjoyed the fruits of continuing Marcellus in command: his army, after being twice routed, was spending the summer at Venusia, and dwelling in houses instead of the camp." These, and such like invectives of the tribune, Marcellus so thoroughly refuted, by a recital of the services which he had performed, that not only the question concerning the annulling of his commission was negated, but, on the day following, every one of the centuries, with the greatest unanimity, concurred in electing him consul. The colleague joined with him was Titus Quintius Crispinus, then a prætor. Next day were elected prætors, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, then chief pontiff, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Cæsar, Quintus Claudius, flamen. During the very time of the elections, the public were much disturbed with apprehensions of a revolt in Etruria. That some scheme of that kind had been set on foot by the Arretians was asserted in a letter of Caius Calpurnius, who, in the character of proprætor, held the government of that province. Wherefore Marcellus, consul elect, was immediately despatched thither, with orders to inquire into the affair, and, if he should see occasion, to send for his army, and remove the war from Apulia to Etruria. The fear of this gave the Etrurians such a check, as kept them quiet. Ambassadors from the Tarentines came to solicit a treaty of peace, requesting that they might be allowed to live in freedom under their own laws; but the senate desired them to come again, when the consul Fabius would have returned to Rome. Both the Roman and plebeian games were this year repeated for one day. The curule ædiles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus, and Servius Sulpicius Galba; the plebeian, Caius Servilius and

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Many people insisted that Servilius could not legally have held the office of tribune, nor could now hold that of ædile, because it was well known that his father, who, for ten years, was supposed to have been killed by the Boians near Mutina, when triumvir for the distribution of lands, was still living, and in the hands of the enemy.

XXII. In the eleventh year of the Punic war, commenced the consulate of Marcus Marcellus, a fifth time, (reckoning the consulship, which, because of an irregularity in the election, he did not hold,) and Titus Quintius Crispinus. It was decreed, that both the consuls should be employed in Italy, as their province; and that out of the two consular armies of the preceding year, with a third, which was at Venusia, and had been under the command of Marcellus, the consuls were to choose whatever two they liked; and the third was to be assigned to the commander, to whose lot the province of Tarentum and Salentum should fall. The other provinces were distributed in this manner: with regard to the prætors, the city jurisdiction was assigned to Publius Licinius Varus; the foreign, with such other employment as the senate should direct, to Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff; Sicily to Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius, flamen. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was continued in command for the year, and ordered with one legion, to hold the government of the province of Capua, which had been held by Titus Quintius, when prætor. Caius Hostilius Tubulus was likewise continued, that, as proprætor, he might succeed Caius Calpurnius in the command of the two legions in Etruria; and Lucius Veturius Philo was continued, that he might, in quality of proprætor, retain the government of his present province of Gaul, with the same two legions which he had there when prætor. With regard to Caius Aurunculeius, who, in his prætorship, had, with two legions, held the government of the province of Sardinia, the senate passed a decree in the same terms with that respecting Lucius Veturius, but, for the defence of that province, an additional force was assigned him of fifty ships of war, which Scipio was to send from Spain. The business of continuing all these officers in command was laid before an assembly of the people. To Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus, their present province of Spain, and the armies at present with them, were decreed for

the year. An order was sent to Scipio, that, out of eighty ships which he then had—some brought with him from Italy, some taken at Carthage—he should send fifty over to Sardinia; because a report prevailed that great naval preparations were going on at Carthage, where the intention was to overspread the whole coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia with a fleet of two hundred sail. The business of Sicily was divided thus: the troops of Cannæ were given to Sextus Caesar; Marcus Valerius Laevinus (for he also was continued in authority) was to have the fleet of seventy ships, which lay on the coast of that island. To these were joined the thirty ships which had been at Tarentum the year before; and with this fleet of one hundred sail, if he thought proper, he was to pass over and make depredations on Africa. Publius Sulpicius, also, was continued in command for the year, that he might hold the province of Macedonia and Greece, with the same fleet which he had before. With respect to the two legions which remained in the city of Rome, no alteration was made. Leave was given for the consuls to raise recruits, to complete the troops wherein there was any deficiency of numbers. Twenty-one legions were employed this year in the service of the Roman empire. A charge was given to Publius Licinius Varus, city prætor, to repair thirty old ships of war, which lay at Ostia, and to furnish twenty new ones, with their full complement of men, that he might have a fleet of fifty sail to guard the sea coasts in the neighbourhood of Rome. Caius Calpurnius was forbidden to remove his army from Arretium, before the arrival of his successor. Both he and Tubero were ordered to be particularly watchful on that side, lest any new schemes might be formed.

XXIII. The prætors went to the provinces, but the consuls were detained by business respecting religion; for they could not readily effect the expiation of several prodigies which had been reported. From Campania, accounts were brought, that two temples at Capua, those of Fortune and Mars, and several tombs, were struck by lightning; and at Cumæ, mice gnawed some gold in the temple of Jupiter, so apt is superstitious weakness to introduce the deities into the most trivial occurrences; that at Casinum, a very large swarm of bees settled in the forum; at Ostia, a wall and gate were struck by lightning; at Cære, a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; and that at

Vulsinii blood flowed from a lake. On account of these portents, there was a supplication performed of one day's continuance. During many successive ones, sacrifices were offered of victims of the larger kinds, and yet no favourable omens appeared, nor, for a long time, was there any indication of the gods becoming propitious. The baneful events, thus foreboded, affected not immediately the safety of the state, but fell on the persons of the consuls. The Apollinarian games had been first celebrated by the city prætor, Cornelius Sulla, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius; and, thenceforward, all the city prætors, in succession, had performed them; but they vowed them only for one year, and fixed no particular day for their observance. This year, a grievous epidemic disorder fell both on the city and country; however, the sickness was rather tedious than mortal. On account of this malady, a supplication was performed in all the streets of Rome, the city prætor, Publius Licinius Varus, being at the same time ordered to propose to the people to enact a law, that a vow should be made for the perpetual celebration of those games on a stated day. Accordingly he himself first engaged for it, holding the games on the third day of the nones of July, which day has ever since been observed as an anniversary festival.

XXIV. The rumours concerning the Arretians grew every day more and more alarming, and greatly increased the anxiety of the senate; wherefore orders were despatched to Caius Hostilius, not to defer taking hostages from that people; and Caius Terentius Varro was sent with a commission to receive them from him, and conduct them to Rome. On his arrival, Hostilius immediately ordered one legion, which was encamped before the gates, to march into the city; and then, having posted guards in proper places, he summoned the senate to attend him in the forum, and make a demand of hostages. The senate requested two days' time to consider the matter; but he insisted that they should give them instantly, or he would, next day, take all the children of the senators. He then directed all the military tribunes, præfects of the allies, and centurions, to guard the gates carefully, that no one might go out of the city in the night. This was not performed with proper care and diligence; for, before the guards were posted at the gates, or night came on, seven principal senators made their escape



with their children. At the first light, on the day following, the senate being summoned into the forum, they were missed, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators, one hundred and twenty hostages were received, who were their own children, and they were delivered to Caius Terentius to be conducted to Rome. He represented every thing to the senate, in such a light as greatly increased their suspicions: wherefore, as if the hostile intentions of the Etrurians were no longer to be doubted, an order was given to Caius Terentius himself, to lead one of the city legions to Arretium, and to keep it there, as a garrison to the city. It was at the same time determined that Caius Hostilius, with the rest of the troops, should make a circuit through the whole province; that those who wished to excite disturbances might have no opportunity of putting their designs in execution. When Caius Terentius, with the legion, arrived at Arretium, and demanded from the magistrates the keys of the gates, they told him that they were not to be found; but he believing rather that they had been put out of the way through some evil design, than lost through negligence, put on new locks, making use of every precaution to keep all things fully under his own power. He earnestly cautioned Hostilius not to expect to retain the Etrurians in quiet by any other means than by putting it out of their power to stir.

XXV. About this time, the business of the Tarentines occasioned a warm debate in the senate, where Fabius was present, exerting himself in favour of those whom he had subdued by arms, while others spoke of them with much asperity, charging them as equal in guilt and deserving equal punishment with the Campanians. The senate resolved, conformably to the opinion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be secured by a garrison, and all the Tarentines confined within the walls, and that the business should be taken under consideration at a future time, and when Italy should be in a state of greater tranquillity. The case of Marcus Livius, governor of the citadel of Tarentum, was also debated with no less warmth: some advised to pass a vote of censure on him, because that, in consequence of his indolence, Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy; while others thought him deserving of reward, for having defended the citadel for five years, and for having, singly, been the

principal cause of the recovery of Tarentum. Moderate people affirmed, that the cognizance of his conduct belonged to the censors, not to the senate; and of this opinion was Fabius; nevertheless adding—"Livius was, no doubt, the cause of Tarentum being recovered, as his friends have so often boasted in the senate; but it should be borne in mind that it could not have been recovered, if it had not been lost." The consul, Titus Quintius Crispinus, marched with a reinforcement into Lucania, to join the army formerly commanded by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Marcellus was detained by several obstacles respecting religion which occurred, in quick succession, to disturb his mind: one of which was, that, having in the battle with the Gauls at Clastidium vowed a temple to Honour and Virtue, he had been hindered, by the pontiffs, from dedicating it, for they insisted, that one shrine could not, with propriety, be consecrated to more than one deity; because, if it should be struck with lightning, or any kind of prodigy happen in it, the expiation would be difficult, as it could not be determined to which of the deities sacrifice ought to be made; for one victim could not, properly, be offered to two divinities, unless they were known to be two to whom such victim must be acceptable. Wherefore a separate temple was erected to Virtue, and the work pushed forward with haste; nevertheless these temples were not dedicated by him. At length he set out, with a number of recruits, to join the army, which he had left the year before at Venusia. Crispinus, observing the great degree of fame which the taking of Tarentum had procured to Marcellus, prepared to lay siege to Locri in Bruttium, sending to Sicily for engines and machines of all sorts, and calling over a fleet from thence, to attack that quarter of the city which stretched down to the sea. But he laid aside his design of the siege, because Hannibal had advanced to Licinium; he heard, too, that his colleague had led out his army from Venusia, which made him wish to unite their forces. Crispinus therefore withdrew from Bruttium into Apulia, and the two consuls sat down in separate camps, distant from each other less than three miles, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal also returned into the same country, as soon as he had saved Locri from a siege. And now the consuls, being both impatient for action, offered battle almost every day; not doubting but that, if the enemy would hazard

an engagement with the two consular armies united, they might effectually put an end to the war.

XXVI. As Hannibal, of the two battles which he had fought with Marcellus the year before, had gained one and lost the other, he might now, in case of an engagement with the same antagonist, find reasonable grounds both of hope and fear; but he could, by no means, believe himself equal to a contest with the two consuls together. Applying himself, therefore, wholly to his old artifices, he watched an opportunity for an ambuscade. However, several skirmishes were fought between the camps with various success, and the consuls began to think that the summer might be spun out in this manner. They were of opinion, however, that the siege of Locri might, nevertheless, be prosecuted; and they wrote to Lucius Cincius to come over, with the fleet, from Sicily to that place; and, to carry on the siege on the land side, they ordered half the troops in garrison at Tarentum to march thither. Hannibal, having received previous intimation from some Thurians of these intended measures, sent a party to lie in ambush on the road from Tarentum. There, under the hill of Petellia, three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were placed in concealment; and the Romans marching carelessly, without having examined the road, fell into the snare, where no less than two thousand soldiers were killed, and about twelve hundred taken prisoners: the rest flying different ways, through the fields and woods, returned to Tarentum. Between the Roman and Carthaginian camps, stood a hill, interspersed with trees, which neither party at first had occupied, because the Romans knew not the nature of the ground on the side which faced the camp of the enemy, and Hannibal had judged it to be better fitted for an ambush than for a camp: accordingly he sent thither, for the purpose, a strong detachment of Numidians, whom he concealed in the middle of a thicket: not one of whom stirred from his post in the day, lest either their arms or themselves might be observed from a distance. There ran a general murmur through the Roman camp, that this hill ought to be seized, and secured by a fort, lest, if Hannibal should get possession of it, they should have the enemy, as it were, over their heads. The observation struck Marcellus, and he said to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen, and take

a view of the place? After examining the matter with our own eyes, we shall be able to judge with more certainty." Crispinus assenting, they proceeded to the spot, attended by two hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were Fregellans, the rest Etrurians: they were accompanied by two military tribunes, Marcus Marcellus, the consul's son, and Aulus Manlius, and by two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arennius and Marcus Aulius. Some writers have recorded, that the consul Marcellus offered sacrifice on that day, and that, on the first victim being slain, the liver was found without its head; in the second, all the usual parts appeared, but there was a swelling observed on the head of the liver; the aruspex also observing, that, in the second case, the entrails, being imperfect and foul, afforded no very happy presages.

XXVII. But the consul Marcellus was possessed with such a passionate desire for a trial of strength with Hannibal, that he never thought his own camp close enough to his; and on this occasion, as he was passing the rampart, he left directions that every soldier should be ready in his place, in order that, if the hill which they were going to examine, should be approved of, the whole might strike their tents, and follow them thither. In front of the camp was a small plain, and the road, leading thence to the hill, was open on all sides, and exposed to view. A watchman whom the Numidians had posted, not in expectation of an opportunity so important as this, but with the hope of cutting off any party that might straggle too far in search of wood or forage, gave them the signal to rise at once from their concealments. Those who were to come forth from the summit and meet the enemy in front did not show themselves, until the others, who were to inclose them on the rear, had got round. Then all sprang forward from every side, and, raising a shout, made a furious onset. Though the consuls were so situated in the valley that they could neither force their way up the hill, which was occupied by the enemy, nor, surrounded as they were, effect a retreat, the dispute might nevertheless have been protracted for a longer time, had not the Etrurians begun to fly, and thereby filled the rest with dismay. However, the Fregellans, though abandoned by the Etrurians, did not give up the contest, as long as the consuls remained unhurt; who, by their exhortations,



and their own personal exertions, supported the spirit of the fight; but, afterwards, seeing both the consuls wounded, and Marcellus pierced through with a lance, and falling lifeless from his horse, then the few betook themselves to flight, carrying with them Crispinus, who had received two wounds from javelins, and young Marcellus, who was also hurt. One of the military tribunes, Aulus Manlius, was slain; of the two præfects of the allies, Marcus Aulius was killed, and Lucius Arennius taken: of the lictors of the consuls five fell alive into the enemy's hands; of the rest, some were slain, the others fled with the consul. Forty-three horsemen fell in the fight and pursuit, and eighteen were made prisoners. The troops in camp had taken the alarm, and were going to succour the consuls when they saw one consul, and the other consul's son, both wounded, and the small remains of the unfortunate party on their return. The death of Marcellus, unhappy in other respects, was no less so in this, that by conduct, ill-becoming either his age (for he was now above sixty years old), or the prudence of a veteran commander, he had so improvidently precipitated himself, his colleague, and, in some measure, the whole commonwealth into such desperate hazard. I should engage in too many and too long discussions on a single event, if I were to recite all the various relations given by different writers of the death of Marcellus. To omit other authors, Lucius Cælius presents us with three different narratives of that occurrence; one received by tradition: another written, and contained in the funeral panegyric, delivered by his son, who was present in the action; and a third, which he produces as the real state of the fact, discovered by his own inquiries. But how much soever reports vary, most of them, notwithstanding, concur in stating, that he went out of his camp to view the ground, and all, that he was slain in an ambuscade.

XXVIII. Hannibal, supposing that the enemy must be greatly dismayed by the death of one of their consuls, and the wounds of the other, and wishing not to lose any advantage which a juncture so favourable might afford, removed his camp immediately to the hill on which the battle had been fought. Here he found the body of Marcellus, and interred it. Crispinus, disheartened by his colleague's death and his own wounds, decamped in

the silence of the following night, and on the nearest mountains that he could reach, pitched his camp in an elevated spot, secure on all sides. On this occasion, the two commanders displayed great sagacity in their proceedings, while one endeavoured to effect, the other to guard against deception. Hannibal had, with Marcellus's body, gotten possession of his ring, and Crispinus, fearing lest mistakes occasioned by means of this signet might give room to the Carthaginian for practising some of his wiles, sent expresses round to all the neighbouring states to inform them, that his colleague had been slain, that the enemy was in possession of his ring, and that they should, therefore, give no credit to any letters written in the name of Marcellus." This message from the consul had but just arrived at Salapia, when a letter was brought thither from Hannibal, written in the name of Marcellus, intimating, that "he would come to Salapia on the night which was to follow that day; and directing that the soldiers of the garrison should be ready in case he should have occasion to employ them." The Salapians were aware of the fraud; and judging that Hannibal, whom they had incensed, not only by their defection from his party, but by killing his horsemen, was seeking an opportunity for revenge; sent back his messenger, who was a Roman deserter, in order that the soldiers might act, as should be thought proper, without being watched by him; they then placed parties of the townsmen on guard along the walls, and in the convenient parts of the city, forming the guards and watches for that night with more than ordinary care. On each side of the gate through which they expected the enemy to come they placed the main strength of the garrison. About the fourth watch Hannibal approached the city: his van-guard was composed of Roman deserters, armed also in the Roman fashion. These, when they came to the gate, as they all spoke the Latine language, called up the watchmen, and ordered them to open the gate, for the consul was at hand. The watchmen, as if awaked by their call, were all in a hurry and bustle, striving to open the gate which had been shut by letting down the portcullis; some raised this with levers, others pulled it with ropes to such a height, that men might come in without stooping. Scarcely was the passage sufficiently opened, when the deserters rushed in eagerly through the gate;

and, when about six hundred had entered, the rope by which it was kept suspended, being loosened, the portcullis fell down with a great noise. Part of the Salapians now attacked the deserters, who, as if among friends, carried their arms carelessly on their shoulders, as on a march; while the rest, from the tower adjoining the gate and from the walls, beat off the enemy with stones, and pikes, and javelins. Thus Hannibal, ensnared by an artifice worthy of himself, was obliged to retire, and went thence to raise the siege of Locri, which Cincius was pushing forward with the utmost vigour, having constructed various works, and being supplied with engines of every kind from Sicily. Mago, who almost despaired of being able to hold out and maintain the defence of the city, received the first gleam of returning hope from the news of Marcellus's death. This was soon followed by an express, acquainting him that Hannibal, having sent forward the Numidian cavalry, was hastening after, at the head of the main body of infantry, with all the speed he could make. As soon, therefore, as he understood, by signals made from the watch-towers, that the Numidians were drawing nigh, he with his own forces, suddenly throwing open a gate, rushed out furiously on the besiegers. The suddenness of his attack, rather than inequality of strength, at first made the dispute doubtful; but afterwards, when the Numidians came up, the Romans were struck with such dismay, that they fled in confusion towards the sea and their ships, leaving behind their works and machines which they used in battering the walls. In this manner did the approach of Hannibal raise the siege of Locri.

XXIX. When Crispinus learned that Hannibal had gone into Bruttium, he ordered Marcus Marcellus, military tribune, to lead away to Venusia the army which had been under the command of his colleague; and he himself, with his own legions, set out for Capua, being scarcely able to endure the motion of a litter, his wounds were so very painful. But he first despatched a letter to Rome, with an account of Marcellus's death, and of his own dangerous situation. "It was not in his power," he said, "to go to Rome to attend the elections, because he was sure he should not be able to bear the fatigue of the journey; and besides, that he was uneasy about Tarentum, lest Hannibal might march thither from Bruttium. It was

therefore necessary that some persons should be commissioned to come to him in his quarters, men of prudence, to whom he could with freedom speak his thoughts on the present state of affairs." The reading of this letter caused great sorrow for the death of one consul, and apprehensions for the safety of the other. The senate, therefore, sent Quintus Fabius the younger, to Venusia, to take the command of the army there; and deputed three persons to wait on the consul, Sextus Julius Cæsar, Lucius Licinius Pollio, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who had a few days before come home from Sicily. These were ordered to deliver a message to the consul, that if he could not come himself to Rome, to hold the elections, he would, within the Roman territories, nominate a dictator for that purpose; and directions were given, that in case the consul should have gone to Tarentum, then Quintus Claudius, the prætor, should lead the army from its present quarters into that part of the country where he could afford protection to the greatest number of the cities of the allies. In the course of this summer Marcus Valerius passed from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of one hundred sail, and making a descent near the city of Clupea, ravaged the country to a great extent, meeting scarcely any one in arms. After which, the troops employed in these depredations made a hasty retreat to their ships, in consequence of a sudden report that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching. This fleet consisted of eighty-three ships, with which the Roman commander came to an engagement not far from Clupea, and gained a complete victory. After taking eighteen ships, and dispersing the rest, he returned to Lilybæum with abundance of booty acquired both on land and sea.

XXX. Philip, during this summer, brought assistance to the Achæans, in compliance with their earnest entreaties; for, on one side, Machanidas, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, harassed them continually by irruptions from his territories, which lay contiguous to theirs; and on another, the Ætolians, transporting an army, in ships, through the strait which runs between Naupactus and Patræ, called by the neighbouring inhabitants Rhios, had spread devastations through the country. A report also prevailed, that Attalus, king of Asia, intended to come over into Europe, because the Ætolians, in their last general council, had constituted him chief magistrate of their state.



While Philip was, for all these reasons, marching down into Greece, he was met at the city of Lamia by the Ætoliens, under the command of Pyrrhus, who had been created prætor for that year, conjointly with Attalus, on account of the latter's absence. Besides their own forces, they had a body of auxiliaries sent by Attalus, and about one thousand men from the Roman fleet of Publius Sulpicius. Against this commander, and these forces, Philip fought twice with success; and, in each battle, slew at least one thousand. The Ætoliens being so greatly dismayed, as to keep themselves close under the walls of Lamia, Philip led back his army to Phalara. This place, being situated on the Malian bay, was formerly thickly inhabited, on account of its excellent harbour, the safe anchorage on either side, with other commodious circumstances, to which both the sea and the land contributed. Hither came ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chians, with intent to compose the differences between Philip and the Ætoliens. The Ætoliens also invited a mediator from among their neighbours, Amynder, king of Athamania. But the concern of all was engaged, not so much by their regard for the Ætoliens, who were remarkable for an arrogance unbecoming a Grecian state, as by their wishes to prevent Philip from interfering in any of the affairs of Greece; an interference which would be highly dangerous to the general liberty. The deliberations concerning a pacification were adjourned to the meeting of the council of the Achæans, and a certain time and place were fixed for that assembly. In the meantime a truce for thirty days was obtained. The king, proceeding thence through Thessaly and Bœotia, came to Chalcis in Eubœa, with design to exclude Attalus from the harbours and coasts, for intelligence had been received that he intended to come to Eubœa with a fleet. Afterwards, leaving there a body of troops, to oppose Attalus, in case he should happen to arrive in the meantime; and setting out himself with a few horsemen and light infantry, he came to Argos. Here the superintendence of the games of Hærean Juno and Nemæan Hercules being conferred on him by the suffrages of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians affect to derive the origin of their family from that city, he performed those in honour of Juno; and, as soon as they were finished,

went off instantly to Ægium, to the council summoned some time before. In this assembly several schemes were proposed for putting an end to the Ætolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have any pretence for entering Greece. But every measure of the kind was defeated at once by the Ætoliens, when the time of the truce had scarcely expired, on their hearing that Attalus was arrived at Ægina, and that the Roman fleet lay at Naupactus. For being called into the council of the Achæans, where were likewise present the same ambassadors who had treated of a pacification at Phalara, they at first complained of some trifling acts committed during the truce, contrary to the faith of the convention, at last declaring that the war could not be terminated on any other terms than by the Achæans giving back Pylus to the Messenians, Atintania to the Romans, and Ardyæa to Scerdilædus and Pleuratus. Philip, conceiving the utmost indignation at the vanquished party presuming to prescribe terms to their conqueror, said, that "in listening before to proposals of peace, or in agreeing to a truce, he had not been led by any expectation that the Ætoliens would remain quiet, but by his wish to have all the confederates witnesses that the object of his pursuits was peace: of theirs, war. Thus, without any thing being effected towards an accommodation, he dismissed the assembly, left five thousand soldiers to protect the Achæans, receiving from them five ships of war, with which, added to a fleet lately sent to him from Carthage, and some vessels then on their way from Bithynia, sent by king Prusias, he had resolved, if he could effect the junction, to try his strength in a naval engagement with the Romans, who had long been masters of the sea in that part of the world. After dissolving the council he went back to Argos, because the time of the Nemæan games was approaching, and he wished to give them, by his presence, an additional degree of splendour.

XXXI. While the king was employed in the celebration of the games, and, during that season of festivity, indulging his mind in relaxation from military operations, Publius Sulpicius setting sail from Naupactus, arrived on the coast between Sicyon and Corinth, making violent depredations on that fine and fertile country. The news of this event called away Philip from the exhibition. He marched off

with rapidity at the head of his cavalry, leaving orders for the infantry to follow; and, while the Romans were straggling at random, and heavily laden with booty, not apprehending any danger of the kind, he attacked and drove them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet returned to Naupactus with little cause of triumph for the booty which they had taken. On the other side, Philip, by the fame of a victory, whatever might be its real importance, gained however over Romans, added greatly to the lustre of the remaining part of the games; and the festival was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, to which he contributed also by his popular behaviour: for, laying aside his diadem, purple robe, and other royal apparel, he set himself, with respect to appearance, on a level with the rest; than which nothing can be more grateful to the people of free states. This conduct would have afforded very strong hopes of general liberty, had he not debased and dishonoured all by intolerable debauchery: for, night and day, with one or two attendants, he ranged through the houses of married people. He had lowered his dignity to the common level, consequently the less conspicuous he appeared, the less restraint he was under; and thus the liberty of which he had given others an empty prospect, he stretched to the utmost in the gratification of his own libidinous desires. Money and seductive discourses were not always sufficient for his purposes; he even employed violence in aid of them, and dangerous was it for husbands and parents to show inflexible strictness in obstructing the lustful passions of the king. He took from Aratus (a man of distinction among the Achæans) his wife, named Polycratia, and deluding her with the hope of being married to a sovereign prince, carried her into Macedonia. After spending the time of the celebration of the games, and several days after they were finished, in this scandalous manner, he marched to Dymæ, with design to dislodge a garrison of the Ætolians, who had been invited by the Eleans, and received into that city. At Dymæ he was joined by the Achæans, under Cyliades their chief magistrate, who were inflamed with hatred against the Eleans, because they refused to unite with the other states of Achaia, and highly incensed against the Ætolians, whom they believed to be the authors of the war carried on against them by the Romans. Leaving Dymæ, and uniting

their forces, they passed the river Lariusus, which separates the territory of Elis from that of Dyme.

XXXII. The first day on which they entered the enemy's borders, they spent in plundering. On the next, they advanced to the city in order of battle, having sent forward the cavalry, to ride up to the gates, and provoke the Ætolians, who were ever well inclined to embrace an opportunity of sallying out from their works. They did not know that Sulpicius with fifteen ships, had come over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand soldiers, had, in the dead of night, lest his march should be observed, thrown himself into Elis. When therefore they perceived, among the Ætolians and Eleans, the Roman standards and arms, an appearance so unexpected filled them with the greatest terror. At first, the king had a mind to order a retreat, but the Ætolians being already engaged with the Trallians, a tribe of Illyrians so called, and his party appearing to have the worst of the contest, he himself, at the head of his cavalry, made a charge on a Roman cohort. Here the horse of Philip, being pierced through with a spear, threw him forward, over his head, to the ground, which gave rise to a furious conflict between the contending parties; the Romans pressing hard on the king, and his own men protecting him. His own behaviour on the occasion was remarkably brave, although he was obliged to fight on foot, among squadrons of cavalry. In a short time, the dispute becoming unequal, great numbers being killed and wounded near him, he was forced away by his soldiers, and, mounting another horse, fled from the field. He pitched his camp that day at the distance of five miles from the city of Elis; and, on the next, led all his forces to a fort called Pyrgus, where, as he had heard, a multitude of the country people with their cattle, had run together through fear of being plundered. This irregular and unarmed crowd were so utterly dismayed at his approach, that he at once made himself master of the whole, and by this seizure gained compensation for whatever disgrace he had sustained at Elis. While he was distributing the spoil and prisoners, the latter amounting to four thousand men, and the cattle of all kinds to twenty thousand, news arrived from Macedonia, that a person called Eropus, had, by bribing the commander of the garrison and citadel, gained possession of Lychnidus; that he



had also got into his hands some towns of the Dassaretians, and was, besides, endeavouring to persuade the Dardanians to take arms. In consequence of this intelligence, dropping the prosecution of the war between the Achæans and Ætolians, but leaving, however, two thousand five hundred soldiers, of one sort or other, under the command of Menippus and Polyphantas, to assist his allies, he marched away from Dymæ, through Achaia, Bœotia, and Eubœa, and on the tenth day arrived at Demetrias in Thessaly. Here he was met by other couriers, with accounts of still more dangerous commotions; that the Dardanians, pouring into Macedonia, had already seized on Orestis, and marched down into the plain of Argestæ, and that a report prevailed among the barbarians, that Philip had been slain. This rumour was occasioned by the following circumstance. In his expedition against the plundering parties near Sicyon, being carried by the impetuosity of his horse against a tree, a projecting branch broke off one of the side ornaments of his helmet, which being found by an Ætolian, and carried into Ætolia to Scerdilædus, who knew it to be the cognizance of the king, it was supposed that he was killed. After Philip's departure from Achaia, Sulpicius, sailing to Ægina, joined his fleet to that of Attalus. The Achæans gained the victory in a battle with the Ætolians and Eleans, fought near Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius wintered at Ægina.

XXXIII. Towards the close of this year, the consul Titus Quintius Crispinus, after having nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the elections, and solemnize the games, died of his wounds, according to some writers, at Tarentum; according to others, in Campania. Thus was there a concurrence of events, such as had never been experienced in any former war, while the two consuls being slain, without having fought any memorable battle, left the commonwealth, as it were, fatherless. The dictator Manlius appointed Caius Servilius, then curule ædile, his master of the horse. The senate, on the first day of its meeting, ordered the dictator to celebrate the great games, which Marcus Æmilius, city prætor, had exhibited in the consulate of Caius Flaminius and Cneius Servilius, and had vowed to be repeated at the end of five years. Accordingly, he not only performed them now, but vowed them for the next lustrum. But as

the two consular armies, without commanders were so near the enemy, both the senate and people, laying aside all other concerns, made it their chief and only care to have consuls elected as soon as possible, and especially that they should be men whose courage was so tempered by prudence as to guard them sufficiently against Carthaginian wiles: for it was considered, that, as through the whole course of the present war, the too warm and precipitate tempers of their generals had been productive of great losses, so, in that very year, the consuls, through excessive eagerness to engage the enemy, had fallen unguardedly into their snares; that the gods, however, compassionating the Roman nation, had spared the troops, who were guiltless of the fault, and had decreed that the penalty incurred by the rashness of the commanders should fall on their own heads. When the senate looked round for proper persons to be appointed to the consulship, Caius Claudius Nero at once met their view as eminently qualified beyond all others. They then sought a colleague for him. They well knew him to be a man of extraordinary abilities, but, at the same time, of a temper more sanguine and enterprising than was expedient in the present exigencies of the war, or against such an opponent as Hannibal; and, therefore, they thought it necessary to qualify his disposition by joining with him a man of moderation and prudence.

XXXIV. Many years before this, Marcus Livius, on the expiration of his consulship, had been judged guilty of misconduct by a sentence of the people; and he was so deeply affected by this disgrace, that he retired into the country, and, for a long time, avoided not only the city, but all intercourse with mankind. About eight years afterwards, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Marcus Valerius Lævinus, then consuls, brought him back into Rome; but still he appeared in a squalid dress, and suffered his hair and beard to grow, displaying in his countenance and garb a more than ordinary sensibility of the censure passed on him. When Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius were censors, they compelled him to be shaved, to lay aside his sordid apparel, to attend the meetings of the senate, and perform other public duties. But, after all this, he used to give his vote either by a single word, or by going to the side of the house which he approved, until a trial came on in the cause of Marcus Livius Macatus, a man to whom he was related, and

whose character was at stake; and this obliged him to deliver his sentiments at large in the senate. The speech which he made, after so long an interval of silence, drew on him all eyes, and became the subject of much conversation: it was asserted, that "the people had treated him with great injustice, and that the consequences of this undeserved ill-treatment had been highly injurious to that very people; as, during a war of such importance and danger, the state had been deprived both of the services and counsels of so great a man. With Caius Nero, neither Quintus Fabius, nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus could be joined in office; because the law did not allow the election of two patricians. The same objection lay against Titus Manlius, besides that he had before refused the offer of the consulship, and would again refuse it. But if the election of Marcus Livius, in conjunction with Caius Nero, could be effected, then they would have such consuls as could scarcely be equalled." Nor were the commons disinclined to the proposal, although it took its rise from the patricians. One only person in the state, the person to whom the honour was offered, objected to the measure; charging the people with levity and inconstancy, he said, that "when he appeared before them in the situation of a defendant, in a mourning habit, they refused him their compassion; yet now they forced upon him the white gown against his will, heaping punishments and honours on the same object. If they deemed him an honest man, why had they condemned him as wicked and guilty? If they had discovered proofs of his guilt, after seeing such reason to repent of having trusted him with the consulship once, why intrust him with it a second time?" While he uttered these, and such like reproaches and complaints, he was checked by the senators, who bade him recollect, that "Camillus, though exiled by his country, yet returned at its call, and re-established it, when shaken from the very foundations; that it was the duty of a man to mollify by patience, and to bear with resignation, the severity of his country, like that of a parent." By the united exertions of all, Marcus Livius was elected consul with Caius Claudius Nero.

XXXV. Three days after, the election of prætors was held, and there were chosen into that office, Lucius Porcius Licinus, Caius Mamilius Aulus, and Caius Hostilius Cato. As soon as the elections were concluded, and the

games celebrated, the dictator and master of the horse resigned their offices. Caius Terentius Varro was sent, as proprætor, into Etruria, in order that Caius Hostilius might go from that province of Tarentum, to take the command of the army which had acted under the late consul, Titus Quintius; and that Titus Manlius might go beyond sea, in the character of ambassador, to observe what business was going on abroad; and also, as during that summer, the Olympic games were to be exhibited, which were also attended by the greatest concourse of the people of Greece, that he might go to that assembly, if not prevented by the enemy, and inform any Sicilians whom he should find driven there, and any citizens of Tarentum, banished by Hannibal, that they might return to their homes, and might be assured that the Roman people meant to restore to them the whole of the property which they possessed before the war began. As the approaching year seemed to threaten the greatest dangers, and there were, as yet, no magistrates for the administration of public affairs, all men directed their attention to the consuls elect, and wished them, as speedily as possible, to cast lots for their provinces, that each of them might know beforehand what province and what antagonist he was to have. Measures were also taken in the senate, on a motion made by Quintus Fabius Maximus, to reconcile them to each other; for there subsisted between them an avowed enmity, which, on the side of Livius, was the more inveterate, as, during his misfortunes, he had felt himself treated with contempt by the other. He was therefore the more obstinately implacable, and insisted, that "there was no need of any reconciliation: for they would conduct all business with the greater diligence and activity, while each should be afraid, lest a colleague, who was his enemy, might find means of exalting his own character at the other's expense." Nevertheless, the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay aside their animosity, and to act with harmony and unanimity in the administration of the government. The provinces allotted to them were not, as in former years, a joint command in the same districts, but quite separate, in the remotest extremities of Italy: to one, Bruttium and Lucania, where he was to act against Hannibal; to the other, Gaul, where he was to oppose Hasdrubal, who was now said to be approaching to the Alps. It was ordered that



the consul to whose lot Gaul fell, should of the two armies, (one of which was in Gaul, and the other in Etruria,) choose whichever he thought proper, and join to it the city legions; and that he to whom the province of Bruttium fell, should, after enlisting new legions for the city, take his choice of the armies commanded by the consuls of the preceding year; and that the army left by the consul should be given to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, and that he should continue in command for the year. To Caius Hostilius, to whom they had assigned the province of Tarentum, in exchange for Etruria, they now gave Capua instead. One legion was ordered for him,—that which Fulvius had commanded the year before.

XXXVI. The public anxiety respecting Hasdrubal's march into Italy increased daily. At first, envoys from the Massilians brought information, that he had passed into Gaul, and that the inhabitants of that country were in high spirits on the occasion; because it was reported that he had brought a vast quantity of gold for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries. In company with these envoys, on their return, were sent from Rome, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Retius, to inquire into the matter; who brought back an account, that they had sent persons with Massilian guides, who, by means of some Gallic chieftains, connected in friendship with the Massilians, might procure exact intelligence of every particular; and that they had discovered with certainty, that Hasdrubal, having already collected a very numerous army, intended to pass the Alps in the following spring, and that nothing prevented his doing it immediately, but the passes of those mountains being shut up by the winter. Publius Ælius Pætus was elected and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Marcus Marcellus; and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella into that of king in religious matters, in the room of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. In this year, the first time since Hannibal's coming into Italy, the lustrum was closed by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. The number of citizens rated was one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight, a number much smaller than it had been before the war. It is recorded that, in this same year, the comitium was covered, and the Roman games once repeated by the curule ædiles, Quintus Metellus and Caius Servilius;

and the plebeian games twice, by the plebeian ædiles, Quintus Mamilius and Marcus Cæcilius Metellus. These also erected three statues in the temple of Ceres, and there was a feast of Jupiter on occasion of the games. [Y. R. 545. B. C. 207.] Then entered on the consulship Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius, a second time; and as they had already, when consuls elect, cast lots for their provinces, they now ordered the prætors to do the same. To Caius Hostilius fell the city jurisdiction, to which the foreign was added, in order that three prætors might go abroad to the provinces. To Aulus Hostilius fell Sardinia; to Caius Mamilius, Sicily; and to Lucius Porcius, Gaul. The whole of the legions, amounting to twenty-three, were distributed in such manner, that each of the consuls should have two, Spain four, the three prætors, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul, two each; Caius Terentius, in Etruria, two; Quintus Fulvius, in Bruttium, two; Quintus Claudius, about Tarentum and Salernum, two; Caius Hostilius Tubulus, at Capua, one; and two were ordered to be raised for the city. For the first four legions, the people elected tribunes; for the rest, they were appointed by the consuls.

XXXVII. Before the consuls left home, the nine days' solemnity was performed, on account of a shower of stones having fallen from the sky at Veii. The mention of one prodigy was, as usual, followed by reports of others; that the temple of Jupiter at Minturnæ, a grove at Merica, a wall and a gate of Atella, had been struck by lightning. The people of Minturnæ said, what was still more terrifying, that a stream of blood had flowed in at one of their gates: at Capua, too, a wolf came into one of the gates, and tore the sentinel. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kinds; and a supplication, of one day's continuance, was ordered by the pontiffs. The nine days' solemnity was afterwards performed a second time, on account of a shower of stones seen to fall during the armilustrum. The people's minds were no sooner freed from religious apprehensions, than they were again disturbed by an account, that, at Frusino, an infant was born of a size equal to that of a child four years old, and wonderful, not only for its bulk, but for its sex being doubtful; as had been the case of the one born, two years before, at Sinuessa. Aruspices, sent from Etruria, denounced this to be a portent particularly horrid,

that ought to be exterminated from the Roman territories, and without being suffered to touch the earth, drowned in the sea. Accordingly, they shut it up alive in a chest, and threw it into the deep. The pontiffs likewise issued a mandate, that thrice nine virgins should go in procession through the city, singing a hymn. While they were employed, in the temple of Jupiter Stator, learning this hymn, which was composed by the poet Livius, the temple of Imperial Juno, on the Aventine, was struck by lightning. The aruspices, having delivered their judgment that this prodigy had respect to the matrons, and that the goddess ought to be appeased by an offering, the curule ædiles, by an edict, summoned together into the capitol all those matrons who had houses in the city of Rome, or within ten miles of it; and from this number they chose twenty-five, to whom they paid in a contribution out of their own effects. With this money a golden basin was made, and carried to the Aventine, where the matrons, with every demonstration of purity and sanctity, immolated to the goddess. Immediately after, the decemvirs, by proclamation, appointed a day for another sacrifice to the same divinity, which was conducted in the following order:—from the temple of Apollo, two white heifers were led into the city, through the Carmental gate; after them were carried two cypress images of imperial Juno; then followed the twenty-seven virgins clad in long robes, singing the hymn in honour of that deity. This hymn might perhaps to the uninformed judgments of those times, appear to have merit, but, if repeated at present, it would seem barbarous and uncouth. The train of virgins was followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel, and dressed in purple-bordered robes. From the gate they proceeded through the Jugarian street into the forum: here the procession halted, and a cord was given to the virgins, of which they all took hold, and then advanced, beating time with their feet to the music of their voices. Thus they proceeded through the Tuscan street, the Velabrum, the cattle-market, and up the Publician hill, until they arrived at the temple of Imperial Juno. There, two victims were offered in sacrifice by the decemvirs, and the cypress images were placed in the temple.

XXXVIII. After due expiations were offered to the gods, the consuls began to enlist soldiers; and this business they enforced with

more strictness and severity than had been formerly practised within the memory of any then living; for the new enemy, advancing towards Italy, made the war doubly formidable. As the number of young men capable of serving, was considerably diminished, they resolved to compel even the maritime colonies to furnish soldiers, although they were said to enjoy, under a solemn grant, an immunity from service. At first, they refused compliance; on which the consuls published orders, that each state should, on a certain day, produce before the senate the title on which it claimed such exemption. On the day appointed, the following states appeared before the senate; Ostia, Alsia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnæ, Sinuessa; and, from the coast of the upper sea, Sena. These recited their several claims; but none of them were allowed, except those of Antium and Ostia; and even in these two colonies the young men were obliged to swear, that, while the enemy remained in Italy, they would not lodge out of the walls of their colonies longer than thirty days. Although it was the opinion of all, that the consuls ought to open the campaign as early as possible, as it would be necessary to oppose Hasdrubal immediately on his descent from the Alps, lest he might seduce the Cisalpine Gauls and Etruria, which latter already entertained sanguine hopes of effecting a revolt; also, that it would be necessary to give Hannibal full employ in his own quarters, lest he might extricate himself from Bruttium, and advance to meet his brother: yet Livius delayed, not being satisfied with the forces destined for his provinces, while his colleague had a choice of two excellent consular armies, and a third which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum; he therefore introduced a proposal of recalling the volunteer slaves to the standards. The senate gave the consuls unlimited power to fill up their companies with any men whom they approved; to choose out of all the armies such as they liked, and to exchange them, and remove them from one province to another, as they should judge best for the public service. In the management of all these matters, the greatest harmony prevailed between the consuls; and the volunteer slaves were enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some writers say, that on this occasion powerful reinforcements were also sent from Spain by Publius Scipio to Marcus Livius; eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand



legionary soldiers, and a body of cavalry composed of Numidians and Spaniards, in number one thousand eight hundred; that Marcus Lucretius brought these forces by sea, and that Caius Mamilius sent from Sicily four thousand archers and slingers.

XXXIX. The disquietude at Rome was increased by a letter brought out of Gaul from the prætor Lucius Porcius; the contents of which were, that "Hasdrubal had moved out of winter quarters, and was now on his passage over the Alps; that eight thousand of the Ligurians were embodied and armed, and would join him as soon as he arrived in Italy, unless an army were sent into Liguria to attack them beforehand: as to himself, he would advance as far as he should think it safe with his small force." This letter obliged the consuls to finish the levies with haste, and to set out for their respective provinces earlier than they had intended; for their purpose was, that each should keep his antagonist employed in his own province, so as not to suffer the two to combine their forces into one body. An opinion, formed by Hannibal, helped to further their design: for though he believed that his brother would make good his way into Italy during the course of that summer, yet, when he reflected on the difficulties with which he had himself struggled, first in the passage of the Rhone, then in that of the Alps, fighting against men, and against the nature of the places, for five successive months, he had not the least expectation that the other would be able to effect his purpose with so much more ease and expedition; and, for this reason, he was the later in quitting his winter-quarters. But Hasdrubal found every thing to proceed more easily and expeditiously than either himself or others had even ventured to hope: for the Arvernians, and afterwards the other Gallic and Alpine tribes, not only gave him a friendly reception, but even accompanied him to the war. Then, in most parts of the country through which he marched, roads had been made by his brother in places until then impassable; besides which, as the Alps had, for twelve years, been a constant route for divers people, he found the disposition of the inhabitants much improved. For in former times, being never visited by foreigners, or accustomed to see a stranger in their country, they were unsocial towards all the human race. Being ignorant at first of the destination of the Car-

thaginian, they had imagined that his object was their rocks and forts, and to make prey of their men and cattle: but the accounts which they heard of the Punic war, and by which Italy had so long been harassed, by this time fully convinced them, that the Alps were only used as a passage, and that two overgrown states, separated by vast tracts of sea and land, were contending for power and empire. These causes opened the Alps to Hasdrubal. But whatever advantage he gained from the celerity of his march, he lost it all by delaying at Placentia, where he carried on a fruitless blockade, rather than an attack. He had supposed that the reduction of a town, standing in a plain, would be easily accomplished; and being a colony of great note, he was persuaded that, by destroying this city, he should fill the rest with terror. That siege, however, not only impeded his own progress, but also stopped Hannibal, when he was just setting out from his winter-quarters, in consequence of hearing that his brother had reached Italy so much more quickly than he had expected. For he considered not only how tedious the siege of a city is, but also how ineffectually he himself, going back victorious from the Trebia, had attempted that same colony.

XL. The consuls, taking different routes, when setting out to open the campaign, drew the anxiety of the public in opposite directions, as if to two distinct wars at once; for, besides their recollection of the heavy calamities which Hannibal's first coming had brought upon Italy, people were farther distressed by doubts of the issue. "What gods," said they to themselves, "would be so propitious to the city, and to the empire, as to grant success to their arms in both quarters at the same time? Hitherto the business had been protracted by a counterpoise of successes and misfortunes. When in Italy, at the Thrasimenus and Cannæ, the Roman power had been crushed to the earth, a number of successful efforts in Spain had raised it up from its fallen state: when afterwards, in Spain, a succession of defeats, in which two excellent commanders were lost, had, in a great measure, ruined the two armies, the many advantages gained by the Roman arms in Italy and Sicily, had afforded shelter to the shattered vessel of the state. Besides, even the distance of place, one war being then carried on in the remotest extremity of the world, allowed room to breathe: but now, two wars had penetrated into the very

heart of Italy; two commanders, of the most distinguished reputation, stood on the opposite sides of the city of Rome; and the whole mass of danger, the entire burthen, pressed upon one spot. Whichever of these commanders should first gain a battle, he would, in a few days after, join his camp with the other." The preceding year, also, having been saddened by the deaths of the two consuls, served to augment the general apprehensions. Such were the melancholy forebodings which perplexed the minds of the people, as they escorted the commanders on their departure to their provinces. Historians have mentioned, that Marcus Livius, when setting out for the campaign, being still full of resentment against his countrymen, and warned by Quintus Fabius "not to come to a battle hastily, or before he was well acquainted with the kind of enemy whom he had to encounter;" answered that "the first moment that he should get a sight of that enemy, he would fight him;" being asked the reason of such eagerness, he replied, "I will acquire either extraordinary glory from the defeat of the foe, or joy from that of my countrymen; and though the latter might not perhaps redound to my honour, yet it is certainly what they have deserved at my hands." Before the consul Claudius arrived in his province, as Hannibal was leading his army towards Sallentum, through the very borders of the Larinatian frontiers, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, with some lightly accoutred cohorts, attacked him, and caused dreadful confusion among his unmarshalled troops, killing four thousand men, and taking nine military standards. Quintus Claudius, who had his forces cantoned through the towns in the territory of Salentum, on being apprised of the enemy's motions, marched out of his winter-quarters: wherefore, Hannibal, lest he should be obliged to encounter the two armies at once, decamped in the night, and withdrew from the Tarentine territory into Bruttium. Claudius fell back to the country adjoining Salentum. Hostilius, on his march towards Capua, met the consul Claudius at Venusia; and here were selected, out of both armies, forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with which the consul was to act against Hannibal. The rest of the forces, Hostilius was ordered to lead to Capua, that he might deliver them up to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul.

XLII. Hannibal, having drawn together his forces from all quarters, both those which he

had hitherto kept in winter quarters, and those which were in garrison in the Bruttian territory, came into Lucania, to Grumentum, in hope of regaining the towns, which, through fear, had joined the Romans. To the same place came the Roman consul, from Venusia, carefully examining the roads as he went, and pitched his camp at the distance of about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. From hence the rampart of the Carthaginians seemed to be almost close to the wall of Grumentum; the actual distance, however, was five hundred paces. Between the Carthaginian and Roman camps the ground was level; and on the left hand side of the Carthaginians, and right of the Romans, stood some naked hills, from which neither party apprehended any mischief because there were no woods, nor any covering for an ambuscade. Parties sallying from the advanced posts, fought several skirmishes of little consequence. It appeared plainly that the Roman general had no other object in view than to hinder the enemy from quitting the place; while Hannibal, wishing to get away, frequently drew out his whole strength, and offered battle. On this occasion, the consul adopted the crafty genius of his adversary; and, as there could be little apprehension of a surprise, the hills being open, and having been examined by his scouts, he ordered five cohorts, with five additional companies, to pass over their summit in the night, and conceal themselves in the valleys on the other side. The time when they were to rise from their ambush he settled with Tiberius Claudius Asellus, military tribune, and Publius Claudius, præfect of the allies, whom he sent at their head. He himself, at the dawn of day, drew out all his forces, both foot and horse, into the field. In a short time after, Hannibal also, on his side, displayed the signal for battle, and a great noise ensued in his camp, while the men ran hastily to arms. Then all, both horse and foot, rushed eagerly out of the gates, and scattering themselves over the plain, advanced hastily to attack the enemy. The consul, observing them in this disorder, commanded Caius Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, to make his cavalry charge them with all possible fury, remarking, that "they had spread themselves like cattle over the plain, and in such confusion that, before they could be formed, they might be rode down, and trodden under foot."

XLII. Hannibal had not yet come out of



his camp, when he heard the shouts of the troops engaged : alarmed at this, he led his forces with all speed towards the enemy. The charge of the Roman cavalry had already distressed his van, and, of their infantry, the first legion and the right wing were coming into action, while the Carthaginians, without any regular order, began the fight just as chance threw each in the way of either horseman or footman. The combatants, on both sides, were sustained by reinforcements ; and Hannibal, in the midst of the terror and tumult, would have formed his line while fighting, which is no easy matter, unless to a veteran commander, and in the case of veteran troops, but that the shout of the cohorts and companies, running down from the hills, and which was heard on their rear, struck them with the fear of being cut off from their camp : and had it not been near, (seized as they were with a panic, and flying in every part,) very great numbers would have been slain : for the cavalry stuck close to their rear, and the cohorts, running down the declivity of the hills, over clear and level ground, assailed them in flank. However, upwards of eight thousand men were killed, more than seven hundred men made prisoners, and nine military standards were taken. Even of the elephants, which in such a sudden and irregular action had been of no use, four were killed, and two taken. Of the Romans, and their allies, there fell about five hundred. Next day the Carthaginian kept himself quiet. The Roman brought his army into the field, and when he saw that none came out to meet him, he ordered the spoils of the slain to be collected, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together and buried. After this for several successive days, he pushed up so close to the enemy's gates, that he seemed to intend an assault ; but, at length, Hannibal decamped, at the third watch of the night, and made towards Apulia, leaving a great number of fires and tents on the side of the camp which faced the enemy, and a few Numidians, who were to show themselves on the ramparts and at the gates. As soon as day appeared, the Roman army came up to the trenches, the Numidians, as directed, showing themselves for some time on the ramparts ; having imposed on the enemy as long as possible, they rode off at full speed, until they overtook the body of their army. The consul, perceiving the camp perfectly silent, and no longer seeing any where even the

small number who had paraded in view, at the dawn of day despatched two horsemen to examine the state of the works ; and when he learned, with certainty, that all was safe, he ordered his army to march in. Here he delayed no longer than while his men collected the plunder ; then, sounding a retreat, long before night, he brought back his forces into their tents. Next day, at the first light, he set out, and following by long marches the tracks of the Carthaginians by such intelligence as he could procure, overtook them not far from Venusia. Here likewise an irregular kind of battle was fought, in which above two thousand of the fugitives fell. From thence, Hannibal, marching in the night, and taking his way through mountains, that he might not be forced to an engagement, proceeded towards Metapontum : from which place Hanno, who commanded the garrison of the town, was sent, with a small party into Bruttium, to raise fresh forces ; while Hannibal, with the addition of the garrison to his own troops, went back to Venusia by the same roads through which he had come, and thence to Canusium. Nero had never quitted the enemy's steps, and when he was going himself to Metapontum, had sent orders to Quintus Fulvius to come into Lucania, lest that country should be left without defence.

XLIII. In the meantime, Hasdrubal, having raised the siege of Placentia, sent four Gallic horsemen, and two Numidians, with a letter for Hannibal ; these, after traversing almost the whole length of Italy, through the midst of enemies, in order to follow him on his retreat to Metapontum, mistook the road, and went towards Tarentum, where they were seized by some Roman foragers, roving through the country, and conducted to the prætor, Quintus Claudius. At first, they eluded his inquiries by evasive answers ; but, on being threatened with torture, fear compelled them to own the truth, and they confessed that they were charged with a letter to Hannibal. With this letter, sealed as it was, the prisoners were given in charge to Lucius Virginus, military tribune, to be conducted to the consul, Claudius, and two troops of Samnite horse were sent to escort them. Claudius caused the letter to be read to him by an interpreter, and having examined the prisoners, he concluded that the present conjuncture of affairs was not of such a nature as to require that the consuls

should carry on the war according to regular plans, each within the limits of his own province, by means of his own troops, and against an antagonist pointed out by the senate; but that some extraordinary and daring stroke should be struck, such as could not be foreseen or thought of, which at its commencement, might cause no less dread among their countrymen than among the enemy; but, when accomplished, would convert their great fears into as great exultation. Wherefore, sending Hasdrubal's letter to Rome, to the senate, he at the same time acquainted the conscript fathers with his intentions, advising that, as Hasdrubal had written to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria, they should immediately call home the legion then at Capua, raise new levies, and post the city army at Narnia, to intercept the enemy. Such were the contents of his letter to the senate: for himself, he sent on messengers, through the districts of Larina, Marrucia, Frentana, and Præstutia, along the road which he intended to take with his army; giving directions, that all the inhabitants should bring down from their towns and farms, victuals ready-dressed for the soldiers, and that they should furnish horses and other beasts of burthen, so that the weary might be accommodated with easy transports. He then selected from the Romans and allies the flower of their armies, consisting of six thousand foot and one thousand horse; and giving out that he meant to seize on the nearest town in Lucania and the Carthaginian garrison therein, he ordered them all to be ready for a remove. Having set out in the night, he turned off towards Picenum, and, making the longest possible marches, proceeded directly towards his colleague, having left the command of the camp to Quintus Cælius, lieutenant general.

XLIV. At Rome there was no less fright and consternation than had been felt two years before, when the Carthaginian camp was brought close to the walls and gates of the city. nor could people well determine whether they should commend or blame the consul for his boldness in undertaking such an adventurous march. It was evident that his reputation would depend upon the issue, though there is not perhaps a more unfair method of judging. People considered, with alarming apprehensions, that "the camp, in the neighbourhood of such a foe as Hannibal, had been left without a general, and under the guard of an army, the strength

of which had been carried away; that the consul, pretending an expedition into Lucania, when in fact he was going to Picenum and Gaul, had left his camp destitute of any other means of safety than merely the enemy's want of information, as to the general and a part of his army having quitted it. What would be the consequence if this should be discovered, and if Hannibal should resolve, either with his whole army to pursue Nero, whose entire force was but six thousand men, or to assault the camp, which was left as a prey, without strength, without command, without auspices?" The past disasters of this war, and the deaths of the two consuls in the last year, served also to increase these terrible fears. Besides, they reflected, that "all those misfortunes had happened while there was but one general and one army of the enemy in Italy; whereas, at present, there were two Punic wars there, two numerous armies, and, in a manner, two Hannibals. For Hasdrubal was a son of the same father Hamilcar; was a commander equally enterprising, trained to making war against the Romans during many campaigns in Spain, and rendered famous by a double victory over them, by the destruction of two of their armies, and two of their ablest commanders. With respect to the speedy accomplishment of his march from Spain, and his address in rousing the Gallic clans to arms, he had much more reason to boast than Hannibal himself; because he had collected a body of auxiliaries in those very places where the other had lost the greater part of his soldiers by hunger and cold, the two most miserable ways in which men can perish." To all this, people, acquainted with the transactions in Spain, added, that "in Nero he would meet an antagonist with whom he was not unacquainted, one whom, formerly, when caught accidentally in a dangerous defile, he had baffled, just as he would a child, by fallacious terms of peace." Seeing every thing through the medium of fear, which always represents objects in the worst light, they judged all the resources of the enemy greater, and their own less, than they were in reality.

XLV. When Nero had attained to such a distance from the enemy that his design might be disclosed with safety, he addressed his soldiers in a few words, telling them, that "no general had ever formed a design more daring in appearance, and yet more safe in the execu-



tion than his. That he was leading them to certain victory. For as his colleague had not marched against that enemy until the senate had given him such a force, both of infantry and cavalry, as fully satisfied his utmost wishes, and those troops more numerous and better provided than if he were to go against Hannibal himself, the addition thus made to it, whatever might be its intrinsic weight, would certainly turn the scale in favour. As soon as the foe should hear, in the field of battle, (and he would take care that they should not hear sooner,) that another consul, and another army had arrived, this single circumstance would insure success. A war was, sometimes, happily concluded by the spreading of a report; and incidents, of light moment, frequently impelled men's minds to hope or fear. That themselves would reap almost the whole fruits of the glory acquired by success; for, in all cases the last addition made to the acting force is supposed to be most decisive of the business. That they saw, by the concourse of people attending, with what admiration, and with what warm attachment of all ranks, their march was honoured." And, in fact, all the roads through which they passed were lined with men and women, who crowded thither from all parts of the country, uttering vows and prayers for their success; intermixing praises of their glorious enterprise; calling them the safeguard of the commonwealth, the champions of the city, and of the empire of Rome; on whose arms, and on whose valour, were reposed the safety and liberty of themselves and of their children. They prayed to all the gods and goddesses to grant them a prosperous march, a successful battle, and speedy victory: that they themselves might be bound by the event, to pay the vows they offered in their behalf: and that, as they now, with minds full of solicitude, accompanied them on their way, so they might, in a few days, go out with hearts overflowing with joy to meet them in triumph. Every one gave them warm invitations, offered them every accommodation, and pressed them, with the most earnest entreaties, to take from him rather than from another, whatever was requisite for themselves, or their cattle; in a word, every thing that was wanted, they with cheerfulness supplied in abundance. Their kindness was equalled by the moderation of the soldiers, who would not accept of any matter whatever beyond their necessary occasions. They never halted

on any account, nor quitted their ranks to take their victuals; but marched day and night, scarcely allowing themselves rest enough to answer the calls of nature. Couriers were sent forward to the other consul, to give notice of their coming; and to know from him, whether he chose that they should approach secretly or openly, by night or by day; whether they should lodge in the same camp with him, or in another. It was judged best that they should join him secretly in the night.

XLVI. Orders were previously given by the consul Livius, that, on their arrival, each tribune should be accommodated with a lodging by a tribune, each centurion by a centurion, each horseman by a horseman, and each footman by a footman. He considered that it would not be prudent to enlarge the camp, lest the enemy might discover the coming of the second consul; while the crowding together of additional numbers, into lodgings in a narrow space, would be attended with the less inconvenience, as the troops of Claudius had brought with them hardly any thing except their arms. Claudius had augmented his army with a number of volunteers: for many, both veteran soldiers discharged from service, and young men, offered themselves on his march; and, as they eagerly pressed to be employed, he enlisted such of them as, from their personal appearance, seemed fit for the service. The camp of Livius was near Sena, and Hasdrubal lay about five hundred paces beyond it. Wherefore, Nero, to avoid entering it before night, halted when he came nigh, and where he was concealed behind mountains. As darkness came on, his men, marching silently, were conducted into tents, each by a person of his own rank; where they were hospitably entertained, amid mutual congratulations, and unbounded joy. Next day a council was held, at which was also present the prætor, Lucius Porcius Licinus. At this time his camp was joined to that of the consuls. It should, however, be noticed, that before their coming, he had often baffled and perplexed the enemy, leading his troops along the high ground; sometimes seizing narrow defiles to arrest his march, sometimes harassing him by attacks on his rear or flanks; and putting in practice, indeed, every art of war. He now assisted at the council. Many were of opinion that an engagement should be deferred until Nero might refresh his men, who were fatigued by their long march, and want of

sleep; and also, that he should take a few days to himself, to gain some knowledge of the enemy. Nero, with the utmost earnestness, entreated them not, "by delays, to render his enterprise rash in effect, when despatch would insure its success. In consequence of a deception, which could not last long, Hannibal lay yet, in a manner, motionless; he neither assailed his camp, left, as it was, without its commander, nor moved a step in pursuit of him. Before he should stir, Hasdrubal's army might be cut off, and he himself might return into Apulia. Whoever, by procrastination, allowed time to the enemy, would thereby betray the other camp to Hannibal, and open for him a road into Gaul, so as to enable him, at his leisure, to effect a junction with Hasdrubal, and whenever he pleased. They ought to give the signal instantly; march out to battle, and to take every advantage of the delusion under which the enemy lay; both the party in their neighbourhood, and the other at a distance, while the latter knew not that their opponents were decreased in number, nor the former, that theirs were become more numerous and powerful." Accordingly the council was dismissed, the signal of battle was displayed, and the troops immediately marched out to the field.

XLVII. The Carthaginians were already drawn up in order of battle before their camp. The only thing that prevented an immediate engagement was, that Hasdrubal having, with a few horsemen, advanced before the line, remarked among the enemy some old shields, which he had not seen before, and horses leaner than any he had hitherto observed; their number also seemed greater than usual. On which, suspecting what was the case, he hastily sounded a retreat; sent a party to the watering place at the river, with orders to pick up, if possible, some prisoners, also to observe attentively, whether there were any whose complexions were more sun-burned than usual, as from a journey lately made; at the same time, ordering another party to ride round the camp, at a distance, to mark whether the rampart had been extended on any side, and to watch whether the signal was sounded a second time. Though he received account of all these particulars, yet the circumstance of the camp's not being enlarged, led to a false conclusion: they were two, as before the arrival of the second consul; one belonging to Marcus Livius,

the other to Lucius Porcius; and no addition had been made to the trenches of either, to make more room for tents within. One thing particularly struck that veteran commander, long accustomed to act against Roman armies; which was, that according to the information of his scouts, the signal was sounded once in the prætor's camp, and twice in the consuls. Hence he concluded, that the two consuls must be there; but how to account for Nero's having left Hannibal behind, perplexed him extremely. Of all things he could the least suspect what had really happened, that Hannibal could be so blinded, and in a business of such magnitude, as not to know where the general was, and where the army whose camp stood facing his own. He supposed that some disaster, of no ordinary kind, must have hindered him from following; and he began to fear greatly, that he himself had come too late with succour, that his affairs were too desperate to be retrieved, and that the same fortune which the Romans had met in Spain awaited them now in Italy. He even conjectured that his letter had not reached his brother; and that, in consequence of its being intercepted, the consul had hastened thither to overpower him. Distracted by these doubts and fears, he extinguished all his fires; and, at the first watch, ordered his troops to strike their tents in silence, and to march. In the hurry and confusion of a movement by night, the guides were not watched with the necessary care and attention; one of them, therefore, stopped in a place of concealment, which he had before fixed upon in his mind, and the other swam across the river Metaurus, at a pass with which he was acquainted. The troops, thus left destitute of conductors, strayed for some time through the country; and many overcome by drowsiness and fatigue, stretched themselves on the ground in various places, leaving the standards thinly attended. Hasdrubal, until day-light should discover a road, ordered the army to proceed along the bank of the river; and as he wandered along the turnings and windings, with which that river remarkably abounds, he made but little progress, still intending, however, to cross it, as soon as the day enabled him to find a convenient passage. But the farther he removed from the sea, the higher did he find the banks; so that not meeting with a ford, and wasting the day in the search, he gave the enemy time to overtake him.



XLVIII. First, Nero, with all the cavalry, came up ; then Porcius, with the light infantry. While they harassed his wearied army by frequent assaults on every side, and while the Carthaginian, now stopping his march, or rather flight, had a mind to encamp on a high spot of ground, on the bank of the river, Livius arrived with the main body of infantry armed, and marshalled for immediate action. When the line Romans had united all their forces, and the the was drawn out in array, Claudius took the command of the right wing, Livius of the left ; that of the centre was given to the prætor. Hasdrubal, laying aside the design of fortifying a camp, when he saw the necessity of fighting, placed his elephants in front, before the battalions, and, beside them, on the left wing, he opposed the Gauls to Claudius ; not that he had much confidence in them, but thinking that they were much dreaded by the enemy. The right wing, which was to oppose Livius, he took to himself, together with the Spaniards ; on whom, as being veteran troops, he placed his principal reliance. The Ligurians were posted in the centre, behind the elephants ; but the line was too long in proportion to its depth. A rising ground, in their front, protected the Gauls ; and while that part of the line which was composed of the Spaniards engaged the left wing of the Romans, their right wing stretching out beyond the extent of the fight, stood idle, for the eminence between them and the enemy prevented their making an attack, either on their front or flank. Between Livius and Hasdrubal a furious conflict began, and dreadful slaughter was made on both sides : for here were both the generals ; here the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry ; here the Spaniards, veteran troops, and acquainted with the Roman manner of fighting ; and the Ligurians, a race of hardy warriors. To the same part the elephants were driven, which, at the first onset, disordered the van, and made even the battalions give ground ; but afterwards, the contest growing hotter, and the shouts louder, they soon became disobedient to the directions of their riders, rambling up and down between the two lines, without distinguishing their own party, and ranging to and fro, not unlike ships without rudders. Claudius in vain attempted to advance up the hill, often calling out thus to his men,—"To what purpose, then, have we, with so much speed, marched over such a length of way?" However, seeing it impracticable to

reach the enemy's line in that quarter, he drew away some cohorts from his right wing, where the troops would not be able to act, and led them round behind the line. Then, to the surprise not only of the enemy, but of his friends also, he made a brisk attack on their right flank ; and, so quick were his motions, that almost at the same instant when his men appeared on the flank, they likewise attacked the rear. Thus the Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces on all sides, in front, and flank, and rear, and the havoc in a short time reached the Gauls. These made very little opposition ; for great numbers of them were absent from their posts, having slipped away in the night, and lain down in the fields ; while those who were present, being exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, and being naturally ill qualified to endure toil, had scarcely strength remaining sufficient to support their armour. By this time it was mid-day ; and while they were panting with heat and thirst, they were slain or taken at the will of the Romans.

XLIX. Of the elephants, more were killed by their guides, than by the enemy. These carried a knife, like that used by shoemakers, with a mallet ; and when the animals began to grow furious, and to rush on their own party, the manager of each, fixing this instrument between its ears, on the joint which connects the head with the neck, drove it in with the strongest blow that he could give. This had been found the speediest method of killing animals of that great size, when they had become so unruly as to leave no hope of managing them ; and it had been first brought into practice by Hasdrubal, whose conduct in the command of an army, as on many other occasions, so particularly in this battle, merited very high encomiums. By his exhortations, and by taking an equal share in the dangers, he supported the spirits of his men ; and at one time by entreaties, at another by reproofs, he reanimated the wearied ; when, from the length and labour of the action, they were disposed to lay down their arms. He called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places, where it had been given up. At last, when fortune evidently declared for the Romans, unwilling to survive so great an army, which had followed his standard on the credit of his reputation, he set spurs to his horse, and plunged himself into the midst of a Roman cohort ; where, as became the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal, he

fell fighting. In no one action, during that war, were so great numbers of the enemy slain ; so much so, indeed, that the damage retorted on him was deemed equivalent to that sustained at Cannæ. Fifty-six thousand of them were killed, five thousand four hundred taken. The other booty was great of every kind, as well as of gold and silver. Besides which, there were recovered above four thousand Roman citizens, prisoners, which was some consolation for the soldiers lost in the battle ; for the victory was far from a bloodless one, nearly eight thousand of the Romans and allies being killed. And so far were even the victors satiated with blood and slaughter, that next day, when the consul Livius was told, that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been present in the battle, or had made their escape from the general carnage, were marching off in a body, without any certain leader, without standards, without order or subordination, and that they might all be cut off, if one squadron of horse were sent against them, he answered, " Let some be left alive, to carry home accounts of the enemy's losses, and of our valour."

L. On the night which followed the battle, Nero set out on his return ; and, by marches even speedier than he had made in coming, on the sixth day after reached his former post, opposite the enemy. The crowds of people attending him were less than before, because no messenger had preceded him ; but these exhibited such demonstrations of joy, as to seem transported almost beyond their reason. It is impossible to express or describe the emotions that agitated the minds of all persons at Rome, either while waiting in doubtful expectation of the event, or when they received the news of the victory. The senators never quitted the senate-house, nor the magistrates, nor the people, the forum, from the rising to the setting sun, during the whole of Claudius's march ; so eager were they to greet him. The matrons, incapable themselves of contributing aid, had recourse to prayers and supplications ; and going about from one temple to another, wearied the gods with their entreaties and their vows. While the public were in this painful suspense, first an unauthenticated rumour spread, that two Narnian horsemen had come from the field of battle to the camp which stood on the frontiers of Umbria, with intelligence, that the enemy were utterly defeated. For some time, this news, though listened to, was but little

credited, as being too great, and too joyful, for the people's minds to admit, or readily believe ; and even the quickness of the conveyance was urged as an objection to the truth of it ; as the account said, that the battle was fought only two days before. Soon after this a letter was brought from the camp by Lucius Manlius Acidinus, confirming the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter being carried through the forum to the prætor's tribunal, brought out the senate from their house ; and the people thronged together with such impatience and tumult to the door, that the messenger could not approach, but was dragged about amid a multitude of questions, and all demanding, with much vociferation, that the letter should be read from the rostrum even before it was submitted to the senate. At length they were reduced to order by the magistrates, and obliged to make room, that the joyful tidings might be regularly imparted to the public, who were unable to govern their transports. The despatch was accordingly read, first in the senate, then in the assembly of the people ; some embracing the joyful news as certain, while others refused to credit any thing until they should hear it from the deputies, or the letters of the consuls.

LI. After some time an account was brought, that deputies were really coming, and not far off. On this, people of all ages ran out eagerly to meet them, each coveting to receive, from his own eyes and ears, convincing proofs of the reality of such a happy event. One continued train reached all the way to the Mulvian bridge : the deputies were, Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Surrounded by a vast multitude of every sort, they went on to the forum, while some inquired of them, others of their attendants, concerning what had been done ; and as soon as any one heard that the enemy's general and army had been cut off, that the Roman legions were safe, and the consuls unhurt, he immediately communicated his own joy to others. When the deputies had, with much difficulty, reached the senate-house, and the crowd was, with much greater difficulty, obliged to retire, that they might not mix with the senators, the letters were read in the senate ; and then the deputies were brought out into the general assembly. Lucius Veturius, after reading the despatches, gave, in his own words, a fuller detail of all that had passed ; which was heard with the greatest delight, and was at last fol-



lowed by a universal shout from the whole assembly, who were unable to restrain the effusions of their joy. They then separated; some hastening to the temples of the gods to return thanks, some to their own houses, to impart the happy news to their wives and children. The senate, in consideration of the consuls, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, having cut off the general and the legions of the enemy, decreed a supplication for three days; which supplication the prætor, Caius Hostilius, proclaimed in the assembly, and it was performed with great devotion by all, both men and women. During the whole three days, all the temples were equally filled with crowds, whose numbers never diminished; whilst the matrons, dressed in the most splendid manner, and accompanied by their children, being now delivered from every apprehension, just as if the war were at an end, offered thanksgivings to the immortal gods. This victory produced also a powerful effect on the internal business of the state, insomuch that people immediately took

courage to hold commerce with each other as in time of peace, buying, selling, lending, and paying money due. The consul Claudius, on returning to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had carefully kept and brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy: and the African prisoners, chained as they were, to be exposed to their view. Two of these he also unbound, and sent to Hannibal, with orders to inform him of what had happened. We are told that Hannibal, deeply struck by a disaster so fatal to his country, and his house, said that he felt now the fortune of Carthage. He then decamped, and retired thence, designing to draw together, into Bruttium, the remotest corner of Italy, all those confederates, whom, while scattered at wide distances, he could not protect; and he removed from their own habitations, and carried away into Bruttium, all the Metapontines, and such of the Lucanians as acknowledged his authority.

END OF VOL. I.













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